PURITANISM IN THE SOUTH

PURITANISM IN THE SOUTH

By

J. EDWARD KIRBYE

BOSTON
THE PILGRIM PRESS
NEW YORK CHICAGO

F210
.K58

LIBRARY of CONGRESS
Two Copies Received
DEC 9 1908
Copyright Entry
Dec. 5, 1908
CLASS A XXc. No.
229240
COPY B.

Copyright, 1908
By J. Edward Kirbye

The Arakelyan Press, Boston, Mass.

CONTENTS

Chapter Page
I. COLONIAL SETTLERS IN THE SOUTH . . 1

In Virginia 14

In Maryland 41

In South Carolina 56

In North Carolina 77

In Georgia 95

II. WHAT IS PURITANISM IN THE SOUTH . 127

FOREWORD

THIS subject, Puritanism in the South, is here presented for the first time. The field is broader than at first may appear, and yet it has its limitations. The convictions expressed in the following lectures have grown out of researches covering a number of years. There should be a companion volume with the Scotch-Irish as its chief subject, for the Scotch-Irish have been the largest factor in the development of Southern life and civilization. But it has been my purpose more particularly to write of the English Puritan, although in the sketch on North Carolina there were so few of these that it was necessary to include the splendid achievements of the Scotch-Irish, with whom mutual relations always existed.

It is common in public gatherings where people from the North and South are present to speak of the Puritan from the North and the Cavalier from the South. But this is a historical inaccuracy and needs correction. The largest and most influential churches in the South in colonial days were dissenting. Long before the Revolution the distinctive character of the few Cavaliers had perished, so that there is no more truth in the statement that the people of the South are Cavaliers than there would be in saying that they are all Germans.

[On the other hand, frequently the Northern man says that the history of the South would have been different if the New England spirit had been there. This is a fallacy, for the Puritan spirit was there and was as tenacious in its championship of the Southern cause as any other.

The story of Puritanism in the South is told in the tale of the aloe plant.

> "Have you heard the tale of the aloe plant
> That grows in our Southern clime?
> By humble growth of an hundred years
> It reaches its blooming time.
> And then a wondrous bud at its crown
> Breaks into a thousand flowers,
> The floral queen in its beauty seen
> Is the pride of our tropical bowers.
> But the plant is to the flower a sacrifice
> For it blooms but once and in its blooming dies."

PURITANISM IN THE SOUTH

PURITANISM IN THE SOUTH

I.

COLONIAL SETTLERS IN THE SOUTH

THE ordinary person has little conception of the facts and forces making Southern life and civilization. People in the North have generally taken for granted that the plantation system of the South was made by an aristocratic society descended in most instances from Cavaliers. Sometime ago a leading Congressman, from the state of Illinois, made an address in St. Louis in which he felicitated himself on the privilege of standing before an audience representing the convergence of the streams of Puritanism from the North and the Cavalier from the South. Only a few years ago a Congregational clergyman, distinguished more for his rhetoric than for his historical knowledge, said before a large religious gathering that Puritanism had always moved along certain parallels of latitude and that it was a historical fact that it had never been found in the South. This represents a popular conception found in the North, which has been perpetuated by those whose rhetoric has been far more conspicuous than their knowledge.

The various classes actually found in the colonial life of the South are as divergent as one can possibly conceive. The present solidarity of the South is often commented upon, and yet no section has more divergences. The solidarity consists merely in a uniform standard regarding certain principles in relation to the black man.

A view of the various classes making Southern colonial life will enable us to understand more clearly the contribution of Puritanism to the South.

The Cavalier is not entirely a myth even if the historical fact of his presence has been unduly emphasized. But he was found only in Virginia, and there only in the tide-water region and along the shores of the Chesapeake. And yet even in this region not all the settlers were Cavaliers, for there were many others as will be seen later. Robert Toombs once said, "We are the gentlemen of this country." This was certainly an error if he meant that the planters of the South were descended from the old Cavalier stock of Virginia. It is quite impossible to estimate the number of Cavaliers found in the South. There were probably fifteen hundred, one thousand of whom came to Virginia during the days of the Commonwealth. At the restoration of Charles II, the immigration ceased, many of them returning to their homes and lands in England. Sims in his history of South Carolina gives this picture of several Cavaliers who were early concerned with the development of the Southern Colonies, among the most important being the Earl of Clarendon; George, Duke of Albemarle; William, Lord Craven; John, Lord Berkeley; Antony, Lord Ashley; Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley and Sir John Colleton. "Clarendon was shrewd and sagacious as a politician, but of a mean, covetous nature; the Duke of Albemarle was George Monk, famous for the part he took in the restoration of the Stuarts — a soldier and selfish politician; Craven was a brave old soldier, but neither a good Christian nor a philosopher; Ashley Cooper, afterward Earl of Shaftesbury, the most highly endowed intellectually of all the Proprietors, was a subtle, mercurial statesman, a restless intriguer, unstable in aim and faithless in principle and conduct; Colleton was a royalist of no distinction; the two Berkeleys, Lord John and Sir William, the latter better known as Governor of Virginia, were wrong-headed and obstinate personages; Carteret was neither too wise nor too honest. They represented Cavaliers of that day; but these had sadly degenerated from the period when Charles I took the field against his subjects. They were only so many rapacious courtiers seeking a selfish object and without the capital to achieve or the capacity to design a plan of colonial establishment which should answer their own desires."

The Cavalier was a man of aristocratic habits and frequently of dissolute life. He was suave in manner, courtly in bearing, and an expert in horsemanship and the chase, and made woman a queen. He was the flower of medieval chivalry. His conception of society was that in which the few ruled the many. He made no contribution to progress, but was in the main loyal to the ideals of feudalism as they were expressed in the political and industrial serfdom of the old manor life. He had nothing in common with the march of democracy. There was something of the picturesque and romantic about him, but he was a fading figure in the world's progress. He hated the Puritan and in return was despised — he caricatured, and perhaps justly, the pretended piety of Puritanism, and yet he was blind to its moral grandeur and failed to understand it in its fundamental relations to the onward movement of freedom.

And yet there was another class of these men in Virginia who were more susceptible to progress. During the reign of Charles II, we become familiar with the names of Washington, Randolph, Cary, Ludwell and Parke, and others who achieved prominence. We must not forget the valuable services which these men of Cavalier blood rendered. But at the same time we cannot overlook the fact that the Scotch-Irish had poured into the hills and valleys of Virginia and filled the body politic for more than a generation with ideas of liberty. These influences, combined with the dissemination of French literature and with the spirit that produced Bacon's rebellion, made Virginia indeed a cradle of liberty. Fiske says that one of the four causes of Bacon's rebellion was a "tendency toward oligarchical government which had been rapidly growing since the beginning of the great influx of Cavaliers in 1649." The Puritan contribution to this was an important one.

The Cavalier disappeared from the pages of history before the Revolution, leaving behind no abiding monuments of his genius or ideals and stands to-day a pathetic, shadowy figure of the past, renowned only because he stood as the breaker between medievalism and modernism, clinging with steadfast devotion to the old, while all the forces of progress were beating him down as the world moved onward into light.

The Huguenot of Virginia and South Carolina is a far more important element in Southern life than was the Cavalier. One writer, commenting upon these settlers in the tide-water district of Virginia, says, "With rare exceptions they are the most upright, intelligent and highly trusted of every social class in France and in every respect the flower of that favored land, and most of those who came to Virginia were from the Western provinces which border upon the same latitude." The first Huguenots came to Virginia in 1610 and settled near Hampton Roads for the purpose of vine culture. In the seventeenth century others came, and in 1702 a town was entirely settled by them. The colony brought to Virginia by Duke de Soubise obtained a patent of 20,000 acres in Nansemond County on the south side of the James. This immigration continued through the eighteenth century, some coming directly from France, some by the way of England, some from other European countries where they had taken refuge, while a few came by way of the West Indies. In South Carolina they were a large class. Not only did they make up a large population in old Charleston, but above Charleston large grants of land were obtained, and they settled upon them. The contribution made by these people was a large one. Being admitted to citizenship, thousands of them in Virginia and South Carolina gave their genius and ability to the South. In state affairs, in the realm of education, in religion, they figured conspicuously. Many of the most important families from these two states trace their ancestry to these people. The spirit of the Huguenot in the South has been very much the same as that of the Puritan, and is illustrated by old Palissy. When Henry III visited him in the Bastile and urged him to recant, as he was compelled by the Guises to let the law take its course, the old man replied, "I am ready to give my life for the glory of God. You have said many times that you have pity on me. Now I have pity on you. You say you are compelled, but that is what neither you nor all who compel you, can ever effect upon me, for I know how to die." That has been the spirit of the Huguenot. Loving liberty and religion more than life, these thousands of French Huguenots in the tide-water districts of South Carolina and Virginia passed on a heritage to their section priceless in value and power.

Another class in the colonial life of the South was the white servant or slave. Dr. Samuel Johnson of England said at one time in reference to America, "Why, they are a race of convicts and ought to be thankful for anything we allow them short of hanging." While this may be considered an irate remark, yet it expresses a conception once prevalent regarding Colonial America. One writer says that it used to be common for European newspapers to speak of the Americans as the offspring of the vagabonds and felons of Europe. Public opinion is not always discriminative and frequently emphasizes a half-truth to the detriment of larger influences and forces. While it is true that there were reasons for these opinions yet it is also true that this wholesale generalization represents an ignorant and childish view of the regnant forces making colonial life and civilization. White slavery existed in the colonies and is one of the historical facts to be considered.

There were three classes of white people condemned to servitude in colonial days.

Political offenses constituted one of the crimes which sent many slaves to America. The rebellion of Dunbar in 1650, Penruddock's attempt against the Commonwealth in 1655, the Scotch Rebellion in 1666, the Monmouth uprising in 1686, the Jacobite insurrection in 1715, all furnished excuses for the government to banish its enemies into servitude in the colonies. Of this custom a picture is given in "Prisoners of Hope."

The second class consisted of those who were condemned for criminal offenses. The felons sent to the colonies represented the smaller number in comparison with the whole. Undoubtedly there were real criminals in this class, and yet I am inclined to believe that a survey of the circumstances might give a more lenient judgment. We must remember that the people of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were not entirely emancipated from the tyrannous laws and customs of feudalism. The convict of those days was oftentimes better than the laws which made him a criminal. A story is related of a poor woman stealing a joint of meat to relieve family necessities, who by so doing incurred the death penalty, but was given an opportunity to come to America as a slave instead. Judges and men of state in England felt the injustice of these laws frequently and were relieved when the condemned could be sent to the colonies. But after all the extenuating circumstances are emphasized, the majority of this class, beyond doubt, were typical of the shiftlessness and inefficiency of a peasant class which had been bound by the weight of centuries to the ground.

The third and largest class consisted of those who were too poor to come to the colonies and agreed to bind themselves out to masters for a period of years in order to pay their passage money. These again should be divided into two classes. First, those who were persuaded or coerced by agents for the selfish purpose of securing additional land and who laid before these peasants glowing prospects which their shiftlessness made impossible of realization. Second, those who were of a sturdy and steady life and who felt that a new land offered real opportunity. This latter class of indentured servants had its representatives among the Germans and Swiss of South Carolina and in all the other Southern colonies. After their period of service they became freeholders, oftentimes possessors of good estates, and developed the resources about them.

There were probably fifty thousand of this white servile class in all the Southern colonies and their presence produced many problems. Socially they became outcasts, and an old rhyme in Maryland expresses a common sentiment.

"Damn you, tho' now so brave,
I knew you late a four years' slave;
What if for planter's wife you go,
Nature designed you for the hoe."

The distribution of their descendants in the body politic has been in the main a detriment to progress. The development of the plantation system prevented in a large measure the elevation and expansion of their limited potentialities and doomed them in the light of political and religious liberty. While more of it is in the South, yet the influences can be traced in New England, where there were a limited number. This class cannot be overlooked in considering the history of Southern colonies.

With these classes mentioned there was also a distribution of Germans, Irish, Scotch and French in the various colonies, besides the sects of Quakers, Moravians, Salzburgers, all coming through the doors at Savannah, Charleston, Jamestown, and from the north by Pennsylvania and Maryland. These, with the Scotch-Irish, whom Campbell and Fiske call the Puritans of the South, and the English Puritans entered into the making of Southern life and civilization.

The real difference between the North and South was not that the Puritan was in New England and the Cavalier in the South. The contrast which has produced diversity of ideal was the fact of the difference in the land system. The former had small farms, the latter large plantations. The small farm of the North necessitated development along certain lines; the large plantation of the South necessitated a different development. Two centuries of development produced two sections, with their divergences more pronounced than their similarities, which affected their social, intellectual and religious ideals.

In the South the people lived on the plantations separated from each other, each planter being the lord of his dominions with his individualism pronounced. In the North the people lived on small farms near each other, so that they learned to recognize social obligation. In the town meeting they discussed the affairs of the town as a whole, and the social spirit was constantly to the front. What was the result of this?

In the South there was an absence of community obligation. There were no public roads such as were found in the North. With rare exceptions the public road, well kept, was not known in the South. It would have been too expensive to the individual planter. In the North, the land being divided into townships and then into sections and quarter-sections, necessitated public roads and bridges. A study of New England shows that this matter was constantly before the people.

This difference in the land system affected the people intellectually, producing the private school of the South and the public school of the North. It was impracticable for the Southern planter to maintain a public school system. It was impracticable for the Northern farmer not to do so. Distances in the South, poor roads winding through pine forests, individualism in industry, rendered it impossible to develop a public scheme of education. Thomas Jefferson had planned one, but it failed of realization because of the inevitable tendencies of Southern life, built as it was on the plantation system. In the North the public school followed the public road. It was easy to gather enough children to make it profitable, and the people soon came to feel that it was their greatest social asset. Thus it gave all the people a chance to learn the rudiments of knowledge and prepared them to exercise the rights of citizenship with care. In the South the private school trained the few better, perhaps, than did the public school of the North the many. For the few it gave a training in the finer social amenities which produced a difference in time. But it also widened the gulf between the poor white child and the child of the planter. The condition was so pronounced that, when a deserving genius came up from the poor white population, he left the old community and cast his fortune with one of the newer states farther west in the South. It produced a difference in literature. The South sent some of her sons to Europe; the North trained many more in her own colleges and universities which she had built up. The South produced statesmen in greater numbers than did the North because the plantation was conducive to the development of individual power and confidence. But the North produced a literature and a far greater number of literary men. A school system, colleges and universities, libraries and lyceums, a mingling population in country and city, are conducive to such a result. Discussions of a public character, social relations and problems produce a market for literature, and supply and demand are always mutual. In the South the people were not drawn together in discussions, cities were small, the masses of poor whites were illiterate and the market for a book was confined to the better class of planters or their children, who constituted a very small per cent of the population. There was just as much genius in the South, but the environment prevented its expression.

It also produced a difference in religion, — not that certain fundamentals varied, but the emphasis placed on religious duty was different. Social emphasis grew out of the Northern type of life; individual emphasis out of the Southern. In the North the church identifies itself closely and actively with social reform movements; in the South this work is done by the individual members of the church.

The political variation was most prominent. There was no need of much government in the South if the planter controlled his plantation well, for there were no large cities. In the North, on the other hand, as social duties multiplied into the township and thence into the state and nation, there came into being the social consciousness of a centralized authority. It was quite natural that some New England people thought that they had a right to consider slavery in the South as one of their questions, and it is just as natural that the South has always considered it an interference. There is just as much reason for the South to send missionaries to New York and Chicago as for the North to send them to the negro. The needs of the one are just as great as the other. The recognition of social obligations found expression politically in the scheme of Hamilton, while on the other hand economic and political individualism, represented by Jefferson, has produced a difference between the North and South which was far more apparent before the war than now.

These were the influences producing different types of Americans. The small farm of the North was far more democratic than the large plantation of the South, as life there assumed an aristocratic character necessarily.

A plantation might contain several hundred, and, in some cases, several thousand acres of land. The buildings consisted of the house of the owner, usually large and spacious, a home for an overseer, quarters for the slaves, barns and granaries, besides the famous smoke-house. On the larger plantations might be found the homes of white tenants who were descendants of indentured servants, and who were now paying an annual rent for their holdings, or, if they had been provident, might have secured a small holding, and in some instances had become the owner of one or more slaves.

Economically the plantation became a little world of its own. With few exceptions it produced everything needed. Common shoes, common clothing, foods of all kinds, and even some wines, besides the crop upon which the planter depended for his main revenue, were produced in this industrial community. The gangs of slaves were under the control of overseers who planned and executed the work upon the plantation and were responsible to the master. The great majority of the slaves were field-hands, although certain numbers were selected for house servants and nurses and for general work about the "mansion." There was a community church where all worshiped, although a special place was assigned the slaves. On the old manors in Maryland there was the manor church. The burial-places indicated the social grade. Under the chapel the family of the lord of the manor were placed; some distance removed the white servants had their place, and, farther on, the black slave. Even death did not bring them together. But the old manor life was never thoroughly established in Maryland, nor was the Hundred in Virginia. These were attempts to transplant Old World conditions to the New. The plantation system in the South, with its different stages of development, flourished more than two centuries, during which time the Cavalier, the Huguenot, the indentured class, the black slave, the Scotch-Irish and the Puritan were brought under its influence and molded to a certain extent into homogeneity.

In Virginia

It seems to be a popular conception in some quarters that Puritanism in America was confined to New England and that the South was the home of the Cavalier. Fiske says, "A comparative survey of old Virginia's neighbors shows how extremely loose and inaccurate is the habit of alluding to the old Cavalier society of England as if it were characteristic of the Southern states in general. Equally loose and ignorant is the habit of alluding to Puritanism as if it were peculiar to New England. In point of fact the Cavalier society was reproduced nowhere save on the Chesapeake Bay. On the other hand the English or Independent phase of Puritanism was by no means confined to the New England colonies. Three-fourths of the people of

Maryland were Puritans. English Puritanism with the closely kindred French Calvinism swayed South Carolina; and in the concluding chapter we shall see how the Scotch or Presbyterian phase of Puritanism extended throughout the whole length of the Appalachian region from Pennsylvania to Georgia, and has exercised in the Southwest an influence always great and often predominant. In the South to-day there is much more Puritanism surviving than in New England." The Puritan colonies in St. John's Parish, Georgia, at Charleston, Dorchester and Wappetaw in South Carolina, in Nansemond and Norfolk Counties, Virginia, at Providence and on the Patuxent in Maryland, with the Presbyterian Puritan represented in the Scotch-Irish who settled above the tide-water districts forming a line from Pennsylvania to Georgia, have been among the mighty if not the mightiest potentialities of Southern life and civilization. There can be no complete history of the South apart from these influences.

Puritans were found in Virginia within four years after the settlement of Jamestown. Long before either the Pilgrim or Puritan landed at Plymouth or at Dorchester in Massachusetts, Puritanism had become recognized as a distinct power politically as well as religiously in Virginia. They said very little about their religious convictions in the early days of the colony, probably because they did not wish to attract attention at home and thus become an object of attack. They were interested in colonization, and when they joined outgoing Englishmen to the Barbados, the Carolinas or Virginia it was for the purpose of bettering their fortunes in many instances, though they also believed that it might be a means of realizing their political and religious ideals.

The apostle of Puritanism in Virginia was the Rev. Alexander Whittaker, who organized the first Puritan church in the New World. This was several years before the Separatists had landed at Plymouth or Puritanism had come to New England. Whittaker has been represented in a surplice, but evidence indicates that he never wore one. Although not a Separatist, he was none the less a Puritan. He died in 1616, and was succeeded by Rev. George Keith, a non-conformist. It is probably due to these early Puritan influences that the Episcopal Church in Virginia has always been low church. Whittaker, in a letter dated June 18th, 1614, expresses great surprise "that so few of the English ministers that were so hot against the surplice and subscription" came to Virginia, where neither was spoken of. The numbers were increased especially in Nansemond and Norfolk Counties. It is quite probable that reports from these brethren in Virginia, giving an account of their safe retreat, reached the band of Pilgrims who were in exile in Holland and aided them in their determination to come to Virginia. Between the years 1618-1621 about twenty-five hundred persons landed in Virginia. There were two influences operating to cause this. The governor of the colony, anxious to increase its prosperity and influence, was offering inducements to those who would come and settle within his jurisdiction. The other influence was religious. In England the struggle against establishment was on.

The non-conformists looked upon the efforts of Bancroft as persecution, for they considered that conscience must be obeyed, and their conscience was against the Established Church. Therefore they were leaving the realm because they would not conform, but this state of affairs became so alarming that a proclamation was issued forbidding them to leave the country without the king's license. It was this peremptory order that stopped Milton and Pym from coming to Virginia. Green says, "The dissolution of the Parliament of 1629 marked the darkest hour of Puritanism whether in England or the world at large. But it was in this hour of despair that the Puritans won their noblest triumphs. They turned toward the new world to redress the balance of the old."

It is true that the majority came to New England, but many went elsewhere and quite a number at least came to Virginia. Those who came to this colony sprang from the sturdy English yeomanry which has always been a large asset in the commercial resources of any state. One writer says that Norfolk County was the center of this influence and that here "lived the future rulers of Maryalnd." Nansemond County was fully as influential. Edward Bennett, a wealthy London merchant, obtained a large grant of land here, and brought with him a congregation of Puritan Dissenters. The son of Edward Bennett was destined to play a large part in the political life of Virginia and Maryland during the days of the Commonwealth. In Nansemond County a system of local government was developed and an independent church was also organized, of which the Rev. William Bennett became the spiritual guide. In 1629 the Puritans had two burgesses in the assembly, but Governor Harvey arrived in the colony that year and set about enforcing the order of Bancroft against dissent, which had been ignored up to this time. But the effort of the governor was only formal, with the thought of securing the good-will of the archbishop, and perhaps disenfranchisement of Roman Catholics. The Puritan element became so popular with the governor that a Captain Basse, one of their number, was asked to open a correspondence with the Puritans in Massachusetts, inviting them, in behalf of the governor, to remove to Virginia. This seems to have been a fruitless effort, as there are no records of any having accepted the invitation. There is plenty of evidence, however, that later Virginia gave some of her Puritans to Massachusetts.

In the year 1631, Virginia became openly intolerant, and the following years witnessed an effort to stamp out dissension by requiring conformity. The Assembly passed an act which provided, "that there be a uniformity throughout this colony both in substance and circumstances to the canons and constitutions of the Church of England." These were the days when Charles I was ruling without a parliament and when the Puritan was being harried for his obedience to conscience. What the entire effect of this action of the Assembly was can only be conjectured. From the meager records it would seem that Puritan divines withdrew from the colony and that their religious services were conducted by elders. These were trying days. It was with difficulty that the few congregations were held together. In Nansemond, Bennett conducted the services as a layman, and by this means was enabled to hold the congregation together. The Puritans were law abiding, and never gave consent to these acts requiring conformity, nor were they willing to obey them. Ten years of persecution, the tottering influence of the kingdom of Charles I, and the growing revolutionary influences in England, were the motives which led the Puritans of Virginia to send a petition signed by seventy-one people to their brethren in Massachusetts.

Phillip Bennett, an elder of a congregation, was instructed to go to Boston in May, 1641, and ask Governor Winthrop on behalf of the petitioners to send some ministers to them. On his arrival in Boston, Governor Winthrop had the petition read on Lecture Day. Divine guidance was sought, and a memorandum of this reads, "to seek God in it and agree upon those who could be spared from the Churches in New England." The great missionary enthusiasm of Puritanism is revealed here, the response to this appeal being in the same spirit that later led them to respond to the calls from South Carolina, from Hawaii, and from the wide world. They decided to send three ministers to Virginia. Mr. James of New Haven, Mr. Knowles, an elder in Watertown, and Mr. Thomson of Braintree were consecrated to the work in response to the appeal. With the blessings of the churches upon them, and with prayers for their future endeavors, they sailed from Narragansett. Their boat was wrecked and driven upon Hell Gate rocks, but after the trials incident to a shipwreck they finally secured another passage, and reached Virginia after eleven weeks.

In the meantime, Governor Berkeley had been installed. He was a bigoted Churchman, a typical Cavalier, a devoted servant of royalty, and hated the Puritans. These ministers on leaving New England had been given letters of introduction by Governor Winthrop to Governor Berkeley, but these did not add to the official welcome. They found auditors and willing listeners among the people, but not in the determined Cavalier governor. Within six months after their arrival, Knowles and James were compelled to leave the colony by an act of the Assembly. Thomson for some reason remained. Just before leaving they seemed to have conducted an evangelistic campaign, for on returning the following summer they reported abundant success wherever they had gone. This would indicate that the act of the Assembly had not made them afraid in proclaiming their message to the people. Thomson, who had remained behind, wrote to the church in Boston, "that being a very melancholic and of crazy body, he found his health so repaired and his spirit so enlarged as he had not been since his arrival in New England." The raging of the governor does not seem to have given him distress of mind or body.

This same year there were two enactments against the Puritans by the Assembly, which shows that they were growing in influence. The Assembly decreed that the Book of Common Prayer must be used in all religious services and be the basis of worship and that all Dissenters who refused to yield were to be expelled. But Thomson still remained and continued to perform his duties as a minister. Converts were numerous; perhaps the most important personage being Daniel Godkin, who was the son of an old Puritan. After his conversion he left Virginia and moved to Boston, at the same time changing his name to Gookin.

Of a poem celebrating Thomson's work in Virginia, one verse reads thus:

> "A constellation of great converts there
> Shone round him and his heavenly glory wear.
> Godkin was one of these; by Thomson's pains
> Christ and New England a dear Godkin gains."

The Indian massacre in 1644 had an important influence on the Puritan settlers. The Rev. Thomas Harrison, who had been a bigoted member of the Established Church and a close adviser of His Excellency, the Governor, believed that it was a visitation of divine wrath. This led him to resign his office and move to Nansemond County, where he became a zealous Puritan and had marvelous success in preaching the gospel. Governor Berkeley tried to persuade him to return, but his efforts were vain. Then the irate governor, loyal to his church, swore to no advantage. The audacity of Mr. Harrison exasperated him beyond measure, and on November 3, 1647, he had the Assembly pass the following: "Upon divers informations presented to this Assembly against several ministers for their neglect and refractory refusing, after warning given them to read the Common Prayer . . . for future remedy thereof, be it enacted by the Governor, Council, and Burgesses of this grand Assembly that ministers in their several cures throughout the colony do duly upon every Sabbath day read such prayers as are appointed and prescribed unto them by the said Book of Common Prayer, and be it further enacted as a penalty to such as have neglected or shall continue to neglect their duty therein that no parishioner shall be compelled either by distress or otherwise to pay any manner of tythes of duties to any unconformist as aforesaid." There was at least one Puritan representative in the Assembly at this time, but this action seems to have widened the breach between the two factions, and no more was heard of the Puritans until Richard Bennett became governor in 1652.

The act of the Assembly, in 1643, was still in force, and this, with the recent act, led Berkeley to take an extreme stand. Pastors of the Puritans were banished, and later their teachers, while many of their number suffered imprisonment. Arms were taken from them so that the colony was left without means of protection against the Indians. Harrison went to Boston, where he reported to Governor Winthrop that not less than one thousand Virginians were of the Puritan faith, and that even the Assembly was not a unit on the enactment and enforcement of the law of uniformity.

The colony had determined to emigrate; old Captain Sayle, a Puritan of the sea, had invited them to the Bahamas, and many were disposed to accept the invitation, Mr. Harrison being committed to this scheme.

Governor Winthrop of Boston advised differently and urged them to remain in Virginia as long as they could possibly endure the disabilities. After this advice Rev. Mr. Harrison returned to England and became a chaplain in the army of Richard Cromwell. His parishioners in Virginia did not forget him, and petitioned the Council of State in England that he be allowed to return. In October, the Council in England instructed Governor Berkeley to allow the Rev. Mr. Harrison to return inasmuch as the only cause for his banishment was his refusal of conformity. Berkeley would undoubtedly have disregarded the order, as he was devoted to the cause of royalty, but there was no reason now for a contest, as the Puritans had removed beyond his province. Durand and Bennett leading, the majority had settled in Maryland near the town of St. Mary. Some had moved into North Carolina, and there now remained only a few in Virginia. This was the close of their history as a colony in Virginia. But politically Puritanism was still to figure here.

Puritanism had triumphed in England under the leadership of the mighty Cromwell. Virginia, with Berkeley as governor, was loyal and openly espoused the cause of the Stuarts. This aggressive attitude cost Berkeley his office and the "colony her freedom." It would be more historical to say that it cost the colony her tyranny, represented as it had been in her Cavalier governor. Cavaliers who had taken refuge in the colony fanned the flame of discontent by relating the cruelty and hypocrisy practised by the Puritans in England against royalty. After the execution of Charles I, and during the days of the Commonwealth, large numbers of Cavaliers sought refuge here. These were the influences which caused Virginia to be openly loyal to the crown.

After Cromwell had matters fairly well in hand in England, his attention was turned to the colonies, many of which were in a disloyal attitude. A fleet was despatched to the West Indies, and, after subduing Antigua and the Barbados, was to move against Virginia. The governor, hearing of this, made preparations for their arrival. The fleet expected no resistance, but when off Jamestown discovered that a reception of a military character was awaiting them. Several Dutch trading vessels were anchored and had been turned into war-ships. It was for the interest of these Dutch traders to take the side of the colony in the controversy, inasmuch as they were trading there, contrary to an interdict of the Commonwealth. These trading vessels were flanked by a large body of troops commanded by Berkeley. The leaders of the Parliamentary forces were staggered by such a seemingly formidable opposition. Instead of a fight, however, negotiations were entered into. One historian is inclined to the view that a large shipment of goods on board the English ships for two of its members influenced the division in Berkeley's Council. I am inclined to think that Berkeley and the Council realized the futility of a struggle with Parliament, and that the Puritan influence in the colony among the people was real and genuine, inasmuch as they believed that in the crisis it was a worthy protest against tyranny and that these were the larger factors producing the division of sentiment. At any rate, a united military stand against the fleet representing the Commonwealth was impossible.

A meeting of the Grand Assembly, consisting of the governor, councilors and burgesses, resulted in a series of articles which were sent to the British commander. These articles are interesting because they reveal the temper and spirit of the new government which was to be installed in Virginia and which made her Puritan in her politics during the days of Cromwell. They read as follows: —

1st. That neither governor nor council shall be obliged to take the oath nor engagements to the Commonwealth of England for one whole year and that neither governor nor council be censured for praying for, or speaking well of the king, for one whole year in their private houses and neighborly conference.

2d. That there be one sent home at the present governor's choice, to give an account to his majesty of the surrender of this country, this present governor bearing this charge, which is Sir William Berkeley.

3d. That the present Governor and Council shall have leave to sell and dispose of their estates and transport themselves whither they please.

4th. That the Governor and Council, tho' they do not take the engagement for one whole year, shall yet have equal free justice in all the courts of Virginia until the expiration of one year.

5th. That all the Governor's and Council's lands and houses and whatever belongs to them be particularly secured and provided for in these articles.

6th. That all debts due to the Governor by act of the Assembly be perfectly made good to them; and that the governor be paid out of the goods remaining in the colony of the Dutch ship that went away clear for Holland without paying his customs.

7th. That the governor may have free leave to hire a ship in England or Holland to carry away the Governor's and the Council's and what he or they have to transfer to England or Holland, without any let in any of the State's ports or any molestation by any of the said ships at sea or in any of their rivers or elsewhere or by any ships in the Commonwealth of England whatsoever.

8th. That the Captain of the Fort be allowed satisfaction for building his house in the Fort Island.

9th. That all persons that are now in this colony of what condition or quality soever that have served the King here or in England shall be free from all dangers and punishments whatever; and this article as all other articles to be in as clear terms as the learned in the law of terms can express.

10th. That the same instant the commissioners are resigned, an act of oblivion and indemnity be issued out under the hands and seals of the commissioners for the Parliament and that no person in any court of justice in Virginia be questioned for the opinions given in any court determined by them.

11th. That the governor and council shall have their passes to go away from hence in any ship within a year; and in case they go for London or other places in England that they or any one of them shall be free from any trouble or hindrance of ——————— or such like in England that they may follow their occasions for the space of six months after their arrival.

As will be seen, the most of these relate to the privileges which the Puritan commissioners are to extend to the governor and council. They were accepted by the British commander and commissioners and, so far as record goes, were obeyed in a spirit of magnanimity. This acceptance and the future attitude of the new government is in striking contrast to the spirit which Berkeley displayed in his correspondence with Charles II, as we shall see later.

The following articles were agreed upon by the commissioners for the Council of State, by authority of the Parliament of England and Grand Assembly of the governor, council and burgesses, and represent the attitude of the new government toward the people. The gains to the people are everywhere manifest:

1st. It is agreed and insisted that the plantations of Virginia and all the inhabitants thereof shall be and remain in due obedience and submission to the Commonwealth of England, according to the laws there established, and that this submission and subscription be acknowledged a voluntary act not forced nor constrained by a conquest upon the country, and that they have and enjoy such freedom and privileges as belong to the free-born people of England and that the former government by the commissioners and restrictions be void and null.

2d. That the Grand Assembly as formerly shall convene and transact the affairs of Virginia wherein nothing is to be acted or done contrary to the Government of the Commonwealth of England and the laws there established.

3d. That there shall be a full and total submission and indemnity of all acts, words, or writings done or spoken against the Parliament of England in relation to the same.

4th. That Virginia shall have and enjoy the ancient bounds and limits granted by the charters of the former kings and that we shall seek a new charter from the Parliament to that purpose against any that intrenches upon the rights thereof.

5th. That all patents of land granted under the colony seal by any of the precedent governors shall be and remain in full force and strength.

6th. That the privilege of having fifty acres of land for every person transported in the colony shall continue as formerly granted.

7th. That the people of Virginia have free trade as the people of England do enjoy to all plantations and with all nations according to the laws of that Commonwealth, and that Virginia shall enjoy privileges equal to the English plantations in America.

8th. That Virginia shall be free from all taxes, customs, and impositions whatsoever, and none to be imposed on them without consent of the Grand Assembly and so that neither forts, nor castles be erected, or garrisons maintained without their consent.

9th. That no charge shall be required from this country in respect to this present fleet.

10th. That for the future settlement of the country in their due obedience the engagement shall be tendered to all the inhabitants according to the act of Parliament made to that purpose, that all persons who shall refuse to subscribe the said engagement shall have a year's time if they please to remove themselves and their estates out of Virginia and in the meantime during the said year to have equal justice as formerly.

11th. The use of the Book of Common Prayer shall be permitted for one year ensuing with reference to the consent of the major part of the parishes provided that those which relate to kingship or that Government be not used publicly and the continuance of ministers in their places they not mis-demeaning themselves and the payment of their accustomed dues and agreements made with them respectively shall be left as they now stand during this ensuing year.

12th. That no man's cattle shall be questioned as the companies unless such as have been entrusted with them or have disposed of them without order.

13th. That all ammunition, powder, and arms, other than for private use shall be delivered up, security being given to make all satisfaction for it.

14th. That all goods already brought hither by the Dutch or others which are now on shore shall be free from surprizall.

15th. That quit rents granted unto us by the late king for seven years be confirmed.

16th. That Commissioners for Parliament subscribing these articles engage themselves and honor of Parliament for the full performance thereof. And that the present governor and council and burgesses do likewise subscribe and engage the whole colony on their parts.

Signed
Richard Bennett
Wm. Clayborne
Edmund Curtis

March 12th, 1651.

Campbell says, "The administration of the colonial government under the Commonwealth was judicious and beneficent; the people were free, harmonious and prosperous; and while Cromwell's scepter commanded the respect of the world, he exhibited toward the infant and loyal colony a generous and politic lenity; and during this interval she enjoyed free trade, legislative independence, civil and religious liberty, republican institutions and internal peace. The governors, Bennett, Digges and Matthews, by their patriotic virtues, enjoyed the confidence and affection and respect of the people; no extravagance, rapacity, corruption or extortion, was charged against their administration; intolerance and persecution were unknown. But rapine, corruption, extortion, intolerance and persecution were all soon to be revived under the restored dynasty of the Stuarts."

This is a splendid word picture of the conditions which prevailed in Virginia during the regime of the Puritans. During these years humane regulations were made regarding the Indians, lands were apportioned them, and there was a strict regard for justice. There was extension of the franchise, and for a moment one almost forgets that he is studying conditions of the seventeenth century. But, politically, Puritanism must logically be democracy. The franchise was extended on the ground that it was "something hard and unagreeable to reason that any persons shall pay equal taxes and yet have no votes in elections." An act was passed also relative to former Governor Berkeley, who had not left the colony as contemplated in the articles, but continued his residence at his plantation. He was allowed full freedom notwithstanding the fact that he was a devoted royalist. There was no persecution by the ministers of the Established Church or any attempt to force upon the colony a system of church government contrary to their wishes. On the other hand the colonists were loyal to the new government. Not one word in the proceedings indicates restlessness or revolution. The greatest deference was paid the governors of the new regime. Each in turn was held in the highest esteem and Virginia was never more prosperous. Fiske quotes from a pamphlet published in London in 1649 which gives a picture of one of the men who was governor during the days of Puritan sway. And this sentiment was never changed in Virginia regarding him. Captain Matthews is described as a man of plenty, industrious, frugal, the owner of slaves who were taught trades, the husband of a daughter of Sir Thomas Hinton. He "lives bravely and is a true lover of Virginia; he is worthy of much honor." After the death of Oliver Cromwell and the accession of Richard to the office of Lord Protector, the Assembly passed a resolution of loyalty to him. Jefferson says, that "in the contest with the house of Stuart, Virginia accompanied the footsteps of the mother country." The days of the Puritan Commonwealth in Virginia were full of peace, prosperity and happiness for all her citizens.

When Richard Cromwell resigned in England, and, on the death of Matthews, the regular governor, the Assembly convened and passed two resolutions. The first was that the government of Virginia should now rest with the Assembly. The second was that Berkeley be invited to be the governor.

Some have said that Berkeley was hurried into office by a mob as a protest against the Puritan regime. I do not think so. It was felt throughout all the borders of Britain that a restoration of the monarchy was not distant. Especially was this conviction strong after Richard Cromwell had failed to master the situation. It seems more reasonable to suppose, in the election of Berkeley, that the Assembly believed that it had served the best interest of the colony. Berkeley's attitude indicates that he did not feel that he had been made governor on the crest of a wave of loyalty to the cause of the Stuarts, which had swept over the colony. He was undoubtedly the representative of the Cavalier element which was certainly the stronger element, but there was a vast deal of republican sentiment among the people that must be taken into account if we are to have a true idea of the conditions. When the offer of governorship was made, Berkeley did not accept with his accustomed braggadocio. It is one instance where his Cavalier character shows to good advantage. In an address before the Assembly he said, "I do therefore in the presence of God and you, make this safe protestation for us all that if any supreme settled power appears I will immediately lay down my commission and will live most submissively obedient to any power God shall set over me, as the experience of eight years has showed I have done." There is no word in the proceedings to show that the Assembly was hoping for the restoration. These proceedings took place March 13th, 1660, and it was not until October 11th, 1660, atfer Charles II had been proclaimed, that we find expressions concerning His Majesty occurring. Berkeley had hoped for the restoration and had been doing what he could to bring it to pass. He had remained in the colony under "various pretexts," says Campbell, and had probably kept up a secret correspondence with the royal refugee. Some have said that he invited Charles to Virginia, but there is little foundation for that. Such a profligate would have found the colony most uninteresting and prosaic in those days, and would probably have been the means of bringing untold hardship upon the people. Berkeley's hatred for the Puritans is seen in a letter which he wrote to Charles after the Restoration. He says, "It was no more, may it please your majesty's flock, when your majesty's enemies of that fold had barred up the lawful entrance into it, and enclosed the wolves of schism and rebellion ready to devour all within it." By wolves and rebellion he meant the Puritan and republican principles which had been in vogue here. This is in striking contrast to the treatment accorded him, and a measure of appreciation would have been forthcoming from any one except a tyrannous autocrat.

The spirit of the Cavaliers in the colony is strikingly portrayed in a masque which was prepared by one of them, and presented by the young men and maidens of old Jamestown. This was their view of the Puritan:

The first scene consists of True Liberty, dressed in white, appearing upon a stage, holding in her right hand a scepter entwined with myrtle; on her brow is a wreath. Marching across the stage to slow and solemn music she kneels at an altar. Raising her eyes to heaven she repeats: —

"How long, oh heaven shall power with impious hand,
In cruel bondage bind proud Britain's land,
Or heresy in fair Religion's robe
Usurp her empire and control the globe?
Hypocrisy in true Religion's name
Has filled the land of Britain long with shame,
And Freedom, captive, languishes in chains,
While with her scepter, Superstition reigns.
Restore, Oh heaven, the reign of peace and love,
And let thy wisdom to thy people prove,
That Freedom too is governed by her rules,
No toy for children, and no game for fools.
Freed from restraint, the erring star would fly
Darkling and guideless through the untravelled sky;
The stubborn soil would still refuse to yield
The whitening harvest of the fertile field;
The wanton winds when loosened from their caves,
Would drive the bark uncertain through the waves.
This magnet lost, the sea, the air, the world,
To wild destruction would be swiftly hurled.
And say, just Heaven, Oh, say, is feeble man,
Alone exempt from thy harmonious plan?
Shall he alone, in dusky darkness grope,
Free from restraint and free alas from hope,
Slave to his passion, his unbridled will,

Slave to himself and yet a freeman still?
No, teach him in his pride to own that he
Can only in obedience be free,
That even he can only safely move
When true to loyalty and true to love."

A star appears at the other end of the stage and moves until it is directly over her. True Liberty then arises, extends her arms and triumphantly says,

"I hail the sign, pure as the starry gem
Which rested o'er the Babe of Bethlehem;
My prayer is heard and heaven's sublime decree
Will rend our chains and Britain shall be free."

A Puritan enters. He is dressed in his peculiar garb, a peaked hat, black doublet and cloak, black breeches and gray hose, square-toed shoes tied up with leather, and about his waist a black leather belt from which hangs his sword. He is rigidly plain and mechanical in his movements. As he appears upon the stage he chants: —

"Arise, O Lord, save me, my God,
  For thou my foes hast stroke
All on the cheekbone, and the teeth
  Of wicked men hast broke."

Then he lifts his eyes and engages in prayer while True Liberty, smiling contemptuously, proceeds,

"See where he comes, with visage long and grim,
Whining with nasal twang his impious hymn;
See where he stands nor bows the suppliant knee,
He apes the publican but acts the Pharisee.
Snatching the sword of just Jehovah's wrath,
And damning all who leave his thorny path.
Now by this wand which Hermes with a smile
Gave to Ulysses in the Circean isle,

I will again exert the power divine,
And change to Britons these disgusting swine."

Then she waves a sprig of holly over his head and he cries out,

"Ha, what is this? Strange feelings fill my heart.
Avaunt thee, tempter, I defy thy art!
Up, Israel, hasten to your tents and smite
These sons of Belial and the Amalekite;
Philistia is upon us with Goliath.
Come, call the roll from twelfth of Nehemiah;
Gird up your loins, and buckle on your sword,
Fight with your prayers, your powder and the sword.
How, general, Faint not,—has your spirit sunk?
Let not God's soldier yield unto a monk."

But the charm increases and more feebly he says,

"Curse on the tempter's art! That heathenish Moly
Has in an instant changed my nature wholly;
The past with all its triumphs is a trance,
My legs once taught to kneel incline to dance;
My voice which to some holy psalm belongs
Is twisting round into these carnal songs.
Alas, I'm lost! New thoughts my bosom swell.
Habakuk, Barebones, Cromwell, fare ye well;
Break up conventicles, I do insist;
Sing the doxology, and be dismissed."

As the Puritan concludes, there is a heavy rolling sound, and from another part of the stage there come the impersonations of Christmas and the Queen of May. Christmas is a large, good-natured man dressed in white. His hair is powdered and in his right hand he holds a large mince pie from which he is eating, while in his left there is a huge bowl from which he is drinking. Pendants of glass hang from his dress to represent icicles, white paper representing snow falls around him.

The Queen of May is clad in white and her dress is covered with flowers, and in her hand she carries the May-pole adorned with ribbons of red, white and blue. As she takes her place roses fall in showers about her.

True Liberty then points out these figures to the Puritan and says: —

"Welcome, ye happy children of the Earth,
Who strew life's weary way with guileless mirth!
Thus joy should ever herald in the morn
On which the Saviour of the world was born;
And thus with rapture should we ever bring,
Fresh flowers to twine around the brow of spring.
Think not, stern mortal, God delights to scan
With fiendish joy the miseries of man;
Think not the groans that rend your bosom here
Are music to Jehovah's listening ear.
Formed by his power, the children of his love,
Man's happiness delights the Sire above,
While the light mirth which from his spirit springs
Ascends like incense to the King of kings."

Christmas then breaks forth: —

"My spirit rejoices to hear merry voices
With a prospect of breaking my fast,
For with such a lean platter, these drops they call latter
Were very near being my last.

"In that cursed conventicle, as chill as an icicle,
I caught a bad cold in my head,
And some impudent vassal stole all my wassail,
And left me small beer in its stead.

"Of all that is royal, and all that is loyal,
They made a nice mess of mince meat,
With their guns and gunpowder, and their prayers that are louder,
But the de'il a mince pie did I eat.

"No fat sirloin carving, I scarce kept from starving,
And my bones have become almost bare,
As if I were the season of the gunpowder treason,
To be hallowed with fasting and prayer.

"If they fancy pulse diet, like the Jews they may try it,
Though I think it is fit but to die on,
But may the enamel long keep this new Daniel
From the den of the brave British Lion.

"In the juice of the barley I'll drink to King Charley,
The bright star of royalty risen,
While merry maids laughing and honest men quaffing
Shall welcome old Christmas from prison."

Then the Queen of the May bursts forth with the song: —

"Come with blooming cheek, Aurora,
  Leading on the merry morn,
Come with rosy chaplets, Flora —
  See the baby Spring is born.

"Smile and sing each living creature,
  Britons join me in the strain,
Lo, the spring is come to nature,
  Come to Albion's land again.

"Winter's chain of icy iron,
  Melts before the smile of spring,
Cares that Albion's land environ
  Fade before our rising King.

"Crown his brow with freshest flowers,
  Weave the chaplet fair as May,
While the sands with golden hours
  Speed this happy life away.

"Crown his brow with leaves of laurel,
  Twined with myrtle's branch of peace,
A hero in fair Britain's quarrel,
  A lover when her sorrows cease.

"Blessings on our royal Master,
  Till in death he lays him down,
Free from care and from disaster
  To assume a heavenly crown."

A number of young men and maidens now enter and surround the May-pole which has been placed in the center of the stage. At first the Puritan gazes with horror, but his countenance gradually changes to one of admiration. At last, unable to restrain his feelings longer, he breaks forth into a weird and hypocritical laugh while his feet join in the dance. As the merry dancers proceed, he shakes off his Puritan garb, underneath which is the stylish dress of the Cavalier of the Court, and with a royal diadem upon his brow, he stands before them as the restored Charles the Second.

This is a Cavalier conception of the exit of Puritanism from Virginia as well as from the mother country. It is true that no more is heard of him in politics or religion, and yet his influence in two particulars was abiding. The fundamental principle of Puritanism is the right of every soul to have direct access to God, and from him to receive religious light and authority. Hence the conscience of the individual becomes the sovereign arbiter. This principle grew out of the Reformation. Stripping the Reformation of its political trappings, this was its insistence. Roman Catholicism insisted that the individual should find God through the priest or pope, and accept hierarchical dicta as final authority. The Puritan's insistence was the right to think for himself. How did this affect his institutions? He could not introduce authority in his ecclesiasticism because it would be at variance with his faith. Hence the polity of his church was independent or presbyterial. He could not accept the doctrine of the divine right of kings in politics if he rejected the divine right of the pope; hence his political system must be democratic or republican in form.

These two influences were abiding in Virginia. Nonconformity in connection with the stern ideas held by the Scotch Covenanters, who later came into parts of the colony, had a most important bearing upon the final type of church worship and life. It is impossible to estimate the extent of this influence, and yet the fact that Virginia is low church to-day is significant. How far this struggle for religious toleration influenced the colony, later, it is quite impossible to estimate. The Puritan was the pioneer in this struggle. Because of him, and later because of Scotch Presbyterians of the same temper, the statute of Virginia for religious freedom was made possible. Jefferson was the champion of an influence that was recognized in the entire colony.

Puritan influence in the political life of Virginia did not pass away with a wave of the wand as pictured in the masque. There was the fundamental principle of local self-government growing out of this faith, and this led to a new conception of the rights of man. Political authority must rest upon the consent of the governed. Here in Virginia you find this thought so deeply seated, that autocracy was impossible as a permanent institution. Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 revealed to Governor Berkeley that the political spirit of Puritanism was not dead. And when the Revolution came one hundred years later, the Old Dominion fairly rang in its championship of this same political principle. Thus Puritanism in Virginia is one of the early factors to be reckoned with in both religion and politics.

IN MARYLAND

The movements of the Puritan and Scotch Covenanter colonies are the historical romances of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To them, however, it was not romance but stern necessity. When the Puritans were driven from Virginia during the days of the tyrannical Berkeley, they settled in Maryland on the invitation of Governor Stone, who was a Protestant from Virginia, and had been made governor of the new province with the stipulation attached to his oath of office that he was not to molest any Roman Catholic. It was a part of his plan to bring into Maryland five hundred British or Irish settlers. The flight of Durand and Bennett into his colony led him to enter into negotiations with them relative to the removal of the Puritans of Nansemond, Va. The governor was much pleased with the prospect, and believed that the entire number in Virginia could be persuaded to come. Therefore, an official invitation was extended, and with it a guaranty of the free exercise of their religion and local government, besides large tracts of land. It would seem from some accounts of the difficulties which occurred later, that the governor had exceeded his authority, and promised liberties which he could not make good. After considerable correspondence, however, the Virginia Puritans accepted his invitation, the deciding issue with them seeming to have been an act of the Assembly denouncing the execution of Charles I, and making it treason to utter a sentiment against the Stuart right to succession. They had already entered into correspondence with the Lord Proprietor of Maryland, but had not heard from him as to his confirmation of the promises of the governor, when the bold and defiant action of Berkeley hastened their decision and departure, and in the summer of 1649, Virginia's Cavalier governor congratulated himself that the state was at last to be free from these religious pests. From the old home to the new was a long and toilsome journey in those days, and it was nearly a year before all had reached their settlement in Maryland near the month of the Severn. On landing they significantly called it Providence, a name which was later given to the whole section of country. It was not long until there was a long line of plantations with log houses, in the midst of which was a small settlement similar to a New England town. In the town at Greenberry's point, they built their meeting-house, and revived again the political and religious ideals characteristic of the Puritan, whether he was found in New England, Maryland or the Barbados.

The colony soon had perfected its organization to a greater degree than had ever been known in Virginia. Many additions were being continually made to the colony from different quarters. In 1650, Robert Brooke, an influential and wealthy Puritan of England, was granted two thousand acres on the Patuxent River. Here he settled with a family of ten and about forty white indentured servants. He must have been a person of some authority and standing, as he was made commander of the county, and given feudal supremacy over his colony. They constituted a different settlement from that at Providence, resulting in varied ideals. Brooke, with autocratic power practically in his possession, became a dictator, while the system of local government in the other settlement distributed authority and made democracy. There was constant clashing of interests and open ruptures, many going finally from Brooke's colony over into the other. The Brooke colony finally lost its Puritan characteristics altogether and identified itself with the colony of St. Mary joining them on the other side.

The Puritans of Providence became influential with the officials, and the governor invited them to send burgesses to the Assembly. This they at first refused to do, giving as their reasons that it was their intention in removing to Maryland to found an independent community with local government, and thus be free from the strife and contentions which must necessarily exist when different parties were represented in an Assembly where each was striving for an advantage. Their experiences with Berkeley in Virginia were of recent memory, and they wished no more. Their ideal was to make a Puritan state upon the banks of the Chesapeake which should bear the name of Providence. But Governor Stone had a different notion. In a personal visit to the colony he finally persuaded them to send representatives, and George Puddington and William Cox were chosen. Mr. Cox was chosen speaker of the house and the Protestant elements in the colony believed that this presaged a happy day for them. The Assembly voted extra revenues for Lord Proprietor Baltimore. In these measures the Roman Catholics held aloof. The Providence settlement was made into a county and named for Anne Arundel, the lately deceased wife of Baltimore. Governor Stone had not had the sanction of Lord Baltimore for this advanced step, and yet it met with no disapproval. In this way the Puritans became citizens of Maryland and responsible to the provincial authority, and their dreams of a separate state vanished. We might have had fourteen, instead of thirteen, colonies if they had not yielded to the solicitations of Stone.

All persons receiving land in Maryland were compelled to acknowledge Baltimore as "Absolute Lord." This the Puritans refused to do, saying that such language was in the tone of omnipotence, and, furthermore, that Lord Baltimore himself was a subject of a Puritan government in England. The oath was modified by the Assembly without much difficulty at this time, but later became a source of discord. Governor Stone visited the county soon after the meeting and adjournment of the Assembly, and perfected its political organization, Mr. Lloyd being appointed commander and seven other men as justices, with any three of whom he could hold a court. This court was to have jurisdiction in all cases, and yet the accused had the right of an appeal in cases involving not less than two thousand pounds of tobacco. The commander could grant lands to new settlers within his jurisdiction, subject to the conditions of the plantations. After this organization, the Puritans withdrew from further participation in politics, being satisfied, apparently, that their government was sufficiently local in its character. To participate in the affairs of the province meant increased taxation and also relations with those with whom they desired no intercourse. The triumph of Cromwell in England and Ireland and the close sympathies of Baltimore with royalty they felt endangered his charter, and they did not wish to be involved when the end came; in which purpose they were right.

They were summoned to send burgesses to the Assembly to meet in 1651; but they sent a letter of declination instead. This refusal resulted in a long letter from Baltimore in which he spoke of their contumacious audacity in thus declaring local independence, asserting that there was no ground for their fears and that the consequences of such rebellious action must be severe from their true Lord and Proprietor. Nevertheless the suspicions of the Puritans were correct regarding the stability of his tenure, for Berkeley of Virginia, who was always a bigoted loyalist, had informed Charles II, then an exile, that Baltimore had given refuge to "all kinds of sectaries and schismatics and ill-affected persons, adherents to the rebels in England, who for this cause had been driven from Virginia," and for this reason Charles had revoked the charter of Baltimore.

The open espousal of the cause of the Stuarts led the Commonwealth of England to appoint commissioners to suppress all disaffection and compel Maryland and Virginia by force to accept their authority. After Berkeley had been suppressed in 1652, and a Puritan commonwealth established in Virginia, the commissioners, consisting of Clayborne, Bennett, Stagge and Denis, turned their attention to Maryland. On reaching Maryland there was an attempt at compromise with Governor Stone and his Council, but their proposals were rejected. Their proposition in brief was that the exisiting administration "should continue conforming themselves to the laws and commonwealth in point of government only, not infringing the Lord Baltimore's right." These terms being rejected, the commissioners organized a provisional government with Robert Brooke of Patuxent as president and six councilmen associated with him. The Puritans at Providence were not represented in this Council, but two of Stone's Council were retained. Three months later the consciences of Stone and his remaining councilors had become sufficiently elastic to accept the new order. They ignored their past loyalties to royalty and seemed to accept freely and fully the Commonwealth of England and its laws. Thus Maryland became a Puritan province, politically at least.

Thurloe, in his state papers, says that the commission from Parliament to these commissioners contained the following: "You shall cause and see all the several acts of Parliament against kingship and the house of lords to be received and published as also the acts for establishing the Book of Common Prayer and for subscribing to the engagement, you or any two of you, to administer an oath to the inhabitant or planter there to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England as it is now established without a king and house of lords." Maryland was now being administered in the light of this commission with Stone as governor.

On July 5th, 1652, five leaders of the Providence Colony, acting as a committee, met the Indians on the western shores of the Severn to conclude a treaty of peace. This is supposed to have occurred under the branches of a large poplar on the present site of Annapolis. The Puritans felt the need of this treaty as they were in the wilds surrounded by savages, without equipment for protection or ammunition. The treaty was scarcely concluded when the governor determined to make an advance against the Indians of the eastern shore, William Fuller, one of the peace commissioners, being appointed the leader of the expedition. The Puritans protested against this and refused to participate on the ground that it was an unwarranted attack on the Indians. The plan was abandoned, but the governor was wroth, and claimed that its failure was due to the disloyalty of the Puritans. His charges were answered, but the only result of this was the summary removal of Mr. Lloyd as the Commander of Providence and the beginning of a series of persecutions which finally led to the overthrow of Stone's government. In December, 1653, Governor Stone proclaimed that all persons in the colony should take the oath of loyalty to Lord Baltimore or forfeit their lands, a proclamation which was in direct violation of his agreement and which could mean nothing but trouble.

A meeting of Puritan freemen was held at their meeting-house, and Mr. Lloyd was made chairman. Petitions were addressed to Lord Baltimore and to the Council of State, but these were never answered. An appeal signed by seventy-one persons was also made to the commissioners who were then in Virginia, in which they said, after narrating their grievances, "Nor can we be persuaded in our consciences by any light of God or engagement upon us to take such an oath nor do we see by what lawful authority such an oath with such extreme penalties can by his Lordship be exacted of us who are free subjects of the Commonwealth of England and have taken the engagement to them." The commissioners' answer was "Simply obey the laws of the Commonwealth of England as true and loyal English citizens and that is all that can be desired or expected." Another petition from the Puritans on the Patuxent, signed by Richard Preston and sixty others, had brought a like reply. Governor Stone followed this by issuing writs and warrants in the name of the Lord Proprietor, ignoring the Commonwealth that had created his office. This high-handed action brought the commissioners from Virginia. War was the only alternative. Under the leadership of Bennett, the Puritans proceeded to St. Mary and captured it without resistance, after which Puritan supremacy was, for the second time, acknowledged in Maryland. Stone gave up his office, and a new government was formed modeled after the Council of State. Of the new council four were from Providence, three from Patuxent and three from St. Mary, the Roman Catholics being defranchised as well as all others who had borne arms against Parliament.

When the Assembly convened in October, it changed the name Anne Arundel to Providence, and thus it remained until 1676 when it disappeared. The Assembly also affirmed again the disfranchisement of Roman Catholics, and passed a law that all preexisting debts in the colony were valid. Governor Stone in the meantime was making protests, and submission to the new order was not universal. Stone entered into a communication with Lord Baltimore reciting in full the doings in the colony, the envoy returning in the fall of 1654 with letters from him which recognized Stone as governor and his council the legal governing body. This authority led Stone to make preparations for war in order to retake his office. He sent an armed force of twenty men to the home of Richard Preston to secure the records, which were taken with little difficulty. When the Puritan Council sitting at the Severn sent a messenger asking by what authority he had done this, he intimated that Cromwell had given his sanction. Preparations for war were made, and exaggerated reports of his strength and the numbers following him spread over the colony. A deputation was despatched to him with the following instructions. If he would guarantee their demands the whole difficulty would be adjusted and his authority would be recognized. They asked that he give them assurances that the following articles would be obeyed:—

1st. Liberty of English subjects.
2d. Indemnification for late troubles.
3d. Liberty to leave the Province if they desired.

If these were not granted, they said, "We are resolved to commit ourselves into the hands of God and rather die like men than be made slaves." Their communication fell on deaf ears. There was no disposition on the part of the governor to do anything but to teach these revolutionists a lesson which would not soon be forgotten, for he was now confident of victory. The arbiter was to be the sword, and the Puritan was not idle after his last effort for peace had proven a failure.

The Puritans seized an English bark and a small New England fishing boat in the name of the commonwealth, and this was to constitute their fleet in the impending struggle. They came together on the plantations of Fuller and Durand near their meeting-house where they prepared for the struggle, spending one whole night after the preparations in prayer.

Stone had two hundred and fifty men composed of a few Cavaliers, roughs and those devoted to royalty. He had counted on the help of the English bark, and all unaware of the fact that it was now manned by Puritans, he pushed across the river with his boats directly toward it. They came on in their happiest and most hilarious mood until within a short distance when a gun was fired into their midst which caused alarm to spread among them. Amid cursing and reviling they pushed out of the way and anchored, after pulling their boats up a small stream a short distance. Here was an opportunity not to be missed. The fishing boat, well-armed, was placed at the mouth of the stream to prevent escape and the next morning the Puritans crossed the river and proceeded up above the company of Stone's, thus surrounding them without their knowing it. It was a splendid trap.

There are very few details known of the battle. The Puritans began the attack. Stone was ready for their coming, his confident company having banners flying and drums beating. Martial spirit was rife among them, and they were eager for the fray. On Stone's main flag were the words, "Hey for St. Mary's and wives for us all," which were typical of the Cavalier influences in the new world.

The Puritans, on the other hand, were solemn, but no less in earnest, for they were fighting for their liberties. One night had been spent in prayer and with God on their side they must not yield. On their standard was the motto, "In the name of God fall on." There were no drums, no rowdyism, no martial music, but in their places were humility, prayer and a grim determination to win.

In the contest Stone was defeated with a loss of fifty killed or wounded, while nearly all the rest were taken prisoners. The Puritan loss was six killed. Many of the prisoners were condemned, but not all of the executions took place, though three men were actually hanged. The Puritans were lenient considering the conditions and the time, and pardons were numerous for those who had participated in the expedition with Stone. Thirty-seven were fined while others were pardoned on condition of returning stolen goods, building pillories and ducking-stools. This was the culmination of the power and influence of Stone in the colony as well as with the Lord Proprietor. In July, 1656, Josias Fendall was commissioned Lieutenant-Governor and a council of five, consisting of Stone's allies, was appointed to cooperate with him.

Maryland had two governments. The Puritan Council was in authority, and three months later Fendall was arrested, but later released on his taking the oath of obedience and good behavior. His attempt to stir up the colony by arraigning sect against sect and engaging the Indians in controversy, while at the same time Lord Baltimore was negotiating with the Puritan commissioners in England, is a good example of the methods and dishonesties employed in attempts at government in the colonies. In England the negotiations had been referred by Cromwell to his Lords Commissioners. In May, 1656, their report was made. It contained two particulars: —

1st. The right of the Proprietor to the Province.

2d. Concessions to the Puritans in the nature of guaranties.

These had been their sole contention before the battle of the Severn. In November, 1657, Lord Baltimore signed the agreement, which was then sent to Maryland, where Fendall read it to his council, February 27th, 1658. A joint meeting of the representatives of the two governments was then called, and met March 22d, 1658. Their first meeting since the Severn was held in a large hall where the rival governments sat and listened. After reading the report Captain Fuller interposed some minor objections on the part of the Puritans. Three amendments were offered which had for their object the shifting of blame. The Puritans contended that they were not entirely at fault and were not now surrendering. Two of the amendments were adopted, and the document was then signed by all present, thus ending Puritan government as such in the province.

The years which followed brought peace and plenty. The Puritans preserved their traditions and ideals, and enjoyed the confidence of all their neighbors. During these peaceful days another company of people moved in among them who were destined to modify not only their life and customs, but also those of the entire province. The Puritans in Maryland unlike their brethren in Massachusetts welcomed the Quakers into their midst after they had been expelled from Virginia and had sought refuge in Maryland. Military service was required of all men in the colony, and this the Quaker refused to render. In 1660 John Everett had been enlisted for an Indian expedition, but refused to go, pleading conscientious scruples. He was ordered to be tried, and "in the meantyme the said Everett to be kept in chaynes and heate his own bread." They also refused to take the oath when appointed to civil office and this led to friction and removal. But still they became influential in the very heart of Puritan influences. George Fox is said to have preached among them in one of the meeting-houses built by Puritans.

Lord Baltimore never became kindly disposed to his Puritan settlers. After the conspiracy of Fendall, who attempted to wrest all authority from him and failed, a general order of pardon was sent to the colony, in which is found the following reference: "Yea if there be need you may proceed against them by Court Martial Law and upon no terms pardon Fendall so much as for life. No, if you can do it without hazarding the Province to pardon so much as for life any of those that sat in the Council of War at Ann Arundel and concurred in the sentence of death against Mr. Eltonhead or other of any honest friends murdered then and there and who are engaged in this second rebellion." Captain Fuller, the Puritan, was outlawed, published as violent and incendiary and compelled to live in seclusion.

The plantations of Providence, although increasing as the years passed, were unprotected and seem to have suffered much from marauding Indians. Mr. Lloyd writing in 1662 said, "Nightly whooping and shooting is heard, and cattle coming home frightened." It was because of these difficulties that homes began to be built at the mouth of the river so that the people would be nearer each other. Here there was a Puritan meeting-house, and here was the beginning of the future city of Annapolis. In 1694, Severn received the name Annapolis, at which time it was reported "as being the richest and most populous county of the

Province." St. Mary's, after the removal of the capital, soon gave way to tobacco fields.

Puritan history from this time on is less and less distinct and soon is lost altogether.

What did these Puritans give to Maryland?

It had been the purpose of the Proprietors to establish in Maryland the old manorial life. The province was divided into manorial holdings but only two or three were ever fully established with their courts of justice. The old manor of England consisted of several thousand acres of land upon which lived the serfs, who sustained a peculiar relation to the soil. They were not slaves and yet they could not leave the land. They were chained to the ground by the weight of centuries. The manor was divided into three large fields in which three crops were cultivated. Week's work and boon day were the services they owed the lord, besides certain presents and special services at stated seasons. Courts were established on the manor in which all power was in the hands of the few. The attempt to establish the old manor in Maryland was one of the economic struggles of autocracy against democracy.

The Puritan in Maryland emphasized the essentials of democracy. He believed in conscience as his guide in religion and insisted on local self-government. Both of these were in conflict with autocratic notions. And after the Quakers found a refuge among them, with their advanced notions of brotherhood, their contribution to democracy became even more marked. The Puritan passed, but the battles he fought, and the principles for which he contended have become one of the glorious heritages of that great commonwealth.

In South Carolina

A passenger on one of the first ships landing colonists at Charleston, S. C., was described by an Established Churchman as being "an arrant knave and ignorant preacher." It is quite probable that this epithet had reference to a Puritan minister, as it is a historical certainty that there were Puritans among the first settlers, old Captain Sayle, who landed the settlers at Oyster Point, just above the present site of the city, being one.

There were no less than three distinct Puritan communities in South Carolina, — one known in South Carolina as Wappetaw, originally coming from Massachusetts, had intended landing at Charleston, but during a storm was shipwrecked on the upper coast. The Indians treated them kindly, and they made a settlement naming it and their church, which lasted until 1876, Wappetaw. The history of the old Dorchester Colony, which is seventeen miles above Charleston, will be told in the story of Puritanism in Georgia. The old church of these people was still standing at the time of the earthquake in 1886.

The story of the Puritans in Charleston is intimately connected with their church, there being very few records, except those of their church, to show the dividing line between them and other residents. The early settlers of Charleston were composed of Englishmen of the Established Church, Frenchmen of the Huguenot Church, Scotch of the Kirk, and Englishmen of the Baptist Church, the Dissenters being in the majority. The old First Baptist Church, the Huguenot Church, St. Philip's Church, can all date their history previous to the year 1700, all of them probably having originated between the years 1680 and 1690.

The Independent Church was made up of Puritans from old England and New England, besides the Scotch and Scotch-Irish. Their pastors came from England or from New England, and they have a record of these before 1700, among the number being the name of John Cotton. A letter addressed to Rev. Drs. Guyse, Jennings and Doddridge from the community in 1750 says that "upwards of sixty years ago we have been a Church." One of the oldest histories of the church says that they had been there from the beginning of the history of the city, even going back to the settlement at Oyster Point.

The same history also says, "The early records of the Church were lost during the great hurricane in the fall of 1713. They were at the time in possession of the Rev. Mr. Livingston, who lived in a wooden house on White Point near the present locality of our beautiful White Point Battery and Garden at the foot of East Bay Street. The violence of the hurricane was such as to beat off the weather boards of the building, and carry away the book which contained the church record, and the furniture on the lower floor of the house — a statement founded on the authority of the late venerable Josiah Smith, formerly a Deacon and long the Treasurer of the Church, who died February 12th, 1826, at the advanced age of ninety-four years, he having received the information from old Peter Dart, a black man, who in 1713 waited on Mr. Livingston and narrowly escaped with his life from the ravages and perils of the tempest." This accounts for the absence of records previous to that time.

In sending a call, in 1724, to Boston, Massachusetts, for a minister, there appear the names of Matthews, Carmichael, Fraser, Ballantine, Ellis, Massey, Barey, Morris, Townsend, Varieor, Scott, Plummer, Jeffords, Bedon, Fladger, Bohanan, Barksdale, Mellins, Jones, Holton, Wells, Simmons, Eveleigh, Van Velsan, Peronnean, Legare, Bellamy, Holmes, Milner, Saltus, Campbell, Moody, Brewton, Ducat, and Mariner. The great majority of these are English while some are French or Scotch. There were never any sectarian rivalries in Charleston between these Dissenters, for all agreed that they were essentially standing for the same principles. This would probably account for the appearance of French and Scottish names in the Puritan Church. There must have been a considerable growth in the community between the years 1724 and 1734. Beginning in 1731, the Scotch element felt strong enough to withdraw and finally was able to occupy another church in 1734, making two strong parishes in later years.

The original church was about forty feet square. It was rebuilt in 1729, and speaking of it at the time, they described it "as having by long time gone to decay and become very old and out of repair." This would indicate that at least one generation had passed away by this time. At this time there were one hundred and four subscribers, giving the sum £8322 and 15s, and a little later supplementing this by £324.

In the pew assignments at this time appear the following names in addition to those already given: Charles Pinckney, Samuel Fley, Daniel Crawford, William Worden, Thomas Cooper, John Dart, John and Edmund Atkin, William Cleland, Benjamin Savage, Mary Owen, George Hisket, Andrew Allen, Thomas Lamboll, Othniel Beale, Henry Livingston. Neither the call nor pew assignments would necessarily determine the number of people in the community identified with their interest, for there were those who did not own pews.

Their old church in the annals of the city has been spoken of frequently as the "White Meeting." "The New England Meeting" in the early days was a term also used to designate it, and later, in the nineteenth century, it began to be known as "Circular." "The White Meeting" was a term in use because of the color of the exterior of the building; "The New England Meeting" because Puritans in coming from that section to Charleston joined this communion; while the word "Circular" came into use on account of the architectural features of the famous building erected in 1804.

Their democratic character is evidenced by a vote which was passed in 1750, by which "the power of nominating, suspending, or displacing pastors is to be vested in such freemen as are members for the time being in full communion by consent of the pastor and members of the church who had contributed to the support thereof for at least two years, last past, a majority of two-thirds of such supporting members being necessary in case of dispute, either to nominate, suspend or remove a pastor; and whenever an assistant should be judged necessary to the pastor, such other freemen as had been supporters for two years, then last past, are admitted to vote for and choose such an assistant by a plurality of votes." This spirit has always characterized it whether it was a struggle in the church or for the state.

Their relations to their negroes is also worthy of notice. These were given an assignment in the church, the privilege of membership and communion, and the best religious counsel and instruction. The result of this was a class of negroes superior in knowledge and deportment. It has been customary in the North to emphasize the brutal character of slavery, and there were instances, no doubt. But a close view will convince any candid student that freedom has been far more brutal to the average negro than was slavery. There is no evidence of any brutalizing effect upon the characters of the Puritans. A study of the lives of many of these men, in the light of the epitaphs written of them as well as from contemporaneous sources, reveals a sincere Christian life in all their relations. The epitaph placed on a marble slab in the church in memory of one of them reads thus: —

"By this Church, this monument is consecrated
to the memory of
Josiah Smith Esq.
Her eldest Deacon and Treasurer
Who with fidelity, munificence and
Exemplary piety, having executed these
Offices for half a century,
Peacefully fell asleep in Jesus
On the 12th of February, 1826, in his 95th year.
In the life of this patriarch, shone with
Steady light whatever exemplifies and
Adorns the Christian character,
His principles of Religion were fixed and steady
But unostentatious and tempered with liberality.
He was meek in conduct, conciliating in manners,
Industrious in business, conscientious in his
Dealings, charitable to the Poor, and in what
Concerned his country, Firm and Patriotic.
Of this Church he was a zealous and beneficent
Patron, dedicating, throughout the course of
His long life, his Purse, His Counsel, his Labors
And his bright example,
To its spiritual growth and secular prosperity.
To the great cause of American Independence
He early devoted himself and all that
Was dear to him,
And tho' severely tried by Captivity
Imprisonment and a Persecuting Exile
At St. Augustine
His confidence in his God, and Invincible
Constancy to his country, triumphed
Over them all.
For Instruction and Example to Posterity
And to honor the Memory of a man so worthy
This Monument is dedicated."

Frequently on these headstones you will find the words, "Kind Master," indicating his relation to his slaves. The above is not exceptional, and neither is it an exaggeration. A study of this man's life reveals the temper and spirit here eulogized. This will serve the purpose of showing that slavery was not entirely in the hands of wicked and ferocious men who brutalized their characters in its traffic.

This eulogy also serves another purpose, in that it mentions this man's contribution to the War for Independence. It is generally conceded by historians that the Revolution was carried forward to a successful culmination by a minority in the colonies, all agreeing that only parts of the South were ever enthusiastic. But this community staked everything upon its success. Evidence for this is found not only on the monuments, but also in the treatment which they received when the British captured Charleston. Their church building was wrecked, the people banished, and their services discontinued. The members were the real backbone of the Revolution, assisted by the Scotch-Irish. During the British occupation of the city they used the church building for a hospital and later for a storehouse. A historian, in detailing the circumstances, says: "When the British vandals evacuated the city, December 14th, 1782, they left nothing but the shell of the ancient edifice — the pulpit and pews having been taken down and destroyed and the empty enclosure used first as a hospital for the sick, and afterwards as a storehouse of provisions for the royal army. Even the right of sepulture in the cemetery was denied to the families of worshipers who were in Charleston after her capitulation as prisoners of war.

About thirty-eight heads of these families had been exiled, partly to St. Augustine in 1780, and partly to Philadelphia in 1781. The exiles in Philadelphia, even while the royal army yet occupied Charleston, anticipating a speedy departure of the foe, took provisional measures for the supply and recognition of their church as soon as it should be delivered from thraldom. The remnant in Charleston began from the time of the evacuation to devise means for the repair of their dilapidated and desecrated temple, and a subscription was opened for that purpose. The repairs were soon completed at a cost of $6000, and the renovated edifice opened and consecrated anew to divine worship December 11th, 1783, with an excellent and appropriate sermon, from the recently arrived pastor, the Rev. William Hollinshead, D.D., this very day appointed by Congress as a day of Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the blessings of peace and independence."

The Puritans were the sufferers, as they had been the leaders, in this struggle. Their story in Charleston, and that of the Scotch-Irish at Williamsburg, is worthy of a larger place in the revolutionary annals of the South. In fact it would not be far wrong to assert that the English and Scotch-Irish Puritans bore the brunt of the entire struggle which resulted in American Independence.

That these people were not only among the leading, but also the well-to-do, people of the city is attested by the meeting-house which they constructed in the year 1804, which was probably the finest church in the South and among the best in the whole country. After the Revolution, they had not only resurrected their old meeting-house but had built another. Within fifteen years all the pews were taken in both and plans were begun for the construction of a new building on the Meeting Street site. On the 13th of February, 1804, it was resolved to build a new brick church of a circular form, with an eighty-eight-feet interior diameter. The arguments in favor of this were: that it was the least expensive mode of enclosing any requisite area of a church; that it admitted of such a location of the pulpit and pews as brought the whole audience more completely in view of the preacher, and also the preacher in view of the hearers; and that it required less exertion on the part of the minister, besides being favorable for distinct hearing. After much deliberation the plan was adopted. During the two years which were necessary in tearing down the old and building the new, the people worshiped in South Carolina Hall. They had planned on spending $60,000 for the new edifice, but it cost much more than that. The pews were sold at auction, omitting the northern half of the gallery, which was given to the four hundred negro attendants. It was finally agreed that sixty pews should be sold to the highest bidders, and afterward the surplus should be assigned on a valuation to the former worshipers, who, in proportion to their respective claims as contributors to the old church, should have a priority of choice, a title in fee simple being given for each pew. The total amount received by this means netted nearly fifty thousand dollars at this time, with an annual income in rental of nearly four thousand dollars. Other pews which had been reserved were sold, and thus the costly edifice was paid for and the great church was dedicated in 1806.

In this they worshiped for nearly fifty years without much change, except that the community grew larger and more prosperous. In the year 1852, the Honorable Henry Pinckney brought before the corporation the propriety of an extensive repair and improvement of the then famous Circular edifice, so as to insure its safety and durability, and render it an architectural ornament to the city. He succeeded in enlisting a majority of the members and supporters in favor of the proposition. From the Clergy Society they secured a grant of eighteen thousand dollars. Not only repairs were made, but also alterations. On the exterior, the portico, which should have been a monument as well as a useful appendage, was unsightly owing to the disregard of all proportion. With the moldings of the Doric order, the strongest, simplest and grandest of all the orders, the columns rose with a lightness and weakness in assimilation to the Corinthian order and set at defiance all laws of architecture. On measurement it was found that by adding to the diameter of the columns and fluting them, the correct proportions of the Corinthian style could be obtained. This being done produced a column of the Roman Corinthian order enriched with acanthus leaf capitals and medallions which stood forth in full beauty and perfect proportion. Another feature in the exterior which demanded change was the steeple. The space of its ascending lines was rudely broken by unseemly excrescences, plainly visible even to the casual wayfarer. In correcting this, the exterior projecting galleries were removed and balustrades placed between were enriched with ornamental work of appropriate design. The whole exterior was also recolored in imitation of stone, and the lantern on the summit rendered a sightly object. There were more changes in the interior. The high, flat dome seemed always to menace impending destruction to the assembled congregation, and the first question was not, Why does it not rise? but, Why does it not fall? To relieve its heaviness and to give it an air of lightness, and thus remove a constant source of apprehension, ribs were run, diminishing and converging toward the center, thus breaking the heavy monotony of the ceiling and adding much by false perspective to the apparent height. Another bad feature of the ceiling was also rectified. The interior cornice at the foot of the dome was broken by every window in the gallery, which added much to the apparent weakness of the interior. This was removed and a new cornice run over the heads of the windows, which, being unbroken, seemed fully capable of supporting and binding together the ribs which fell down upon it. The interior of the lantern at the summit of the dome was likewise improved by being surrounded at its base with a beautiful chandelier of elegant design. From this point the interior of the church was to be lighted by means of a new and improved combination of gas-burners readily lit below by means of a single jet aways ignited.

The galleries were completely remodeled. The floor of the church was raised towards the doorway to place the pews on an inclined plane, thus giving the large congregation an uninterrupted view of the minister. New and elegant pews replaced the plain ones, and an enriched platform and pulpit, with lifting chandeliers of classic design, gave a noble elegance to the whole. Aisles were diminished in number and increased in size. A carpet was placed on the floor and cushions in the pews. The old pulpit was removed and a new one took its place, in keeping with the rich and luxurious character of the whole.

The steeple was completed in advance of the building in 1838, and from base to ball was 182 feet. It had been common in Charleston in referring to it to say, —

"Charleston is a pious place,
And full of pious people,
They built a church in Meeting Street
But could not raise the steeple."

This saying was no longer applicable.

The historian in referring to the completed structure says, "It is of beautiful and tasteful design, and to the rites of religion have been given a temple worthy of classic days, and to our city a noble and architectural monument and trophy befitting her coronation as Queen of the South."

I have related the story of this Puritan church building for a purpose. Beginning with a plain structure, painted white, in which simplicity was the principal characteristic, the members were finally in 1853 in possession of one of the finest buildings in the South. This is a fair illustration of the evolution of their life and influence in South Carolina. Like a majestic tree the life of these people developed from a tiny seed until its shade and fruit were famous in the commonwealth.

What has been the influence of these Puritans in the life of South Carolina? Puritanism has possessed the same temper and spirit that it has elsewhere. It has been the steadying progressive influence, championing causes with a tenacity that refused consideration to anything but willing obedience; it has grasped with clearness the idea of liberty, and inspired its children with the highest ambitions of reform; it has emphasized education and Christianity as fundamental in life, and devotion to them has always been its characteristic. There may have been mistakes and intolerance, but the moral grandeur of the spirit can never be questioned.

South Carolina had the Church of England as its state church from 1706. Although Dissenters were in the majority, establishment was made possible by fraud. Other ecclesiastical organizations were permitted, but only on condition that they supported themselves. Support of the dissenting church to which one might belong did not absolve him from support of the Established Church. Through the influence of the Puritans and other Dissenters, the pastor of the Puritan church was elected a member of the common house of the Assembly. The Rev. William Tennett was a man of learning, eloquence and piety, who had been called to South Carolina after a pastorate in Connecticut. When the American Revolution began, it so thoroughly absorbed his capacities as to give a new direction to his pursuits, as he comprehended speedily the important changes that the Revolution would produce, and engaged in the support of it with all his energies. His ardent zeal and distinguished talents made him so popular as a leader that he was first elected a member of the Provincial Congress and afterwards of the common house of the Assembly. Such was the urgency of public affairs that frequently a meeting was held on Sunday for the despatch of business. In the different hours of the same day, Mr. Tennett could be heard both in his church and the state house, addressing different audiences with equal earnestness on their spiritual and temporal interests. He considered the success of the Revolution as intimately connected with the religion, liberty and happiness of his country. He wrote anonymously for newspapers, rousing the people to a proper sense of their political interests while their liberties were endangered. One of his public addresses on the justice and policy of putting all religious denominations on an equal footing can be found in the library of the Charleston Historical Society. Strongly impressed with the idea that all men had a right to free and equal religious liberty, he could not consent to receive toleration as a legal boon from those whose natural rights were not superior to his. One or two sentences reveal his powerful and persuasive eloquence. "Yield to the mighty current of American freedom and glory," he said, "and let our state be inferior to none on this wide continent in the liberality of its laws and the happiness of its people. Men of true sentiment will scorn political where they cannot enjoy religious liberty." The triumph came, and in the year 1777 equal religious rights were granted the Dissenters of the colony. Disestablishment never took place in South Carolina. All churches accepting a certain creed were made state churches, but without taxation for their support. The following is the creed to which the church must subscribe, and it still remains the creed of the Independent Congregational Church of Charleston, S. C.: —

1. There is one eternal God, and a future state of rewards and punishments.
2. That God is to be publicly worshiped.
3. That the Christian religion is the true religion.
4. That the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are divinely inspired and are the rule of faith and practice.
5. That it is lawful, and the duty of every man, being thereunto lawfully called, to bear witness unto the truth.

Another story, in which these Puritans figure conspicuously, relates to the ancestry of the mother of President Roosevelt. In the year 1699, a company of Englishmen attempted a settlement on the Isthmus of Darien. The settlement proved a failure, and at the end of a year the colonists set sail, intending to return home. While passing the Carolina coast the ship stopped at Charleston for supplies. The church of the Puritans was in need of a pastor, as John Cotton had just resigned, and hearing that there was a Scotch minister aboard this ship, they sent a committee inviting him to spend the Sabbath in the town. The invitation was accepted. On Sabbath afternoon a hurricane occurred, the ship went down in Charleston harbor and all on board were lost. The minister was then invited to become the pastor of the church, and remained in its service from 1700 to 1704. One of his daughters married a young Dissenter of the colony by the name of Bulloch, and they moved over into Georgia. This was the beginning of the family of the mother of Theodore Roosevelt in the United States. A county in Georgia was afterward named after this family, and Bulloch's Creek and Bulloch's Church were familiar names to the people of South Carolina. Over Bulloch's Church, in the first half of the nineteenth century, there presided a preacher who was the leader of an anti-slavery movement, the influence of which was felt in South Carolina, North Carolina, and in other localities in the South. One historian, speaking of the Rev. Archibald Stobo, says: — "He possessed talents which made him conspicuous and respected. To his treasure of knowledge and excellent capacity for instruction he added uncommon activity and diligence in the discharge of the various duties of his sacred function."

In this same line there is another president, quite as forceful, and relatively as influential, as the one who now occupies the executive chair of the nation. The visitor at the Georgia Historical Society in Savannah will be attracted by a large painting adorning one of its walls. It is the picture of Archibald Bulloch, the first president of the state. He was born in 1730, in Charleston, S. C., studied law, and after admission to the bar settled in Georgia. In the year 1772 he was made speaker of the House of Commons, and in 1775 was elected a delegate to the Provincial Congress, and from there was sent as a delegate to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. Official duties calling him back to Georgia, he was thus prevented from signing the Declaration of Independence. He was the first person in Georgia to receive a copy of that document, which he read publicly in Savannah. He was chosen the first republican president of the state, May 1st, 1776, and held this office until his death, February 5th, 1777.

In private life he was exemplary; in public life he was patriotic and fervent. As you study the portrait of this colonial patriot, who led his colony through the times which tried men's souls, and who stands preeminent as a political figure in the colonial days of Georgia, you instinctively feel that the present and varying fortunes of our country are safe in the hands of one who now manifests similar traits of character.

The name of Rev. John Newton may be found as the author of many of the hymns we sing in our churches. At one time he was a slave-trader plying a ship between the coasts of Liberia and South Carolina. Having a cargo of slaves in Charleston for sale, he incidentally visited the "Old Circular Church" to hear the Puritan minister. The sermon seemed to appeal to him, and he began to pray, for his life had been reckless and sinful. In a letter written in 1763, fifteen years after the incident, he used this language: "Almost every day (referring to the time and incident) when business would permit I used to retire into the woods and field, and I trust I began to taste the sweets of communion." Those who are familiar with his life-story know that these prayers offered in the woods of South Carolina were the means of saving him to a ministry of the gospel in London, and also made him one of the well-known hymn-writers of his country.

One of the pastors of these people was the Rev. William Hutson, who died in the year 1761. He had come over from England with George Whitefield in 1740, officiating at the Orphans' House in Georgia, then in the Dissenting church at Stony Creek, Prince William's Parish, S. C. In 1757 he was called to Charleston. He was a Puritan of the Puritans; as a preacher he was eloquent; as a Christian he was catholic and exemplary. One of his daughters was married to the unfortunate Col. Isaac Hayne. "On the fourth day of July, 1814, fifty-three years after the death of Mr. Hutson, and only a few yards from where he statedly preached, his great-grandson, Robert Y. Hayne, inheriting the genius and eloquence of his venerable ancestor, delivered an oration on the anniversary of the Independence of the United States, which for correct patriotic sentiment, for thoughts that breathe and words that burn, and for forcible elocution, has seldom been equalled and rarely if ever surpassed by anything on the same occasion." So wrote a contemporaneous historian, and yet most people have called Robert Y. Hayne a Cavalier. This was the Hayne who debated with Webster in the United States Senate, representing the later eloquence of Southern Puritanism, as Webster represented it from New England. He was the incarnation of the ideals of South Carolina. Born November 10th, 1791, he studied law with Langdon Cleves, and was admitted to the bar in 1812. After serving in the war for a short time he was elected a member of the State Legislature, where he distinguished himself for eloquence and patriotic fervor. He was chosen speaker of the House, and later became attorney-general. In 1832 he was elected to the United States Senate, where he displayed great abilities. He was an opponent of a protective tariff system, and many of his ablest speeches deal with this issue. In 1830 occurred the famous debate between Hayne and Webster, in the course of which he argued the constitutional right of secession. Two years later he was chairman of a committee in his home state which reported the celebrated ordinance of nullification. He was then chosen governor. When Andrew Jackson denounced the nullification acts, Hayne replied defiantly, and made preparation for resistance. At this juncture Henry Clay came forward with a compromise measure which averted the danger, and the next South Carolina convention repealed the ordinances of nullification. Hayne was then made mayor of Charleston, and after his term of office retired from politics, and became president of a railroad system. He died in 1839. Hawthorne describes him as "an able, versatile and charming man, eloquent, winning, and graceful, harmonious, nimble in the dance, entertaining at the table, and persuasive and impressive in the Senate. Hayne was the most refined type of the Southern gentleman and man of honor." It is not to be supposed that the man of the South with Puritan blood in his veins should be different from the generally accepted standards of his section. In fact, the characteristics so often ascribed to the Cavalier are just what you find among the Puritans and their descendants.

If you should ask those in position to know who was the greatest preacher produced by the South, the answer would be Dr. B. M. Palmer of New Orleans. For half a century he was, beyond a question, one of the most commanding personalities of the section. What Henry Ward Beecher was to the North, that Benjamin M. Palmer was to the South. I think his influence, if anything, was wider, for although Beecher was regarded as the greatest preacher in the North, yet he did not touch the life of his section as vitally nor mold its politics on the principles of religion as did Dr. Palmer. Beecher was a preacher of power, a prophet incarnating the ideals of progress and human liberty, and in that he was preeminent. Dr. Palmer was a solid rock of conservatism, and stood out as the Gibraltar of the institutions of his people. They believed him, and trusted him, because they regarded him as the mouthpiece of eternal verities. Dr. Palmer's influence in the early days of the Confederacy was as wide as the section. He and Beecher had been educated together at Amherst, but they were far apart in life and ideals. Dr. Palmer was a rebel to the end. His majestic character knew no defeat. His spirit was Puritan through and through. The mighty eloquence of the man, his rugged character, his vision of the Almighty, his unyielding faith in the verities of the Scripture, his intense devotion and irreproachable personality — all combined to make him one of the greatest preachers of the last century. He was beyond doubt a typical representative of the later eloquence of Southern Puritanism. He was born in Charleston, S. C., and reared in the old Puritan Church, where one of his ancestors had a long and honored pastorate and another was a clerk of the congregation for thirty-nine years.

We have sometimes thought that the war between the States represented the Puritan on the one hand and the Cavalier on the other. But the deeper and more significant fact is that this war represented in a large measure the opposing convictions of Puritanism.

One of the prominent and influential families among these people was that of Landgrave Thomas Smith. He had been governor of the Province in 1693, and the official document from George II of England is in possession of one of the descendants who now lives in Charleston. It is claimed that he introduced rice culture into the United States after experiments in his garden. One of his grandsons, born in Charleston in 1704, was the first native to obtain a degree from college. This young man after his graduation from college ministered to a congregation for a short time in the Bermudas, from whence he was called to his native state. He became the pastor of the Puritan congregation, remaining as such for twenty years. When Rev. George Whitefield came to Charleston and was forbidden to preach in the Episcopal churches, Mr. Smith opened his church and championed his cause in a sermon from the words of Elihu, "I said, Hearken to me; I also will show mine opinion."

These people were interested in education. They helped to found, and for many years to support, a theological seminary, besides making contributions to Princeton, Yale and Andover. They organized the Charleston Bible Society, which is six years older than the American Bible Society, and but six years younger than the British and Foreign Bible Society. They organized the Charleston Port Society, which has done mission work for more than a century among the seamen of the world. They also started the Sunday-school movement in South Carolina.

The contributions to the Revolution can scarcely be estimated. And their descendants were no less patriotic when, in 1860, South Carolina called for their services. At the beginning of the war between the States they had about six hundred white people and over three hundred colored communicants. At the close of the war only about two hundred of the white communicants could be found, and only about one hundred of the colored people returned. Their famous Circular Church, built in 1804, repaired and redecorated in 1853, was burned to the ground in 1861, when a fire swept through that portion of the city carrying devastation in its path. But the Meeting Street site, with its more modern and circular church, is still there, and the visitor in historic Charleston can well visit this shrine, which meant so much to the early life and struggles of that colony.

In North Carolina

It is not claimed that English Puritans were found in large numbers in North Carolina; although it may be said that the life and civilization of the colony were molded by the Scotch-Irish, who possessed the Puritan temper and spirit, yet there were English Puritans. Wheeler says that in 1702 the following classes were found, "Quakers, Presbyterians, Lutherans and Independents." This was before those larger migrations had entered the colony. Most historians in giving the story of North Carolina begin with the settlement of old Captain Sayle, who was a Puritan. But this settlement properly belongs to South Carolina, for it was located near the present site of Charleston. It is not quite accurate to include the beginnings of South Carolina in the history of the "Old North State."

Foote in his history of North Carolina says, "When the Puritans were driven from Virginia some eminently pious people settled along the seaboard, safe from foreign invasion and free from the domestic oppression of intolerant laws and bigoted magistrates. Next to these were the emigrants from the West Indies and from England, who preferred the advantages offered by this uninhabited country to those of a more populous state." Governor Berkeley, in his correspondence with Charles II, expressly says that the hated sect in power in England had been driven from Virginia, and some had taken refuge in North Carolina, while the larger part had removed within the bounds of Maryland. It is not unreasonable to suppose also that Captain Sayle, the Puritan of the sea, had brought some Puritans from the West Indies to North Carolina, and even to the other colonies, as he was in constant communication with them. When Governor Berkeley was persecuting the Puritans in Virginia, Captain Sayle tried to persuade them to go to the West Indies. In the old records, also, we find that the pastors of the Puritan communities in this section were frequently called from some of the Southern islands, where some of them had been engaged in missionary work. There were many English Puritans and Scotch Covenanters in those islands. In the Ozarks I met an interesting old lady. When asked about her ancestry, she said that they had originally moved there from North Carolina, and that her family had all been Puritans. She remembered hearing her grandfather tell how his father had to hide his Bible in the times of Charles II and how their Puritan minister was not allowed to conduct services — the persecutions finally leading them to come to America.

The English Puritan in North Carolina, probably because of the fewness of the numbers, did not make a strong impression upon the colony. He readily assimilated with the Scotch Covenanter, and was soon lost in that mighty stream which has made North Carolina rich in great deeds and heroic achievements. These two influences are almost inseparable in considering our Southern life. In the old "Circular Church," Charleston, S. C., the Scotch joined with the Puritans, retaining that relationship until 1731, when they withdrew to organize another independent church. There are many Scotch names among the Puritans of Midway, Ga., and in the old Presbyterian church at Williamsburg, S. C., you find names that had been at Midway. Puritanism in the South is inseparably connected with Presbyterianism, although some few churches retained their independent polity.

It is to be remembered, also, that there were even closer bonds of union. When James I began peopling Ulster County, Ireland, he selected men not only from Scotland but also from the north of England. While the predominant sentiment in Ulster was for the Covenant yet there was a strong Puritan and independent feeling. These two so nearly agreed that Archbishop Usher felt that it would be unwise to disturb them. Many meeting-houses existed among them and the two peoples lived and worshiped together. This Puritan sentiment was largely augmented when, in after years, the remnants of Cromwell's army settled there. When the Restoration came they were driven from Ireland with the Scotch, and all sought refuge in America. Whether this influence came to North Carolina cannot be ascertained exactly, and yet the story of the old woman in the Ozark hills would indicate that it did.

Fiske calls the Scotch-Irish the Puritans of the South. They were Calvinists in theology and republican in politics, differing in no essentials from the English Puritans. So complete was the union of sympathy between them, that long before they actually left Ulster, they entered into correspondence with the Puritans in New England, looking toward settling among them. The Puritans of New England readily assented to this and a ship laden with them left the Port of Ulster bound for a home in the New World. A storm occurring the ship lost its course and after a number of weeks, nearing shipwreck, reentered the port of Ulster. This ended their attempt to come to New England.

Their difficulties with England increased. In 1698, upon the demand of English manufacturers, their woolen industry was practically destroyed. At this time, however, twenty thousand of them left for America. In 1704 a test act was passed which made it impossible for them to hold office above that of petty constable; they were forbidden to teach school; marriages performed by their ministers were not valid; their dead were not to be buried in ancestral graveyards. This produced an exodus which continued until 1782. In the year 1719, enough ships could not be secured to carry these people to America. Added to their other difficulties, was the attempt to increase the rent on their lands. When they had taken the lands of Ulster and Leinster, a valuation was placed on them and rents determined by that valuation. They had redeemed waste lands, and had added improvements by their thrift and industry, and claimed that these belonged to them and not to the lands, and that additional rent should not be paid for that which they had made themselves. Their protests were in vain. Rents were increased over all the counties, and within two years after this thirty thousand more had left for America.

They were not poor peasants, but were sturdy and inflexible yeomanry, the majority of them educated, or at least possessed with the rudiments of an education. In Ireland they had kept up a close connection with the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, while some of the leading ministers of Scotland were found among them — men who were eminent in piety and learning.

Their equals in industry and education were found only among the higher classes of the colonists.

Some of them remained in the North in Massachusetts and New York. Bunker Hill is probably a corruption of Brunker's Hill, outside of Belfast. General Henry Knox, the Massachusetts member of Washington's cabinet, belonged to them. Alexander Hamilton, Matthew Thornton, Major-General John Sullivan, and Horace Greeley, were some of their descendants. In the South they were equally conspicuous.

The chief door through which they entered America was Philadelphia, whence they were encouraged to go West as a protection against the Indians. Pushing into western Pennsylvania near the mountains, and then south across Maryland, on above the tide-water districts of Virginia, on to North Carolina, and then across into Kentucky and Tennessee, these brave spirits moved. Some entered the Southern ports, and pushed into upper South Carolina, and then into Georgia and Tennessee. By the time of the Revolution there were probably fifty thousand of them in the Southern colonies. These were the people who settled North Carolina.

The ode to Columbus is not inappropriate with reference to this Southern movement. They were only on the sea of difficulty, but they possessed the brave spirit: —

> Behind him lay the gray Azores,
>   Behind the gates of Hercules,
> Before him not the ghost of shores,
>   Before him only shoreless seas.
> The good mate said, Now must we pray,
>   For lo, the very stars are gone;

Speak, brave admiral, speak and say.
  He said, "Sail on, and on, and on."

They sailed, and sailed, as winds might blow,
  Until at last the blanched mate said,
Why, not even God would know
  Should I and all my men fall dead;
These very winds forget their ways,
  For God from these dread seas is gone.
Speak, brave admiral, speak and say.
  He said, "Sail on, and on, and on."

They sailed and sailed; then spoke the mate,
  This mad sea shows its teeth to-night,
It curls its lip, it lies in wait
  With lifted teeth as if to bite.
Speak, brave admiral, speak but one good word,
  What shall we do when hope is gone?
The words leaped as a leaping sword,
  "Sail on, and on, and on."

Tho' pale and worn, he kept his deck,
  And peered through darkness — ah, that night,
Of all dark nights!
  And then a speck, a light; it grew
A star-lit flag unfurled!
  He gained a world,
He gave that world its greatest lesson,
        On and on!

That was the spirit of the men and women who came to North Carolina. That has been the spirit of the Puritan in every age.

One historian in speaking of them says: "They were of the stern school of Calvin and Knox, so much derided for their puritanical tenets. They were more distinguished for simplicity and integrity, religious education and their uniform attendance on the exercises and ordinances of religion, than for graceful and courteous manners which lend a charm to the intercourse of a more aristocratic society." And these are the characteristics distinguishable in their descendants. They have indelibly stamped the impress of their genius upon the Presbyterian churches of the South.

There was another element in North Carolina. During the reign of George II of England, when Charles Edward the Stuart was trying to regain the throne for his family, many of the Scotch Highlanders had favored his cause. One of the most important of the clans to champion his cause was that of the McDonalds, and yet one historian believes that they were divided on the question, and felt that the attempt of the daring prince was in vain. When at last his forces were defeated, and he became a fugitive with a price set upon his head, the one supreme question with him and his friends was how an escape to the continent might be effected. With the greatest of difficulty he had succeeded in reaching the western shore, and setting sail in a small boat he reached a small island, South Uist, and there found a refuge with Laird McDonald of Clan Ronald. The English were on his track and soon traced him to the place, and three thousand English soldiers surrounded the island to capture the royal fugitive. As a last resort Lady McDonald suggested a plan of escape. She proposed that, arrayed in female attire, he should accompany one of the women as her servant maid. The difficulties were, who would be the woman to go, and how were passports to be obtained? Just at this time there was a beautiful young woman visiting there. She had just returned from Edinburgh, where she had completed her education. Her stepfather at the time was in the island commanding a company in the service of King George. The young woman was asked whether she would be willing to expose herself to this danger in order to effect the escape of the prince. Her reply was, "Since I am to die, and can die but once, I am perfectly willing to put my life in jeopardy to save his Royal Highness from the danger which now besets him." Plans were soon perfected to which the prince gave his assent. The principal thing now was the passport. Flora McDonald secured this from her stepfather for herself, a companion, her serving maid, Betsey Burke, a stout Irish woman, and for Neill McDonald and three others, the latter to constitute the boat's crew. A company of soldiers was already there, and there was no time to be lost. On the afternoon of Saturday, June 28th, 1746, the party left Uist for the Isle of Skye. A storm occurred, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the boat was kept above the waves. After riding all night, in the morning they drew near Point Vatermish in the Isle of Skye. As they drew near, they saw a band of soldiers drawn up in line to receive the boat. This turned them back, while volleys were discharged at them. Not until noon did they reach Kilbride near the residence of Sir Alexander McDonald. The prince was then concealed in a cave while Flora went to the house and confided her story to Lady McDonald. She set out for Kingsbury, twelve miles distant, accompanied by her Irish maid. They met the people on the way from church, whose curiosity was aroused by the coarse, clumsy maid accompanying the young Miss McDonald. Reaching their destination at night, she accompanied him the next morning to Portaree, where she bade him adieu. On parting the prince kissed her, and said, "Gentle, faithful maiden, I entertain the hope that we shall yet meet in the palace royal." But his hope was in vain. They never met again.

Miss McDonald and several others were arrested and taken to London and confined in the tower, charged with "aiding and abetting attempts against King George's life." During her confinement in London many of the nobility became interested in this high-spirited Scottish maiden, who was not a partisan of the Pretender nor of his religious faith, and who had aided so romantically the escape of Charles merely on the ground of her adherence to royalty. Prince Frederick visited her in prison, and made efforts for her release which were finally successful. These efforts, as we shall see later, came very near saving to George III his thirteen colonies in America. After her release she was welcomed into royal society and showered with presents. She was introduced to the king, George II, who asked, "How could you dare to succor the enemy of my crown and kingdom?" With great simplicity she answered, "It was no more than I would have done for your majesty, had you been in like situation." A chaise and four were fitted up for her return home, and for her escort she chose a fellow prisoner, Malcolm McLeod. It is said that afterward he used to be fond of saying, "I went to London to be hanged, but came back with Flora McDonald and a chaise and four."

After the rebellion in 1745, a number of Scotchmen had come to North Carolina and had settled on Cape Fear River. In the year 1775, just as the revolution was beginning, Flora McDonald and her husband joined their friends, and all of them became ardent supporters of George III. Donald McDonald had been made a general in the service of his majesty, George III, and on February 1st, 1776, he issued a proclamation calling on all loyal Highlanders to rally around his standard at Cross Creek. When the rally occurred, Kingsbury McDonald, the husband of Flora McDonald, was there, and also his wife. Tradition says she imparted her own enthusiasm to the Highlanders there assembled. A little later her husband was taken captive and sent to Halifax, and after his release the two returned to Scotland. These Highlanders were the men who fought the battles of George III in North Carolina, while opposed to them were the Scotch-Irish Puritans.

The battle of King's Mountain was probably the most decisive battle of the Revolution, being now regarded as the turning-point in that great struggle. This battle was fought entirely by the Puritan element on the one hand and on the other by the Scotch Highlanders led by Ferguson. Prof. Thomas Page of the University of Virginia says that this battle was fought entirely without the aid or presence of English troops. The winning of this struggle made real their Mecklenburg Declaration.

There are three prominent characteristics of the Puritans in North Carolina, the first of which is their devotion to the cause of liberty and popular government. Their independence of character, their deep-seated convictions and their calm courage when others stood trembling, are well reflected in the famous resolutions now known as the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. On May 19th and 20th, 1775, after having sent regular delegates to Charlotte for the purpose of considering their grievances, and after mature deliberation, they unanimously passed the following: —

Resolved, 1st. That whosoever directly or indirectly abetted or in any way, form or manner, countenanced the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights as claimed by Great Britain, is an enemy to this country, to America, and to the inherent and inalienable rights of man.

Resolved, 2d. That we citizens of Mecklenburg County do hereby dissolve the political bonds which have connected us with the mother country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British crown, and abjure all political connection, contract or association with that nation, who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties, and inhumanly shed the blood of American patriots at Lexington.

Resolved, 3d. That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people; are, and of rights ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing association, under the control of no power other than that of our God, and the General Government of Congress; to the maintenance of which independence we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual coöperation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor.

Resolved, 4th. That as we acknowledge the existence and control of no law, nor legal office, civil or military, within this county; we do hereby ordain and adopt as a rule of life, all, each and every of our former laws, wherein, nevertheless, the crown of Great Britain never can be considered as holding rights, privileges, immunities or authority therein.

Resolved, 5th. That it is further decreed, that all, each and every military officer in this county is hereby retained in his former command and authority, he acting conformably to these regulations. And that every member present of this delegation shall henceforth be a civil officer, viz., a Justice of the Peace, in the character of a Committeeman, to issue process, hear and determine all matters of controversy, according to said adopted laws; and to preserve peace, union and harmony in said county; and to use every exertion to spread the love of country and fire of freedom throughout America, until a general organized government be established in this province.

These were adopted by a unanimous vote of the delegates, and approved by the people assembled. Other meetings of the Convention were held from time to time, but on May 30th, 1775, the following resolutions were issued: —

"Whereas, by an address presented to His Majesty by both houses of Parliament, in February last, the American Colonies are declared to be in a state of actual rebellion, we conceive that all laws and commissions confirmed by or derived from the authority of the King or Parliament are annulled and vacated, and the former civil constitution of these Colonies for the present wholly suspended. To provide, in some degree, for the exigencies of this country in the present alarming period, we deem it necessary and proper to pass the following resolves, viz: —

"1st. That all commissions, civil and military, heretofore granted by the crown, to be exercised in these colonies, are null and void and the constitution of each particular colony wholly suspended.

"2d. That the Provincial Congress of each province, under the direction of the Great Continental Congress, is invested with all legislative and executive powers, within their respective provinces, and that no legislative power does or can exist at this time in any of these Colonies.

"3d. As all former laws are now suspended in this province, and the Congress have not provided others, we judge it necessary for the better preservation of good order to form certain rules and regulations for the internal government of this county, until laws shall be provided for us by the Congress.

"4th. That the inhabitants of this county do meet on a certain day appointed by this committee, and, having formed themselves into nine companies, viz., eight in the county and one in the town of Charlotte, do choose a Colonel and other military officers who shall hold and exercise their several powers by virtue of this choice, and independent of the crown of Great Britain and the former constitution of this province."

(Then follow eleven articles for preservation of peace and the choice of officers to perform the duties of a regular government.)

"5th. That whatever person shall hereafter receive a commission from the crown, or attempt to exercise any such commission heretofore received, shall be deemed an enemy to his country; and, upon information to the captain of the company in which he resides, the company shall cause him to be apprehended, and upon proof of the fact committed to safe custody till the next sitting of the committee, who shall deal with him as prudence may direct."

Subsequent history shows that these people were fearless in the execution of the resolutions made for their government and welfare. Governor Tryon knew the stuff they were made of, although failing to apprehend their character or motive, and now Governor Martin was put to the test. After the publication of their resolutions in the Cape Fear Mercury, thus reaching the Governor, he in his proclamation to the Provincial Congress said: "And whereas, I have seen a most infamous publication in the Cape Fear Mercury, importing to be Resolves of a set of people styling themselves a Committee of the County of Mecklenburg, most traitorously declaring the entire dissolution of the laws, government and constitution of the country and setting up a system of rule and regulation repugnant to the laws, and subversive of his Majesty's government," etc.

But it took more than proclamations or threats to overcome these people. They had deliberately set their faces toward the rising sun and were ready to meet the difficulties in the spirit of self-sacrifice, believing that they were following the voice of duty. Is it any wonder that the principles of political liberty are dear to every North Carolinian heart? What makes a state but men, high-minded and true, who refuse to bow at tyrants' will? Such were the men of Mecklenburg. This priceless heritage has been the inspiration of all her sons in the upward struggle for self-mastery and self-government.

The second characteristic of these people was their interest in education. It was as characteristic of them as of the English Puritan. Campbell says: "Not only did they give life and character to Princeton College, and founded the institution now known as Washington and Lee in Virginia, but they gave free schools to New Jersey and Kentucky, and for nearly a century before the Revolution they conducted most of the classical schools south of the Province of New York. It was in these schools that the fathers of the Revolution in the South, almost without exception, received their education." In North Carolina they recognized the necessity for education. The number of institutions founded, and their wide influence, reveal their spirit and purpose in this regard. Almost invariably as soon as a neighborhood was settled there was a school located. Wherever their influence was felt it was always in favor of education. Common schools, academies, and colleges were common among them. The New England Puritans did not show greater zeal or more sacrifice than did they in keeping ablaze the torch of education. Davidson College and the University of

North Carolina are the important survivors of their struggles. Into the life of these institutions the people have put things of more value than money, and that is the influence of men who have shaped and shared the destinies of the commonwealth.

The third characteristic of these people in North Carolina has been their religious zeal and faith. They have been called the students of the stern school of Calvinism and such they were. In these days of a peripatetic theology it seems sometimes as though some thought that it was a mark of scholarship to criticize the tenets of Calvinism. Some of our religious liberals are fond of contrasting the five points of Calvinism with their five points of Christianity. These people would never have subdued the forests and turned them into fertile fields, nor attempted to cross the ocean for conscience' sake, and finally pledge their lives and honor upon the altar of liberty, if it had not been for a mighty faith in God. Calvinism gave them a mighty heroism and faith, and the spiritual grandeur of it has never been surpassed. When I was a student in the theological seminary, my professor of systematic theology used to tell us that the truthfulness of any doctrine could be determined by the effect which it would have upon human life and character. How would some of our modern theology bear such a test? If it is true, as all economists assert, that the two greatest forces in the life of man are the economic and the religious, then, in the light of what I have said, we can see the effects of their religious faith in their achievements. Of the members producing the Mecklenburg Declaration one was a minister and nine were elders in the church, and every member was in some way connected with the churches of the county. A Southern historian says: " In tracing their history the true and legitimate workings of religious principles are as happily displayed as in the annals of any state or section in the United States. . . . It cannot well be otherwise, for the principles, the creed of Puritanism, under whose influence human society has so happily been developed in the New England States, are the principles of Presbytery, the principles of civil and religious liberty, that struck deep in the soil of Carolina, and sent out their vigorous shoots in the great valley of the Mississippi." Not only in the state and in education has their religious faith found expression, but they have had a conspicuous part in those wider philanthropies affecting all mankind. Their missionary outlook and zeal have led them to take no small part in carrying the gospel of Christ into all the world.

But the most important phase of their religious faith is seen in the life of the people. I do not mean to say that there are no individual and social sins among these people, but it is true, I believe, that they have more nearly realized their faith in the social and individual life than almost any other section of the country. Reverence for the Sabbath, respect for the church and ministry, intense devotion to the sacred, steadiness of religious doctrine, and love for the ordinances of religion, are among the characteristics of their descendants, proving that the lessons of the fathers were learned well by the children.

In Georgia

It is no exaggeration to say that the Liberty County settlement of Georgia has been the most important of any of the five colonies in its contribution to the colonial life and welfare of that commonwealth. Only those who are familiar with the genius and original impulses of Puritanism can account for its most wonderful existence. In the year 1630 a company of Puritans set sail from England for Massachusetts. They named their settlement Dorchester, after their home in England. Although some of them were probably from other countries, yet all had emigrated under the influence of Rev. John White of Dorchester. In the last years of the seventeenth century, eight families from this Massachusetts colony, in company with Rev. Joseph Lord, their minister, left for South Carolina. After a stormy voyage of fifteen days they landed at Charleston. Pushing up the Ashley River, seventeen miles, a few days later they effected a settlement, naming it Dorchester after the Massachusetts home, as that home had been named after the home in England. The colony was prosperous. They were pioneers with the missionary spirit and nothing daunted them. Here they developed large plantations which became the leading factors industrially in the colony. Their church was of the same character and spirit as the church in New England. Dorchester colony and church in South Carolina were important until the war between the states.

Fifty-seven years after the settlement here, the larger part of the colony moved into St. John's Parish, Georgia, where large amounts of land had been obtained on reasonable terms.

There were five colonies in Georgia. There were Englishmen and refugees of different nations — Salzburgers, Scotchmen and these Puritans. The settlement of Georgia was handicapped by the fact that slavery was not allowed. Not until this restriction was removed was the industrial development marked.

This Puritan colony coming from South Carolina with its slaves not only desired land for large plantations, but they perpetuated the New England custom of laying off a town adjacent.

On the 4th of October, 1757, George II conveyed to Mark Carr, his heirs and assigns forever, and "common socage," "all that tract of land, containing five hundred acres, situate and being in the District of Midway, in the Province of Georgia, bounded on the East by Midway River, on the west by Thomas Carr, on the south by vacant land, and on all sides by the marshes of said river." On the 20th of June, 1758, Mark Carr conveyed three hundred acres of this tract to James Maxwell, Kennith Baillie, John Elliott, Grey Elliott, John Stevens of Midway, Esquires, in trust that the same should be laid out as a town by the name of Sunbury. One hundred acres were to be dedicated as a common for the future use of the inhabitants. The rest of the tract was to be divided into lots and sold by said trustees, the proceeds to go to Mark Carr.

The name of this village was to be Sunbury. Some have thought that it was named thus because of its exposure to the sun, while others have thought that it was named after a quiet village in Middlesex County on the Thames in England. The latter explanation is probably the true one. Family tradition had probably kept alive as a precious memory some incident or scene of this quiet Middlesex village in the motherland from which they were now forever severed.

The name Midway is thought by some to have been derived from the location of the district allotted to them, which was midway between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers — the one constituting the northern and the other the southern boundary. Others have thought that the true name was Medway, which was the name of an English stream and which they gave to the river within their domains and afterward applied to the district.

The location of their village could not have been better, while the plantation district could scarcely have been worse. Some one in writing of the village gives this charming impression of it: "The region is semi-tropical — magnificent live oaks in full grown stature and solemn mien crown the high ground even to the very verge where the tide kisses the shore. Cedars festooned with vines overhang the waters. The magnolia grandiflora, queen of the forest, excites on every hand the admiration of the early visitor. The sweet-scented myrtle, the tall pine, the odoriferous bay and other indigenous trees lend their charms to a spot whose primal beauty has encountered no change at the hand of man. The woods are resonant with the songs of birds, whose bright plumage vies with the coloring of the native flowers, which gladden the eye and give gentle odors to the ambient air. Fishes abound in the waters and game on the land. Cool sea breezes temper the heat of summer, and the rigor of cold is unknown in the depth of winter. It is a gentle, attractive place — this bold bluff as it comes from the hand of nature. Some such scene was in the mind of the poet when he wrote —

> "'Heaven sure has kept this spot of earth uncurst
> To show how all things were created first.'"

This picture is in striking contrast to the plantation districts. When it is remembered that one of the reasons assigned for leaving South Carolina was the unhealthfulness and malarial conditions produced by the river swamps, and then consider that these same conditions prevailed in the Midway district, one wonders why they accepted such a place. But it is more than probable that they thought that by living in Sunbury much of the difficulty could be avoided, while it may be that this feature was entirely overlooked because of the favorable size of the grant, which was about twenty-two thousand acres. In the first year of their settlement on the plantations there were one hundred and thirty-four deaths out of one hundred and ninety-five births.

Their movement from South Carolina began in 1752 and continued until 1771. One family was from Charleston, four from Pon Pon where the pastor of the Circular Church had founded a church near the beginning of the century, while thirty-nine families were from Dorchester and Beach Hill. There were about three hundred and fifty white people and about fifteen hundred negro slaves. This removal so exhausted the South Carolina colony that it lost its particular identity, although its church continued to exist for more than a century afterward.

Their method of moving is an interesting one. The display of the so-called "Yankee shrewdness" was especially marked. The crop was gathered and laid by in South Carolina in the fall. Then the planter, taking some of his slaves, made the trip to Georgia — cleared his land there and built him a house. In the spring this land was ready for a crop. If more than one year was required, time was thus taken. There was no season, therefore, without a crop either in South Carolina or Georgia.

Their first houses were built of wood, one story in height, with dormer windows and chimneys of clay, typical pioneer cabins. The slave quarters were small structures of the same character. The church was of the same simple architecture. As soon as it was found unhealthful, one ingenious farmer placed his small frame house on pillars some fifteen feet above the ground, beyond the rise of the malarial vapors. These small structures were replaced later by more comfortable homes and larger and better quarters. Not many years had passed until this community had become a model industrially, educationally and religiously.

In the first years, agriculture was of the most simple character, the ground being tilled with hoes, and the grain being flailed. There were no vehicles for a number of years, and all journeys were on horseback, so that a horse-block could be seen at every door. If a young man and a young lady took a ride they did it on horseback. After the Revolution the old-fashioned stickback gigs were introduced. But another half-century wrought tremendous changes. Rice was prepared for market economically; the home life had assumed an aristocratic character owing to the increased wealth, and the best methods of travel had become theirs.

The district was filled with game, ducks and wild geese being abundant. The beaver and the bear were common, while buffalo wandered at no great distance. The woods were filled with squirrels, raccoons, opossums, rabbits, snipe, woodcocks, quails, wildcats, and hawks. In the streams were found the alligator, terrapin and snakes as well as fish. It was typical of the frontier, and they passed through the same experiences which their fathers and grandfathers had had at Dorchester in South Carolina and Massachusetts.

The town which they had laid out in 1763 had eighty dwelling-houses and three stores. There were three squares — the King's Square, Church Square and Meeting Square. Sir James Wright in writing to Lord Halifax in 1763 said that it was the best settled part of the country for fifteen miles about. Their town became a port of entry, and the leading rice market of the colony, while indigo was cultivated on an island just below them. William Bartram, a traveler, thus describes the town in 1773: "After resting and a little recreation for a few days in Savannah and having in the meantime purchased a good horse and equipped myself for a journey southward, I set off early in the morning for Sunbury, a seaport town beautifully situated on the main, between Midway and Newport Rivers, about fifteen miles south of the great Ogeechee River. The town and harbor are defended from the fury of the seas by the north and south points of St. Helena and St. Catharine islands, between which is the bar and entrance into the sound; the harbor is capacious and safe and has water enough for ships of great burden. I arrived here in the evening in company with a gentleman, one of the inhabitants, who politely introduced me to one of the principal families, where I supped and spent the evening in a circle of genteel and polite ladies and gentlemen." Neighborliness and hospitality were characteristic of these folk.

The prominence of this colony is especially marked at the opening of the Revolution. The war of the Revolution was fought to a successful issue because of the Puritan influence in the colonies. When the Stuarts were driving the Puritans and Covenanters to desperate measures which finally culminated in the first revolution and exodus of thousands to America, the prophet of history can see in those years of strife another revolution in America at the first pretext of tyranny. In America the churches and their institutions of learning perpetuated the doctrines of the sovereignty of God and liberty, over against that of the king and the Church. The American Revolution was foreordained, just as was the Civil War. Economically as well as politically the fulness of time had come when the shot was fired at Lexington which was heard around the world.

The Puritans of Georgia had become strong and influential, one-third of the entire wealth of the province being in their possession. Lyman Hall, a native of Connecticut and a leading physician in the province, became one of the most pronounced leaders in the early days of the struggle. He was the owner of a large rice plantation and lived in Sunbury. Through his influence the colony acted in advance of the province, and on March 21st, 1775, he was unanimously chosen to represent the parish in the Continental Congress. He traveled from Georgia to Philadelphia on horseback, and on May 13th was admitted as a delegate to represent this particular colony. He was also designated to carry to Massachusetts as a present one hundred and sixty barrels of rice and fifty pounds sterling. On July 15th, 1775, the entire province acted favorably in behalf of a general confederacy, naming Archibald Bulloch, Lyman Hall, John Houston, Noble Jones and Rev. Dr. Zubly as representatives. While Dr. Hall had been admitted to the Continental Congress, he had refused to participate until this general election. And yet the sentiment for resistance to England was not strong in Savannah. In fact there was a great deal of lukewarmness which increased as the years went by. The two signers of the Declaration of Independence from Georgia, Lyman Hall and Button Gwinnett, were from Liberty, and it is a great question whether they did not have as great a struggle to overcome the lukewarmness of some of the colonists as to overcome the

British. Our American histories are sadly at error in representing the sentiment and conditions of the revolutionary struggle. There was a good deal of varying sentiment as well as real conviction for and against. The Tory spirit in the colonies has never been justly represented. Professor Dabney of the University of Virginia says that fully two hundred thousand Americans left the colonies because they wished to be loyal to the mother country. On the other hand, there were those who were fighting for the revolution in an organized resistance, but numerically they were in the minority. Then there was the sentiment that always exists, which is all things to all men in the meanest and most contemptible sense. These were ready to be loyal to the crown or to the colonies. When we read the correspondence of some of the Revolutionary leaders and study the sermons of the pastors — such men as Tennett of South Carolina — we begin to see the meaning of their struggle.

Jones says: "The parish of St. John took steps to persuade positive resistance to English rule and inaugurate steps contemplating an absolute separation from the mother country when the greater part of Georgia was not persuaded of the expediency of such action and was actually opposed to the proceedings of the Continental Congress." These Puritans were so annoyed by the temporizing policy of the Savannah Convention that on February 9th, 1775, they applied to the committee of Charleston, " requesting permission to form an alliance with them and to conduct trade and commerce according to the act of non-importation to which they had already acceded." They urged that inasmuch as they had detached themselves they ought to be considered "a separate body comprehended within the spirit and equitable meaning of the Continental Association." The Charleston Committee wisely declined their overture in the interest of a more complete unity in the Georgia colony. This proved to be a mark of statesmanship, for the whole colony, even reluctantly on the part of many, acted favorably, as we have seen, by sending representatives to the Congress. After this failure, they then prosecuted their claims to equality with the rest of the colonies. They were ready to fight for the revolution in Georgia alone. They passed resolutions to have no commerce with Savannah. Such was the temper and spirit of these Puritan folk, a spirit which was later recognized when in naming their county the state said that the only fitting name for it was Liberty.

Sir James Wright located the rebellion in the province among them. In one of his letters referring to them and the Revolution he said that they were "descendants of New England people of the Puritan Independent sect, who, retaining a strong tincture of republican or Oliverian principles, have entered into an agreement amongst themselves to adopt both resolutions and associations of the Continental Congress." In the colony some of the principal families were: Weys, Bacon, Ham, Green, Dunham, More and Quarterman. One English official had addressed an insolent, threatening letter to them which was answered characteristically. He had asked what they had to withstand their king. Their answer was, "My Dear Sir:—We have in this colony Ham and Dunham, Bacon and Green, Man and Quarterman, plenty of Weys but no means." This picture would be considered by some as dishonoring to the rest of the Georgia colonists. McCall says, "The charge of inactivity vanishes when the sword and hatchet are held over the heads of the actors to compel them to lie still." This would indicate that other colonists were held down from expressing their convictions by the sword. This may be true, and yet the historical fact is, that the real leadership of the revolution in Georgia was in St. John's parish. Threats of the sword did not affect the Puritans, although they were in the same position as the others, but they were trained in the school whose first lessons had been Naseby and Marston Moor.

Some of them joined the state militia, others formed themselves into an infantry company and a troop of horse, electing John Baker as captain. An old fort was reconstructed on the river commanding it. The Continental Congress having Georgia under consideration, voted July 5th, 1776, that two battalions should be formed and that commissions should be filled by the General Convention of the Province. Two forts, one at Save and the other at Sunbury, were to be garrisoned. One of the forts was probably built by the slaves and was named in honor of Captain Morris, a commander of a company of Continental Artillery for coast defense. This name was changed to Fort George after Prevost captured it.

Colonel John McIntosh was placed in command at

Sunbury with one hundred and twenty-seven men. It was the plan of the British to take this in the southern campaign of 1778, in which General Augustine Prevost was to operate two expeditions, one by land and the other by sea against Sunbury, and then with this united force proceed to the capture of Savannah. Mark Prevost was entrusted with the land movement. Under his command were one hundred British, and three hundred refugees and Indians led by the renegade McGirth. After crossing the Georgia line from the south he began to capture and plunder, spreading devastation and terror about his path. He was met by John Baker and a small force that could offer little resistance. In the skirmish Baker and two of his companions were wounded. Other patriots assembled, but little could be done to stop the pillaging and forward movement of the hordes under the direction of Prevost. Colonel John White with one hundred men and two pieces of artillery constructed a breastwork at the Midway meeting-house, which it was thought would stop the invasion until they could get reenforcements. A messenger was sent to Colonel Elbert advising him of the invasion, and he detached Major William Baker with a party of mounted militia to skirmish with the enemy. Colonel White was also joined by General Screven and twenty militiamen. White then determined to abandon his position near the meeting-house and take another about one and a half miles beyond, where an ambush might be laid. McGirth, who knew the country fully as well, tried the same thing. The forces met and a fight ensued. General Screven was mortally wounded. Prevost's horse was shot from under him and for a while it seemed that a victory had been gained over the invaders. Major Jackson shouted victory as Prevost's force was retreating, but the British returned in numbers and White found himself compelled to retreat. Bridges were destroyed and trees felled across the road, thus preventing a rapid advance from the enemy. By a very clever trick Prevost was stopped. Colonel White wrote a letter to himself purporting to come from Colonel Elbert, with the information that reenforcements were at hand. By design this letter fell into the hand of Prevost. He continued the invasion only six or seven miles beyond the meeting-house and then retreated, burning houses and the church and pillaging on the way. From a quaint old poem these lines are taken, descriptive of it: —

> "Where'er they march the buildings burn,
> Large stacks of rice to ashes turn,
> And me (Midway) a pile of ruin made
> Before their hellish malice staid.
>
> "Nor did their boundless fury spare
> The house devote to God and prayer;
> Brick, coal and ashes shew the place
> Which once that sacred house did grace.
>
> "The church yard too no better sped;
> The rabble so against the dead
> Transported were with direful fumes,
> They tore up and uncovered tombs."

This awful desolation was never repeated until General Kilpatrick in 1864-'65, plundered Liberty County, reducing it to poverty and ashes.

But their trials were not ended when Prevost retreated, as there was an expedition by sea to be reckoned with. Colonel Fuser, the commander of this, had been delayed by the winds, and did not reach Sunbury until November, 1778. There were five hundred men on his vessels besides cannon and munitions of war. A landing was safely effected and a number of the vessels ready for action sailed up the Midway River to capture the fort. John McIntosh was in command with one hundred and twenty-seven besides a few citizens and militia, making the total number about two hundred, or a little more than one-third of the enemy. On approaching the fort, Colonel Fuser wrote the following to McIntosh —

> Sir: — You cannot be ignorant that four armies are in motion to reduce this Province. One is already under the guns of your fort and may be joined when I think proper by Colonel Prevost who is now at the Midway Meeting house. The resistance you can or intend to make will only bring destruction upon this country. On the contrary if you will deliver me the fort which you command, lay down your arms and remain neuter until the fate of America is determined, you shall, as well as all of the inhabitants of this parish, remain in peaceable possession of your property. Your answer which I expect in an hour's time will determine the fate of this country, whether it is to be laid in ashes or remain as above proposed. I am, Sir,
>
> Your most obedient,
>
> *L. V. Fuser.*
>
> Col. 60th Reg. and Com. of his Majesty's Troops
> in Georgia on his Majesty's service.
>
> P. S. — Since this letter was closed some of your people have been firing scattering shot about the line. I am to inform you that if a stop is not put to such irregular proceedings I shall burn a house for every shot fired."

This letter is a splendid example of stupidity. The braggadocio spirit exhibited is in striking contrast to that of McIntosh, as seen in his answer.

Fort Morris, November 25th, 1778.

Sir: — We acknowledge we are not ignorant that your army is in motion to endeavor to reduce this State. We believe it entirely chimerical that Colonel Prevost is at the Meeting House; but should it be so we are in no degree apprehensive of danger from a junction of his army with yours. We have no property, compared with the object we contend for, that we value a rush; and would rather perish in a vigorous defense than accept your proposals. We, Sir, are fighting the battles of America, and therefore disdain to remain neutral till its fate is determined. As to surrendering the fort, receive the laconic reply: Come and take it. Major Lane whom I send with this letter is directed to satisfy you with respect to the irregular loose firing mentioned on the back of your letter.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

John McIntosh.

Col. Continental Troops.

When the legislature of Georgia at a later time presented a sword to Colonel McIntosh, there was inscribed upon it the words, *"Come and take it."* The invitation was not accepted by Colonel Fuser. After sending some scouts to find Colonel Prevost and his force, and failing to discover them, he abandoned his part of the enterprise, and returned to St. John's River. Each of the British commanders blamed the other for failure in making the juncture and proceeding against Savannah. And yet the apparent success in driving back the invaders had cost the settlers of St. John's parish dearly. Another picture of the desolation is presented to us from the diary of Benjamin Baker:—

"Fields once Midway's glory and her pride,
Weeds, grass and briars now do hide,
And worst of villains make their home
Where flames had happened not to come.

"Instead of preaching, prayers and praise,
Now on the Gospel holy days,
They race, and fight and swear and game
Without regard to law and shame.

"They armed, disguised with faces blacked,
Do many villainies transact,
The few, few honest that are here,
Do often rob and put to fear."

The year 1788 had indeed been a gloomy one, but there were darker days than these ahead of them. Colonel Campbell having taken the capital, was approaching from one direction, while General Prevost in Florida again despatched two thousand troops bent on success. As Campbell approached, the only resistance was that of Major Lane with one hundred and twenty men. On being ordered to surrender he refused at first, but a little later yielded. General Moultrie wrote to General Pinckney that Lane deserved hanging, as he had been given orders to evacuate the fort, which he could not possibly hold against a force numbering several thousand. The country thus passed into the hands of the British, who considered the revolution crushed in Georgia; and apparently it was. Three months were allowed the belligerents to return to allegiance. A reward of two guineas was offered to any one apprehending a citizen who still adhered to the rebel cause. Families were banished and other penalties prescribed. Yet a desultory contest was still waged. Outposts of the British were surprised and small vessels along the coast were taken. Gallant exploits like those of Marion in South Carolina kept the hope of success alive. When D'Estaing appeared off Georgia, General Prevost concentrated all his troops in Savannah.

After another defeat conditions became even more pitiable and intolerable. More cruelty was meted out to those who still resisted, their negroes were seized, their stock taken, their furniture, wearing apparel and plate jewels stolen, while their children were beaten and their wives banished. Captain McCall says: "The obscene language which were offered to tender sex soon rendered a residence in the country insupportable. Having neither funds nor means of conveyance for themselves and children, they were obliged to abandon the country under the most deplorable circumstances and seek a dependent residence in the adjoining states at the most inclement season of the year. Numbers whose former condition enabled them to make their neighboring visits in carriages, were obliged to travel on foot, many of them without shoes, through muddy roads and swamps." No Longfellow has appeared to make their sacrifices immortal. Waste and desolation were on every hand. Banishment stared the people in the face if there was resistance, Sunbury had been evacuated, so complete had been the ruin, and the province was so completely reduced that only five hundred soldiers were required, and these were quartered in Savannah. And yet these Puritans struggled on. Small bands appeared here and there and, while parties were captured, they never surrendered nor gave up the contest.

After the successes of General Greene in the Carolinas, General Wayne and Colonel Jackson were despatched to capture Savannah. The British evacuated the city, July 11th, 1783, and the war of the Revolution was ended. In January, 1784, the Constitutional Convention assembled, and elected Lyman Hall govenor and George Walton chief justice. Samuel Stirk was made attorney-general, John Milton, secretary of state, John Martin, treasurer. The charge of Chief Justice Walton to the grand jury, made up largely of Liberty County men, is worthy of record as it was so much a part of their Puritan life and ideals. He said: "I congratulate you, gentlemen, on the news of a definitive treaty of peace by which our freedom, sovereignty and independence are secured. The war which produced it was one of necessity on our part. That we were enabled to prosecute it with firmness and perseverance to so glorious an issue should be ascribed to the protecting influence of the Great Disposer of events and be a subject of grateful praise and adoration. While the result is so honorable and advantageous to us and to posterity, it is to be lamented that those moral and religious duties so essential to the order of society and the permanent happiness of mankind have been too much neglected. To recover them into practice, the life and conduct of every good man should be a constant example. Your temples, which the profane instruments of a tyrant laid in ashes, should be built again; for nothing tends to harmonize the rude and unlearned organs of man more than frequent meetings in the places of holy worship. Let the monument of your brave and virtuous soldier and citizen (General James Screven, killed near the church) which was ordered by Congress to his memory, be erected on the same ground, that his virtues and the cause in which he sacrificed his life may be seen together by your children and remembered through the distant ages. In the course of the conflict with an enemy whose conduct was generally marked with cruelty, the whole state has suffered undoubtedly more than any of the Confederacy. The citizens of Liberty County, with others, have drunk deep in the stream of distress. Remembering these things, we should not lose sight of the value of the prize we have obtained. And now that we are in full possession of our freedom, we should all unite in our endeavors to benefit and perpetuate the system that we may always be happy at home and forever freed from the insults of petty tyrants commissioned from abroad."

Jones in his story of the dead towns of Georgia says: "On the altars erected within Midway districts were the fires of resistance to the dominion of England earliest kindled; and Lyman Hall, of all the dwellers there, by his counsel, exhortations and determined spirit added stoutest fuel to the flames. Between the immigrants from Dorchester and the distressed Bostonians existed not only the ties of a common parentage, but also sympathies born of the same religious, moral, social and political education. Hence we derive an explanation of the reason why the Midway settlement declared so early for the Revolutionists. The Puritan element cherishing and proclaiming intolerance of the established church and the divine right of kings, impatient of restraint, accustomed to independent thought and action, and without associations which encouraged tender memories of and love for the mother country, asserted its hatreds, its affiliations and its hopes with no uncertain utterance, and appears to have controlled the action of the entire parish." This could have been said with equal force relative to the struggle in South Carolina and North Carolina. On one occasion, before the Georgia Historical Society, the following language was used regarding the Midway people: "Alone she stood, a Pharos of Liberty in England's most loyal province, renouncing every fellowship that savored not of freedom, and refusing every luxury which contributed to ministerial coffers. With a halter around her neck and the gallows before her eyes, she severed herself from surrounding associations and cast her lot, while as yet all was gloom and darkness, with the fortunes of her country, to live with her rights or die in their defense. Proud spot of Georgia soil! Well does it deserve the appellation which a grateful state conferred upon it, and truly may we say of its sons in the remembrance of their patriotic sacrifices, 'Nothing was wanting to their glory; they were wanting to ours' " !

This patriotism was no less ardent in the struggle of the sixties. Conservative in action, and yet determined on their rights, they gave themselves fully and freely in behalf of the Confederacy. Their beautiful plantations were reduced to ruins and the desolation was almost complete. But to them and their descendants nothing was so dear as principle, and they fought with the same intensity of conviction as did their sires in the Revolution. Upon the altars of their beloved Southland they poured the libations of an unsullied patriotism.

There is meaning in the facts that they gave two signers of the Declaration of Independence, four governors to the State of Georgia, six Congressmen, two of whom have been United States Senators, and that five counties in the state are named after her illustrious sons, while another was named because of her devotion to liberty. The first minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Imperial Court of China, the Hon. John E. Ward, was from this parish. The story is told that when he was to be ushered into the presence of the emperor, he was given instructions that he was to bow to the floor until the emperor bade him rise. Mr. Ward replied that he had been taught at home never to bow to any one but God and women, and he could not change. He left the imperial city and did not meet the emperor. This was the will and spirit of the people among whom he was trained.

Look at the Midway educational record. They were the first to establish a school of importance in Georgia. Sunbury Academy was established by an act of the legislature in 1788, and had for its trustees, Abiel

Holmes, father of Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Dunwoody, John Elliot, Gideon Dowse and Peter Winn. It became one of the leading institutions of the province. The Rev. Dr. William McWhir for more than thirty years lent the charm and influence of his powerful personality to it. He was Scotch-Irish and had been educated at Belfast College. He came to America in 1783 and was principal of an academy at Alexandria, Va., of which General Washington was a trustee. He frequently dined at Mount Vernon. On one occasion General Washington proceeded to say grace at dinner, whereupon Mrs. Washington remonstrated by saying that there was a clergyman at the table who should be recognized. General Washington replied, "I desire clergymen as well as all others to see that I am not a graceless man." From this academy he was called to Sunbury, which he made famous during his administration. Out from this community have gone two university chancellors, six college professors, three professors in theological seminaries, three presidents of female colleges, four authors and one authoress, one historian, besides teachers who have been sent all through the South. The famous LeConte brothers were from this community, Joseph LeConte at his demise a few years ago being recognized as one of the leading geologists of the world.

Look at their religious record. This was the fountain which sent forth sparkling streams into all the South and even farther, into all the world. Religion was real, and Christ's command to evangelize the world was imperative. A call to the gospel ministry was the greatest of all privileges. Eighty-three men went out either as pastors or missionaries. Is there another church in the country that can equal this record? There were six foreign missionaries in this list, the first Southern missionary to lay down his life upon heathen soil, the Reverend John Winn Quarterman, being one of these. The first bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, as well as the first traveling minister in Georgia, came from these people. There was a Home Mission secretary, besides ministers of prominence in the Presbyterian fold. It was in this church that the Rev. Abiel Holmes ministered before going to Cambridge, Massachusetts.

It is not amiss at this point to speak of one of the ministers of this church, and in a slight way remember the fruit of his glorious ministry among these people and in Savannah. Next to Dr. Palmer of New Orleans, Puritanism in the South produced no greater preacher and pastor than the Rev. Isaac Stockton Keith Axson, D.D. Omitting the first year of his ministry in Summerville, S. C., and the few years spent as principal of the female seminary at Greensboro, Ga., his labors in the ministry were given wholly to the Midway church and to the Independent Presbyterian church of Savannah — the first pastorate lasting eighteen, the second, thirty-five years. Dr. Palmer said of him: "He belonged to that noble Puritan stock so often decried as fanatical, but to whose sturdy virtue both England and America owe much of the civil and political liberty which they now enjoy. His ancestors came at an early period to this country by the ship

Fortune, in 1621, being the second importation after the Mayflower, and settled of course in New England. They were all of them in their successive generations men of mark, receiving the highest education of their day, and serving in the gospel ministry with but three breaks in the succession to the present time. The Southern branch of the family was founded by his immediate grandfather, who migrated to South Carolina before the American Revolution, making his home in the city of Charleston, where he died at the advanced age of ninety-nine years." He was educated at Charleston College and the Columbia Theological Seminary. After serving the old Dorchester congregation in South Carolina for awhile, he was transferred to Midway. It had been his purpose, says Dr. Palmer, to give himself to missionary labor among the negroes, but the opportunity never came. He was called to the Circular Church in 1850, and again in 1851, and also to the Presbyterian Church at Macon, Ga. In 1856 he was called to the Huguenot Church in Charleston, to the First Presbyterian, Montgomery, Ala., to the First Presbyterian, Memphis, Tenn., and to the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian, New York. In 1857 he accepted the pastorate of the old Independent Church, Savannah — a church distinguished for its splendid achievements and spirit. Here as a pastor he excelled. Dr. Palmer speaks thus of his persuasive power as a preacher: "His constant hearers doubtless recall many of those picturesque words in which he would swoop down like an eagle from its eyrie, lodging the thought forever in the memory. Seldom as it was my privilege to hear him, I can easily recite one or two of these, as when he said, 'The Lord will make every man stoop that comes into his kingdom.' Could the self-renunciation of the sinner be as forcibly expressed by the selection of another word? Sometimes the sweetness of his piety would find utterance in similar quaint imagery. The last time the speaker ever looked upon the face of his brother, little more than a year since, the word was whispered in his ear at parting, 'When you go into the presence of the King, please mention my name.' It is no wonder that he became a master of style, with such a play of poetic and pious fancy throwing its halo over all that he wrote." One of his constant hearers said of him: "He made the most thorough analysis of the human heart, probing to its hidden depths, and the hearer went with bowed head from the house of worship feeling that it was only through the pitiful permission of God he was allowed to walk the street to his home." He preached the tenderness of the cross as the complement of the terror of the law. Dr. Palmer says: "He was preeminently a Biblical preacher. He did not pride himself upon the black-letter lore of his profession; nor did he draw deep the theological lines as they are formulated in a creed. Not that these were undervalued, but simply were left to others who were conspicuously summoned to the defence of the faith. As for himself he was simply a shepherd of the flock dealing with the daily trials, temptations and sorrows of God's people. His duty therefore was to lead them into the green pastures and by the still waters of the sacred Word. Truth was viewed by him not in the abstract, but in the concrete — not as systematized doctrine, but as practical precept. He took it up not as it lay in the hard form of theological disputation, but in the soft and mingled proportions in which the Scriptures present it. He indulged in no wire-drawn metaphysical speculations nor in the polemical assaults upon error. All this is needful for the more articulate statement and defence of the truth; but it was not that to which he felt himself called. He floated upon the pages of the Bible, gathering up the truths as they lay before his eye on the surface of the sacred Book. The most grateful variety was thus found in his sermons, for he was wedded to no theories, and the Divine Revelation lay, like Nature herself, in all the richness and variety of its teachings."

No greater preacher graced the pulpit in Georgia during the preceding generation. Dr. Axson's influence and power, like that of Dr. Hoge of Richmond and Dr. Palmer of New Orleans, will live long after generations have come and gone.

Longfellow might have written these words regarding him: —

> "His gracious presence upon earth,
> Was as fire upon a hearth,
> As pleasant songs at morning sung,
> The words that dropped from his sweet tongue
> Strengthened our hearts: or heard at night
> Made all our slumbers soft and light."

The old Midway people were not only conspicuous in the number and character of their preachers, but in all those varied ministries which have to do with the onmarching kingdom of God in the world. They were the first to lead off in temperance reform in Georgia. They were the pioneers in negro evangelization through education and careful instruction. They were abreast in all those movements that made for righteousness in the community and state.

Dr. Stacy says, "It is customary now to term everything strict and deeply pious as puritanical. Yes, these people were Puritans. Would that the whole world were Puritans, if such be the fruit!" Little is now left to tell the story of their deeds and achievements. The old church and cemetery bear eloquent testimony to the glorious past. Once each year her sons and daughters and those who have inherited her spirit, come together to offer homage and praise at the altar of parental sacrifice. In 1905, the Honorable Plesant A. Stovall of Savannah at this annual gathering said in part: "This society has met to-day in annual reunion. Its primary object is to preserve this ancient landmark. The fact that old Midway church still remains after one hundred and thirteen years of existence shows, as the historian says, that it must have been made out of the best material, and that it was carefully built in the beginning. The historic graveyard under these beautiful oaks, where reposes the dust of men distinguished in civil station and in martial life, ministers of the gospel and noble men and women who have passed to the great beyond, invites your affectionate and devoted coöperation. No more consecrated mission ever engaged the efforts of good people in Georgia. Here are the evidences of the reviling touch of time, and here still remain the signs of vandalism, for the horrors of two wars have swept over old Midway and left their lasting and enduring impress. But better even than rescuing from decay the crumbling monuments which mark the spot where a great race of Georgians lie, is the duty of maintaining unimpaired the virtues and traditions of the old Midway colony which have left such a distinctive stamp upon the history of our commonwealth. I do not know that there is in all the history of Georgia such a distinguished society as that which you represent to-day. Certainly in no one spot on this earth is there the relic of a sturdier race than remains in the Westminster Abbey of Georgia, grouped under the cathedral oaks of Midway and reared in this memorial altar of Liberty. I shall not go over the historic record which is so well known to you — how a company of Puritan emigrants, in 1630, sailed to the shores of New England and, after being tossed about for more than a century, finally reached Georgia. Just twenty years after the coming of Oglethorpe these people settled upon a tract of land near where we now stand, resolved to worship God in their own way, and to cast their fortunes with the people of Georgia."

In his address further there was emphasis of the fact that they were a cultured people, loving schools. They fostered education and established a library which had an existence for more than a century. He then compared these ante-bellum schools with our more modern system, insisting that they produced better and more intensive thinkers. "The great colony at Midway was first in education of their day; first in the best and highest education which fits man for the great duty of citizenship; which makes him a lover of religion and liberty and law. The character of their schools and of their people made their education stand among the best of the state and in the country and secured the descendants of old Midway the first place in war, in the struggle for liberty and in the enlightened arts of peace. Venerable and illustrious men, you have come down to us from the twilight of our country's history; you have crowned the cradle of Georgia with a halo which age cannot obscure!"

The second excellence pointed out by the speaker was the fact that they built good roads. The student of economics can understand the significance of this when he studies the plantation system of the South in contrast with the farms of the North. Nowhere else in the South was such attention paid to this matter. Their meeting-house and its Sabbath calls probably had a great deal to do with this. Mr. Stovall closed his address with these words: "All honor, then, to the noble people who have gone before, who builded wiser than they knew, who, true to their Puritan ancestry, set up the altar of their fathers in the wilderness; who laid out roads through the trackless forest and the impenetrable morass; who set up schools for the education of the young; who made a solitude and called it peace; but who when the time for action came showed that they preferred liberty to repose, and who wrote over the southern gateway of Georgia those ringing words, 'Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God!' "

Thus it is that the story of Puritan Midway still lives. Ruins are on every hand about the hallowed spots, but the memories of brave deeds and heroic achievements are still among a grateful people.

> "The garden with its arbor gone,
> And gone with orchard green,
> A shattered chimney stands alone,
> Possessor of the scene."

Christ the Master of men said, "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone." Puritan Midway perished, but not its life, for it has multiplied itself many times throughout the South. Dr. Stacy tells the story of the LeConte pear-tree as illustrative of the wonderful influence of Midway. The tree was brought from the North some years before the Civil War. At the close of the strife, the people of Liberty returned to their homes to find ruin and desolation. Slavery had been abolished, and there was little hope of rehabilitation, owing to the necessity of negro labor in the malarious plantation district. The people began to move to other sections with their families where a living could be earned. One man on removal to South Georgia made a number of clippings and started a pear farm, for which only a few years after this he was offered a large sum. Other pear farms now sprang up, and this industry proved to be a profitable one. Such was the life of Midway sending out its influence into all the South.

True to the splendid heritage of the past, faithful in the championship and guardianship of her ideals, undaunted by difficulty when treading the path of duty, high-minded in patriotism, cultured and consecrated, Puritan Midway performed her work in Georgia.

> "Great duties were before her and great songs,
> And whether crowned or crownless when she fell,
> It mattered not, so that God's work was done."

II.

WHAT IS PURITANISM IN THE SOUTH

IT is quite impossible to give a definition of this term which will cover all its tendencies or the details of its expression. Individually the Puritans of the South differed as men differ to-day. They were not all of the same rank or occupation in the Old World and it was impossible to become thus in the New. Some of them had been of the ranks of the nobility in the mother country, while others were peasants or belonged to the middle rank of society. This variation is seen in the colony of Sir Robert Brooke on the Patuxent in Maryland, who was given practically all the rights of feudal tenure, thus showing that the Puritans who accompanied him belonged to the more common class. But the proprietor of the Manor was also a Puritan of note in England, and became especially so in Maryland. The same thing is observable perhaps to a less extent in the colony brought to Virginia by Bennett and settled in Nansemond. These are illustrations of the striking differences between the Puritans which are seen farther on, comparing those of Virginia with those from North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. Even the Providence colony in Maryland differed in many important respects from its sister colony on the Patuxent. In North Carolina we find the people on small plantations, slavery less emphasized in the earlier days, simplicity of life and character in connection with indomitable energy, and self-reliance as a characteristic, while the South Carolina Puritan was found in the marts of trade in Charleston, or on his plantation at Dorchester, where the democratic spirit found persistent expression, and yet where slavery grew and prospered. It may be doubted whether he engaged in white indenture, especially if it involved those of his own faith. The Puritan planters in South Carolina and Georgia were practically on a social level, while they closed the doors to others. Social, economic, intellectual and moral forces operated among them as among us to differentiate, and only as they were bound together by a common faith in certain principles can it be said that they were a unit.

The Puritan in the South was a prophet of progress, though he was not a radical or revolutionist in the sense of anarchy. His deliberations were always tempered with moderation and firmness and bear no relation to the so-called modern movements of socialism and anarchy. His assemblies were always representative, and sought to express the convictions of the people. Order being the first law of nature, he recognized it as fundamental to the well-being of society in the Church or in the State. While the expression of his views was regarded as rebellious and traitorous, there was no insanity or backward steps. It is quite remarkable that there was little exhibition of hysteria in all his life. Religiously and politically he was venturing upon an untried course, and yet with darkness in front of him, darkness at the side of him, and only faint glimmers of light in experiences in the awful darkness behind him, he steadily kept his course, believing that God was leading into the light.

There are three characteristics of his life which found expression in a large way in Southern life and civilization.

The Puritan stood for the direction of conscience in the light of the presence of God. He was a product of the Reformation which Luther and Calvin had championed in Europe. In the revolt from Catholicism which insisted on the necessity of the pope as a vicegerent of God, and the logical elaboration of the principle until it was found impossible to know God excepting through the ordained medium of priest and pope, the Puritan was compelled to accept the theory that all men were in the presence of God, and that He inclined his ear to those who sincerely came in the name of Christ. There was no transmission of authority through the priesthood, and ordination to the ministry was the sacred call of God expressed in the regenerated heart through the Holy Spirit. The right to come to God in Christ, the benefits of the ordinances to every regenerated soul, and the right to read and follow the Holy Word, were insisted upon as the prerogative of the child of God.

Calvinism as a theology was an attempt to systematize these great principles and other Biblical teachings for the guidance of these people over the rough sea of theological and philosophical controversy which was surging furiously. The majesty and eternal character of God, the sovereignty and Saviourhood of Jesus Christ, the ineffable and eternal Godhead revealed through Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the awfulness and hellishness of sin as seen by God in its eternal condemnation, the greatness and price of redemption, the fact of heaven and hell, the glorious revelation of God in a Holy Book for guidance, the eternal decrees of God for the display of his majesty and glory — all of these and others were the attempt of that master Puritan mind to shape for his followers a faith that would stand for all time the assaults of philosophical and religious skepticism. No one but a pedant can stand in the presence of this majestic theology as it was expressed in the lives of the Puritans, and then scoff or scorn. It has been called harsh, but it is not. It produced Godlike men and women, and was a mighty factor in making all our Southland God-fearing and God-loving. No one now believes that it is necessary to have a priest in order to stand in the presence of God. The religious conviction of the Puritan in the South has become a real fact in social life.

The right to stand in the presence of God affected also his church polity. A church polity which was a hierarchy was not tenable in the light of his fundamental conviction. Hence his church was independent or presbyterial. His conscience protested against all ecclesiastical tyranny, and he felt that this would always result as long as prelates governed rather than the people. This was not only true of him in the South but elsewhere as well.

"What conscience dictates to be done,
Or warned him not to do,
That taught him more than hell to shun,
That more than heaven pursue."

Conscience-direction, under the inspiration and presence of God, made his church life what it was. This conscience-direction in religion necessitated the further logical step of political liberty.

The Reformation in Europe was not only a struggle for religious freedom with an autocratic prelacy, but along with this was the people's struggle for recognition in government. Coeval with the development of the papacy in history was the development of the doctrine of the divine right of kings. Absolutism meant a divine pope in religion, and a divine king in government. The struggle of the Reformation was against the divine pope. The struggle against the divine king had been going on with greater or less intensity all over Europe. In England the kings constantly strove to establish the notion, but were finally overcome in the establishment of a constitutional monarchy with greater or less attempts toward the resuscitation of the old notion. James I was correct in his logic when in the council in which were represented the English Puritan and the Scotch Covenanter, he said, "No bishop with you means no king." A commonwealth in which all shall equally share is the political logic of Puritanism. This characterized it in the South. When they came to believe that their liberties were threatened, they cast their lives and fortunes upon the altar to preserve these not only for themselves but for all mankind. In Virginia they were the steadying factor when the Cavaliers were making threats and insinuations against them as pharisaical pretenders of piety. And yet when they came into power it was not with arrogant self-sufficiency, nor did they rule with tyrants' hands, notwithstanding the taunts and hatred of their foes. Bennett, the Puritan governor of Virginia, ruled with moderation and patriotism, and even the tyrannical Berkeley was willing to accept the benefits of his benign influence. John Randolph and Robert E. Lee had no regrets in looking back upon this man in their ancestral line. They were the champions of civil as well as religious liberty in the South.

But the Puritans of the South became slaveholders, and were the owners of vast plantations, where they held in bondage human beings; how do you reconcile this with the notion of political liberty? some one asks. It is not an unfair question. The African at this time was practically outside the realm of their reasoning. Their advanced notions of government were possible only among a people where self-mastery and ability enabled them to aspire to this achievement. They considered the African a poor, benighted and neglected child, and while they believed in slavery for him, it was not of that brutal sort which looked upon him only as an ox. On the Puritan plantations in South Carolina and Georgia (I found no documents giving me evidence elsewhere) they treated him with care and consideration. On one plantation it was customary never to separate families, and I presume this was true of others. They were regularly instructed in religion and had their regular sittings in the churches. They were formed into catechism classes and the elders and deacons of the church, with assistants, became their instructors. They were clothed comfortably, allowed a patch of ground for cultivation and certain holidays, the married man being allowed a little extra time each day for his own garden. A number of years ago one of the descendants of an early Puritan died in Charleston, S. C. A few days before his death the old slaves — the last remnants of the old plantation — came to Charleston to visit their one-time master. They knelt around his bedside while he pronounced a blessing upon each one; and after tender words of admonition to each, he asked the minister present to lead in prayer. On the following Sunday they rode in carriages to the funeral and in the grief-stricken audience none were more sincere than they. One old negro said, "Massa was always a good, kind friend." In Liberty County, Georgia, among the colored people we find the kindliest sentiment existing for their Puritan masters. In fact, negroes trained on these plantations boasted that their training had fitted them for a place of superiority over the common negro.

They were not only treated with kindness, but were trained for some special trade if they showed any proficiency in that direction. The plantation was an industrial school, and they were trained to be blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, and in various other industrial pursuits.

But it was slavery, and inconsistent with their tenets of liberty, you say. But it was no different here from

New England, where our Puritan ancestors were more numerous. The Puritan of New England believed and practised slavery. Even good Governor Winthrop, one of the ablest and best of men, had asked for an Indian slave as the Puritans in Massachusetts asked for Indians as slaves in the early days. Cotton Mather owned a black servant without apparent thought of the rights of man. Slavery existed throughout the colony, and the only reasons for its discontinuance in the North, says one economist, were that the "climate was too harsh, the social system too simple to make good economic development of black labor." In the South the economical system was dependent upon it, and climate and conditions favorable to its perpetuation. This same author speaks of a Puritan elder in Massachusetts whose ship was engaged in the slave traffic. When his slaver arrived safely at Newport, it was his invariable custom to return thanks "that an overruling Providence had been pleased to bring to this land of freedom another cargo of benighted heathen to enjoy the blessings of a gospel dispensation." Faneuil Hall has been called the Cradle of American Liberty, but old Peter Faneuil, the owner, was one of the most relentless slave traffickers that the country ever knew. It is true that slavery was abolished in New England, but it is a question whether the reason was not economic, as she still continued to furnish the ships for the traffic in the South.

But it would certainly be unfair to leave this impression of New England as a fair description of the whole situation. We must never forget that the New England conscience has frequently faced its own economic loss and triumphed in the face of material harm. Her leadership has been one of the mightiest potentialities of our national life. Puritanism in religion, politics, and literature has demonstrated its splendid capacities and heroic ideals. Puritanism in New England has marched steadily westward, making and molding commonwealths, until to-day it is probably the greatest living agency in our national life.

But we must not forget that there was Puritan sentiment in the South that advocated abolition of slavery and civil liberty for the negro. It is a striking fact that the system of landholding has always been the largest determining factor in slavery. When our forefathers were discussing in Congress whether slavery was to be continued in the western states, they could have settled the entire matter against slavery if they had divided the country into townships, and thus perpetuated the New England system of holdings; slavery would fall of its own accord under such a system. In North Carolina the system of landholding was different from either Virginia or South Carolina. The plantations were smaller in the eastern part of the state, or the holdings comparatively small in the western part. And here was found some radical antislavery sentiment, which grew so extreme in its political and religious attitude that it became fanatical. It spent itself without apparent result other than causing the intense hatred of their southern slaveholding neighbors.

The leader, Rev. William C. Davis, came from a Puritan family which was a part of that mighty Scotch-Irish movement south from Pennsylvania. Reared in

North Carolina, educated under Dr. McCaule in South Carolina, his entire ministry was spent in these states with the exception of a pastorate in Tennessee. For twenty-three years he preached in Presbyterian churches, and for twenty-one in Independent churches. Among his followers he became renowned for piety and scholarship. A letter from a Mr. Rankin of east Tennessee, who was also an abolitionist, gives us a picture of what his enthusiastic followers thought of him: "On the 29th instant, having crossed Broad River about sunset, and being informed that I was within a few miles of the residence of Rev. William C. Davis, whose name we have long known, I determined to visit this deserving genius. According to directions, I took a small path leaving the public way. It soon became dark. The moon was in her first quarter, and afforded but a glimmering light amongst the small pines and scrubby oaks through which I passed. All was still and hushed save the unceasing cry of the dolesome whippoorwill. It is not in my power to describe the rush of thoughts that now overwhelmed my mind. Under what circumstances am I about to behold the sequestered sage, said I to myself, when on a sudden an opening was spread before my view, and in the midst a bright light shone fair as the star of the morning. When the first thrill of dismay had passed over my mind, I perceived myself to be on the verge of a small field which contained in its midst a small dwelling house with a light shining through a window from a brightly burning candle. The once beautiful but now trite phrase, 'the midnight lamp,' came into my mind.

I have seen the man of wealth musing over his coffers of gold, or meditating his schemes of lucre. I have seen the gentleman of quality carefully guarding his dignity by obeying every mandate of fashion. I have seen the Southern despot perched in his splendid portico, free from every toil of life, but for which his lash-driven slave bedewed the soil he cultivated with showers of sweat and blood. But now I beheld the man whom the world knows not, and regards not, because the powers of his gigantic mind are devoted to do the world good. The subject of my narrative is a man of agreeable appearance, his figure is well-proportioned, rather over common size, and exhibiting somewhat of majesty. His most prominent characteristic is the placid sereneness that without a cloud forever pervades his countenance. His eye kindles into an astonishing vividness in the process of conversation. The eloquence of this man is peculiarly natural, and it would no doubt gain more applause from an audience of the severest critics than from one composed of the unlearned vulgar. He, like his kindred spirits in every age, has had to endure persecution, which he has done with that firm tranquillity becoming a Christian philosopher and a wise philanthropist. He well knows that the present is not the time of his reward, but the time of his labor, — a labor for which he shall one day be repaid an hundredfold. He is by his innate greatness superior to the puny attacks of bigotry, envy and superstition, and is now devoting his whole time and talent to the glorious employment of clearing out the rubbish which ignorance, illiberality, bigotry and superstition have been long heaping in the strait and narrow, but plain, way that leads the human mind to never-ending joy. Though we now do not, yet posterity will hereafter thank him for his labors, and when many who are now propped up to a high standing by the supports of party, raised to the summit of political fame by the impulse of ambition, or become conspicuous in the gilded turrets of wealth by defrauding the widow and the orphan, when these and a thousand others who now feel themselves on the acme of earthly elevation shall have been laid low in the damp grave, and their useless names forever lost in the dark gulf of oblivion, then shall be embalmed in the memories of the learned and in the hearts of the pious, the worthy name of William C. Davis."

This man was the leader of a movement which resulted in the organization of Independent churches in North Carolina and South Carolina. One such church was organized by him also in Tennessee. Later the movement spread into Mississippi, and at the outbreak of the Civil War these people moved into the Ozark Hills, where their descendants may be found. In their conventions the question of slavery was always at the front. In August, 1831, their state convention in South Carolina had the following question for discussion, "Have infant slaves a right to the ordinance of baptism through the representation of their masters or mistresses?" The convention finally adopted the following resolutions unanimously:

"Resolved, that it is the opinion of the convention, that the connection which exists between an infant and its representative must be founded on the principles of justice in order to have a correct and proper representation, and that no infant can be represented or have a Scriptural claim to this holy ordinance unless the connection existing between it and its representatives be founded on justice and Scriptural principles.

"2d. Resolved, that the connection existing between a slaveholder and his slave is founded on the unjust and immoral principle of tyranny and oppression, and that the principle of involuntary slavery is morally wrong; consequently to admit an infant slave to baptism through the representation of its master or mistress would be a tacit acknowledgment that slavery is morally right, and would cause the sacred ordinance of God to countenance a moral evil, and would make Christ the minister of sin.

"3rd. Therefore, resolved, that it is the decided and conscientious opinion of this Convention that infant slaves should not be admitted to baptism through the representation of their masters or mistresses."

A book called "Gospel Plan," published by Mr. Davis and condemned by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church for Scriptural unsoundness, the authority for this being one of his ministers by the name of Feemster, says in one place: "There is no necessity to say one word proving the immorality of holding slaves. It is a point long ago given up by all. I suppose there is not a man in the United States whose judgment is worth attending to but would feel it a dishonor to him as a man of sense and as a citizen of America, which has fought and bled for freedom, to be thought one who would vindicate the practice of slavery, either on principles of morality or sound policy. But I do candidly think it an oddity in divinity for a preacher of the gospel of the meek and lowly Jesus, to go up into the pulpit and solemnly tell his people that if they live willfully and habitually in the practice of any known sin they are not true Christians, when at the same time he owns eight or ten African slaves, and can sell and barter in human flesh, and knows at the same time it is a general practice among the people of his congregation. They do not pretend to deny that it is wrong; they frankly acknowledge it a moral evil and most abominable sin, too, against all the laws of God and humanity; a sin of the nation and injurious to happiness, the peace and good policy of the land, and contrary to the mild dictates of the gospel, which directs us to do as we would be done by, according to the general spirit of the law and the prophets. But it is to be lamented that although they are very willing to acknowledge the sin, yet they are not ashamed of it; the reason is, it is a sin practiced by men of high rank; the affluent and the honorable, and even the generality of the clergy, are abettors of the crime, black as it is; and it is a profitable sin, and attended with elegance and fashionable politeness; all these things considered, it is no great wonder that they are not ashamed; and the true reason is they have not yet got grace enough to make it reach the heart. For, indeed, it requires more grace than generally falls to the lot of slaveholders, to make even a preacher of the gospel, who ought to be exemplary in good works to make his light shine before men, genuinely sorry for a sin which is profitable, elegant and generally practiced. But many things are pleaded in favor of this acknowledged sin. I have them now. I wish there had never one come to America. It is my duty to take care of them. If I had not my slaves another would, who no doubt would use them worse than I do, so that upon the whole it is my duty to do as well by them as possible. I make no doubt you have some pill to ease a guilty conscience; and he must have some way to lull it to sleep. The drunkard pleads his cause, too; so every other sinner has his reasons and palliations and excuses. But the slaveholder replies, and perhaps with some indignation, 'What will I do?' I answer, as to your slaves I cannot tell you what you either can or will do. Perhaps the sin has got such a firm hold of you that you cannot extricate yourself from it easily. God no doubt will do something with you, if you can do nothing with your slaves. But my business at present on this subject is to tell you of one thing that you can do and ought to do; and I wonder your own good sense and honesty has not directed you to do it long ago. I'm telling your congregation that if they willfully and habitually live in any known sin they have no religion — for if this doctrine be true, you will most assuredly go to hell. You are the very person who does willfully, avowedly, habitually and confessedly live in the daily practice of the worst sin that ever our country was guilty of; and you never preach that doctrine but you tarnish your own coat."

In another book, in referring to the slave-master, he says: "And what is worse than all this, their pompous houses and farms are decorated with slaves, cringing to the mandate of a lordly master: he, clad in clerical functions, holds an iron rod in one hand and the Bible in the other; the one directing him to do to others as he would that others should do to him, and the other contradicting this golden rule of our Lord and enforcing the orders of a rigorous despot."

Such was the spirit and doctrine of a movement starting in North Carolina and South Carolina, its influence reaching as far west as Mississippi. The churches entering into their General Convention became involved in quarrels over the tenets, and by the time of the war they had practically disappeared in North Carolina and South Carolina. Their main tenet was the abolition of the slave and securing for him equal religious and political freedom. They had no hesitancy in later days in taking him into membership with them, and the remnant stood with the North in the War. Independence of character, unswerving loyalty to their principles, characterized the movement. There is no evidence that this Independent movement was ever connected with the colonies or churches on the coast, as there would have been little sympathy on the part of either. The above is not, however, a true conception of the larger Puritan spirit in the South. The majority of the Puritans of the South stood with the section of which they were a part.

It may be said, however, that their slaves were better cared for, clothed, fed and instructed than the common negro of to-day, after forty years of freedom. Nevertheless the logic of their political ideals was never applied to the negro.

The third characteristic of Puritanism in the South, and a marked one it is, is the restlessness which has formed the basis of all those economic and religious movements which have resulted in the conquest and settlement of new territory and the world-wide extension of the Puritan faith.

This has always been his spirit. If a new world should be discovered, the Puritan would be among its first settlers with a school and church. He is the romance of the centuries.

In the South he came in through the doors of Jamestown, Charleston and Savannah. The Scotch-Irish reenforced this movement by sweeping down from Maryland into Virginia above the tide-water districts, and from thence into all the South. Together they were the conquerors of the section. From their various settlements people were constantly moving into the newer parts. Sometimes enough would go to form a little church, as when they left Dorchester, Massachusetts, for South Carolina or when the little colony went out from the old Williamsburg Church. Family names found in old Midway may be found in different places in the South. The name Bulloch, which was found as early as 1700 in Charleston, is found a little later in another part of the State where there is a church, and then later in Savannah and Midway. The pastors of their churches were organizing new ones, and wherever an old church is found, about it will be found a group of others of a later growth. They were missionaries of the Cross and felt the responsibility of a world's salvation.

From southern Virginia to Maryland, from South Carolina to southern Georgia, there are many miles, but the geography was not so important in the Puritan's vocabulary as the grammar imperative, Go. It has been such a self-sacrificing spirit that he has put into the economic, educational and religious life of the South.

Believing in education, strong in the expression of his convictions, faithful in the performance of duty, steadfast in the gospel faith, cherishing his ideals above gold, such was the Puritan of the South.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
0 014 366 085 0