

HISTORY c  
OF THE  
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH  
IN  
SOUTH CAROLINA.

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PREPARED BY ORDER OF THE SYNOD OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

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VOL. I.

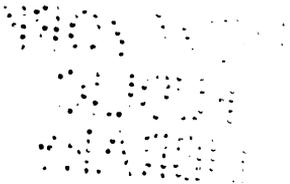
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## P R E F A C E .

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It was two hundred years on the 17th of March, 1870, since the permanent occupation of South Carolina was effected by European colonists. And some twenty years have elapsed since the writer, by the appointment of the Synod of South Carolina, began to collect the materials embodied in this volume. He was impressed with the idea, which he believes is true, that "to understand the present we must know the past;" that the men who are now here occupying the soil of those savages whom they have displaced, are what they are by virtue of the discipline which they and their ancestors have experienced. Our Presbyterian Church has endured a great fight of afflictions in the countries where it has existed since the Reformation, and the earliest colonists of our own faith came to these shores not merely in the spirit of adventure, but for "freedom to worship God." The three first chapters of this volume, which were written some years since, are occupied chiefly with the ante-American history of our people, with which many of our readers are, doubtless, familiar, but which to know and to bear in remembrance will enable our children to honor their ancestry who wrestled for the truth in days of darkness, suffering, and blood, and to consider with themselves whether the sons and daughters of martyrs and confessors should lightly esteem those privileges which it cost so much to secure, and should forsake the faith which bore them triumphant through perils and difficulties to which we are now strangers. It is not till the Second Book that the special history of the Church in this State commences, the beginnings of which are involved in some obscurity. And as the writer has chosen to adopt the chronological succession of events as far as possible, the Churches of the Low Country come first in the order of narration. For the first sixty years population did not venture far from the sea-coast. It moved slowly and cautiously towards the interior, over which the Indian tribes were still roaming, and not till after the middle of the last century could it be found beyond the centre of the State.

The work marked out for the author by the Synod at his appointment was a wide one, as the Minutes of November 19, 1849, will show; and in the effort to accomplish it the volume has reached dimensions he did not anticipate.

Our people came hither, bringing with them the views current in the European countries where they were born; and the discussions and changes of

opinion there should be known to account for opinions here, and references to these are introduced in these pages. The calamitous events which have befallen them have called into exercise their Christian virtues in days of temptation and suffering, and notices of these have not been withheld. And yet much that the writer would gladly have admitted of the deeds of our ancestors has been necessarily excluded. As was proved by Dr. Foote in reference to the Churches of Virginia, it is found that another volume will be necessary to bring the narrative down to the present times. These various matters once interwoven in the history, even if it were desired, could not be eliminated in the revision.

To preserve the chronology of events, after the First Book, the work has been written mostly in decades of years. The Second Book covers fifteen years, from 1670 to 1685; the Third Book fifteen, from 1685 to 1700. The other Books, except the last, cover each a period of ten years; so that if the continuous history of any individual Church existing previous to 1800 is sought for, it may easily be found by referring to the Index at the close of the volume. There are advantages on the one hand, and disadvantages on the other, in this arrangement.

The volume addresses itself chiefly to Presbyterians of South Carolina and their descendants. Only those who have made the attempt can know either the labor of preparing it or the cost of its publication in these times. To those brethren and friends who have contributed information respecting their own congregations and neighborhoods the author returns his unfeigned thanks; among whom he cannot omit the names of Daniel Ravenel and D. G. Stinson, Esq., and especially that of Rev. J. H. Saye, who has taken such interest in the work, and to whom we are greatly indebted. Nor would the author fail to acknowledge the favors shown him by the librarians of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of the Library of "Old South" Church, Boston, of the Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Massachusetts, and of Yale College; by Dr. Leyburn also, while Stated Clerk of the General Assembly, and by the Charleston Library Society, for access to the antiquarian treasures in their keeping.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,  
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# HISTORY

OF THE

## PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

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### BOOK FIRST.

#### PRELIMINARY HISTORY.

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#### CHAPTER I.

“THE parts of human learning,” says Lord Bacon, “have reference to the three parts of man’s understanding, which is the seat of learning: History to his memory, Poesy to his imagination, and Philosophy to his reason.” Our own individual history is invested with the deepest interest to each of us; and to retrace the path by which God has led us, that we may remember His faithfulness, and profit by our own success and failures, is rewarded with the richest fruits of knowledge. If the Church could be regarded as a person, possessing one unbroken life and one uninterrupted consciousness, whose memory did not fail with growing years, how rich would the stores of her experience become; how wise would she be; how circumspect and strong with each revolving century! Instead of this, she is a community of persons, themselves dwelling here but for a little season, no small portion of their lives spent in becoming men, and no small portion waning away in the decay which at last is completed in the grave. Yet is it instructive to them, instructive to us, to survey and perpetuate her history;—whether, to use the words of Bacon again, “she be fluctuant as the ark of Noah; or moveable as the ark in the wilderness; or at rest as the ark in the temple: the state of

the Church in preparation, in remove, and in peace." And because there is one and the same God, whose plan spans all duration, and the laws of whose working are constant, like his own nature, in the past we may often behold, as in a mirror, that future which is hastening to meet us. For all our present purposes the Church of God is a person; she is incorporated, not by the acts of any human legislation, but by her holy and divine vocation, into the fellowship of Jesus, as the body of Christ, as his chosen bride. History is her memory. Let her explore its treasures, revive the scenes through which she has passed, and adore that Angel of the Covenant who has been her cloudy and fiery pillar, through the sea and the desert, to every land of rest she has ever occupied.

Our own has been pre-eminently a witnessing and a wrestling Church. She was so in the Apostolic period, and has been, from the time of her restoration among the Alpine Mountains by the Lake of Geneva, on the sunny plains of France, in Holland wrested from the sea, among the hills and glens of Scotland, and in the northern provinces of Ireland. She has wrestled with flesh and blood, with the principalities and powers of earth, and with spiritual wickedness in high places. She has borne aloft the banner of the Covenant, and raised her voice of testimony for God's truth and Christ's kingly crown, both as witness and martyr, and has watered the soil of many lands with the blood of her sons and daughters. In her struggles for the supreme headship of Christ over his own body, the Church, she has wrought out, to a large extent, in connection with those who held her truth, the problem of individual freedom and civil liberty. Her traducers are indebted to her, more than they know, for constitutional law, representative government, and freedom from oppression.

The Presbyterians of France, of Switzerland, of Germany, of Holland, of Scotland, England, and Ireland, disciplined in the fires of persecution and tossed by the waves of innumerable calamities, guided by Christ their King to these savage wilds, have built here their altars and planted their institutions of religion and learning, and we their descendants are bound to cherish their memories, and to strengthen ourselves in our love of truth and hatred of wrong by their example. Our own history cannot be truly understood till we understand theirs. This is true of our Church at large, especially true of every portion of it planted in those thirteen States occupying the Atlantic coast—themselves settled by direct emigration from Europe—which wrought out the problem of American

independence. And we propose to consider now those streams of Presbyterian emigration which flowed into one of these States, that of South Carolina, within whose bounds the lot of most who will read these pages is or has been cast.

It is hardly necessary to premise that the Presbyterian Church maintains that system of truth advocated by Augustine against Pelagius and his disciples, and more purely set forth by Zuingle and Calvin in the sixteenth century, and that discipline and order which reappeared in the post-Apostolic period among the Waldenses of Piedmont and the Hussites of Bohemia, and was more fully proclaimed by Calvin at Geneva, who, however, was not able to carry it forth in its perfection in the Cantons of Switzerland. In his own native France, and, after a season, in Scotland, under the teachings of his disciple Knox, did it reach its highest existing perfection. It is the only form of polity, except the Papacy—that invasion of the prerogatives of Christ—in which the Church can exhibit an outward unity answering to its real oneness. In Independency it is separated into elemental particles without cohesion: in Prelacy, unity is only obtained in an earthly head, who professes to be the Vicegerent of Christ. In Presbyterianism the Church is a unit, its members are under a succession of courts rising one above another; and these, if the necessities of Christ's kingdom should ever so require, might be made amenable to a General Assembly of the National Synods of all countries, which should bind together, in a visible unity, the entire Church of Christ throughout the world.

Three great events occurring at no very distant intervals within the fifteenth century, and the early part of the sixteenth, have affected society throughout almost the whole world, and have contributed largely to the extension of Christianity.

These three potent events were the invention of printing with moveable types in 1436, the discovery of America by Columbus, 56 years later, in 1492, and the Protestant Reformation, led on by Luther and Zuingle, 25 years later, in 1517. The first book printed was the Bible,\* and religious motives, mingled with others, prompted Christopher Columbus in his efforts to discover a new world. The earliest history of this remarkable man now extant, occurs in an edition of an octapla Psalter, printed in Genoa in 1516, ten years after his death,†

\* The "Mazarin" Bible of 1455.

† This Psalter was edited by Agostino Giustiniani, Bp. of Nebbio. It is a pentaglott, containing the Hebrew with a literal Latin version, the Latin Vulgate, the Greek, the Arabic, the Chaldee paraphrase, with a Latin transla-

in which the editor, Augustine Justinian, commenting on the third verse of the nineteenth Psalm, "Their line is gone out into all the earth, and their words to the end of the world," affirms that Columbus frequently declared that he was elected of God to fulfil these words, which he regarded as a prediction of the universal spread of the true religion. The belief that he was predestined to discover a new world in fulfilment of prophecy, seems to have sustained him amidst neglect, opposition, and danger, when the mere promptings of ambition and thirst for fame and power would have failed him.

South Carolina has been called "the Home of the Huguenots," and this leads us to speak of them first in the land of their origin. France was the first to embrace the Gospel at the period of the Reformation. Zuingle, in Switzerland, began to preach the truth in 1516. Luther had discovered the way of peace, and preached it, earlier than this; but his first public act, the nailing of his theses against indulgences to the door of the church at Wittemberg, was on the 31st of October, 1517. But before 1512, says D'Aubigné, Lefevre had proclaimed the doctrine of justification by faith—Luther's "doctrine of a standing or falling Church"—in the midst of the very Sorbonne itself. Farel and Olivetan had already embraced it before Zuingle commenced his first study of the Bible, and while Luther was on his journey to Rome, on the business of his monastic order: so that, as Beza claims, if there was priority among the nations embracing the doctrines of the Reformation, this priority is due to France.\* Its doctrines took possession of many minds in the higher walks of life. They found adherents in the court of Francis the First: they won the gentle, truth-loving heart of Margaret of Valois, sister of the king, and subsequently Queen of Navarre, who exerted all her influence to promote their progress and protect their professors. Berquin, "the most learned of the nobles," Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux, who, however, recanted; Calvin, a young student of theology, even then exhibiting, in all he did, the superiority of his genius; Beza, who had devoted himself

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tion of the same, with Glosses and Scholia. It is the first polyglott of any portion of the Scriptures ever printed, except a single page in 1498-1501. It was printed at Genoa, by Peter Paul Porrus (in *Ædibus Nicholai Iustiniani Pauli*), Nov. 1516. The copy in our possession was brought by Hon. John Forsyth from Spain, in 1822.

\* D'Aubigné, *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii., book xii. Théodore DeBèze, *Histoire Ecclésiastique des Eglises Reformées au Royaume de France*, tome i., pp. 1-42.

to the law, but became an eminent minister of Christ, were among those who embraced them.

Even thus early did this portion of the Church of our fathers receive her dreadful baptism of blood. There were many martyrdoms; and in the Canton de Vaud, two and twenty villages were levelled to the ground, 4,000 of the inhabitants massacred,\* and many, whose lives were spared, condemned to the galleys. Calvin, Beza, and others, fled to Geneva for refuge. Still the doctrines of the Reformation spread. These persecutions themselves gave occasion to the noble Institutes of Calvin, written to make known the doctrines of his persecuted brethren,† which, for its intrinsic excellence and its historic importance, has been restored in some of our schools to its place as a text-book in theology. Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France, a noble of illustrious name, of exalted character and great abilities, became the active promoter of the Protestant cause; while Anthony, duke of Vendome and titular king of Navarre, and Louis, Prince of Condé, both of the royal house of France, lent their influence to this same holy cause,—the first with that wavering purpose which ever characterized him, and the other with that boldness, and daring, adventurous courage, which made him one of the most influential men in France. And thus did the Presbyterian faith rise and spread itself in France, so that from the year 1555, when the first Protestant Church was founded at Paris, in seven years' time, they had increased to 2,140 congregations. So great were their numbers in Paris, that 30,000 or 40,000 would assemble for worship in the meadows without that city,‡ returning within the walls in open day. At the VIIth National Synod at Rochelle, in 1671, at which Beza presided as moderator, they numbered 2,150 churches, some of them formed in the castles of the nobles, but others with 10,000 members, most having two ministers, and some of the largest five collegiate pastors.§ Their polity was, in all respects, the same as our own. The Anciens or Elders, and Deacons (Diacres), formed the Consistory or Session, or the Senate of the Church at which the pastor was to preside; and their duties were ordered as in our own book of

\* 3,000, Maimbourg, Histoire du Calvinisme, Livre 2. Vide Gerdesius, iv., p. 160, et seq. Béze, livre i., p. 28-42.

† See his dedication to Francis I., Anno 1536.

‡ The Pré aux Clercs, where now is the Faubourg Saint Germain. This was the rendezvous of the Protestants, where they would spend their summer evenings in singing Marot's psalms, and in friendly conference.

§ Smedley, i., 183. Quick's Synodicon, vol. i., p. lix.

discipline. The Colloquy answered to our Presbytery, the Provincial Synod to our Synod, the National Synod to our General Assembly; and the trials for proposants for the ministry, and the efforts to establish and maintain schools and colleges, were much the same as have ever characterized the churches of our faith in all lands.\* But Presbytery slept on no bed of roses in the kingdom of France. She was then bearing her testimony against Papal corruptions and wrestling for the truth. "I returned, and behold the tears of the oppressed; and on the side of the oppressor was power, and they had no comforter." Calvin had inculcated on them the doctrine of non-resistance to the powers that be, since they were ordained of God; even, says he in his Institutes, "if they were inhumanly harassed by a cruel prince; if they were rapaciously plundered by an avaricious or luxurious one."† But the tide of persecution was so cruelly turned against them in the last part of the reign of Francis I., and still more systematically under Henry II., that men accustomed to arms, and bold and unshrinking in danger, sought to wrest from the hands of power that liberty to worship God which had been so tyrannically denied them. Frequent were the conflicts in arms with their cruel oppressors, and scanty the privileges they gained, even under the guidance of the brave Coligny and the Prince Condé.

The first attempt to found a State on the continent of North America was made by Spain, and by adherents of the Church of Rome, within the present territories of South Carolina. We say the first attempt, because that of the Icelanders, assigned to the year 1000 or 1003, belongs to the province of mythology rather than history. After the discovery of Florida by Ponce de Leon, a companion of Columbus, in 1512, a company was formed in St. Domingo which fitted out two slave-ships under Lucas Vasquez d'Ayllon, and despatched them for that coast in 1515 or 1516. The land they first made they called St. Helena; the river they entered, now known by its Indian name, the Combahee, they called the Jordan; the country was called by its inhabitants Chiquola or Chicora. The unsuspecting and hospitable natives were enticed on board, and when the holds were full, the hatches were closed upon them by the Spaniards, who weighed anchor and bore away for St. Domingo. Many of the natives on board the vessels

\* Quick's Synodicon, i., p. vi.—lviii. Aymon, Synodes Nationaux, tome i., Beza, i., p. 109.

† Institutes, b. iv., ch. xx., p. 29.

sickened and died, one of the vessels foundered at sea, and the captors and their prisoners perished together.

D'Ayllon visited Spain and obtained the title of Adelantado, or governor of Chicora, which he proposed to conquer for the Spanish crown. Returning to St. Domingo, he fitted out three vessels at his own expense, and putting one of them under the command of Miruelo, who had been on the Florida coast before, and whom he had engaged as pilot, embarked on his ill-fated enterprise. After various misadventures, for Miruelo had made no observations on his previous voyage, they entered the Combahee, where the largest of the vessels stranded. With the other two vessels he sailed further, found a harbor convenient and accessible, and a desirable, pleasant country, and resolving to found there the capital of Chicora, he took possession of the whole domain in the name of his sovereign Charles V. The natives, dissembling their resentment of his former treachery, treated him with distinguished honors. He was thrown off his guard, and permitted 200 of his men to visit their village, six miles distant. These the Indians feasted for three successive days. But on the third night they rose upon them and put them all to death. By the morning dawn they rushed upon D'Ayllon with that savage war-whoop which has so often brought dismay to the dwellings of the white man, and engaged with him and the remainder of his adherents in bloody strife. Whether he was killed on the spot, or succeeded in reaching his ships, and there died of his wounds, is not recorded. But their ships were the only means of safety. The idea of founding a colony was abandoned, and the two vessels, with the residue of D'Ayllon's men, set sail from the shores where their perfidy had been so signally punished. It is probable that the spot where D'Ayllon attempted to found his colony is not far from the present site of Beaufort.

After this occurred the ill-fated expedition of Narvaez, who landed at Tampa Bay, April 13, 1528, and travelled along the low country of West Florida, and perished near the bay of Perdido, where he was last seen, contending against the strong waves with a miserable flotilla, which he and his men had constructed, in the vain hope of reaching the fleet which had brought him to those shores.

Hernando de Soto was the next to attempt the conquest of the southern portion of what is now the United States of North America. To his standard flocked the brave and adventurous sons of Spain. With 600 men, in the bloom and pride of life, augmented by an accession of followers from

Cuba, he marched through the country, in quest of gold and splendid cities, finding a foe in every hammock, thicket, and winding stream. Although his force exceeded that with which Pizarro had conquered Mexico and Peru, it was quietly melting away. Though they brought with them arms of every kind then known, chains for captives, blood-hounds to track the fugitive barbarians, a forge and armorer for the repair or manufacture of arms, all these availed little against the Indians of North America, whose life was that of a roaming hunter, inured to hardship. With these arrangements for the subjugation of Florida, were others for its conversion to the Romish faith. Twelve priests, with other ecclesiastics, accompanied the march, the paraphernalia of Romish worship were provided, the festivals of the Church were punctually observed, and all processions and pomps celebrated amidst the dense forests and dreary wilderness through which they passed. The natives they had expected to conquer by force of arms, and to convert at the point of the sword and spear.

We shall not follow this remarkable man in his wanderings over the wilderness of what is now Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Missouri, and Arkansas, until his death and burial at midnight in the waters of the Mississippi, in May, 1542. The story is one of wonderful adventure, and of terrible cruelties practised upon the Indians. Relics recently unearthed from the burial mounds of these people have led some to the belief that they had obtained a knowledge of Christianity as professed at Rome, but we can hardly conceive it could have been taught them by these followers of De Soto.

As the French were the first to embrace the truths of the Reformation, so were they the first of all the Protestants to turn their eyes to this American continent to find an asylum from oppression, and to conceive the idea of planting here the institutions of the Gospel, and adding a New World to Protestant Christendom. De Coligny, with an anxious eye, saw the increasing troubles of the Huguenots of France, and turned to the project of planting colonies in America as places of refuge. Nicholas Durand de Villegagnon, a Knight of Malta and Vice-Admiral of Brittany, moved rather by avarice and ambition than by any virtuous impulse, offered, in 1555, to plant a Protestant colony on the coast of South America, to people the country, and convert the heathen nations. He represented it to the king as an enterprise which would greatly promote the commerce of France, and, by these representations, obtained the royal assent and the means necessary.

Care was taken by Coligny, whose confidence Durand had gained, that the colony should consist of a large majority of Protestants. Durand wrote back for a larger number of colonists, and, above all, for "two discreet and active ministers of the Gospel;" and gave a glowing account of his success. Calvin and the Synod of Geneva manifested great interest in the enterprise, and sent out two clergymen, Richer and Chartier, as missionaries. But Durand threw off the disguise he had assumed to obtain his ends, changed his conduct toward those whom he had drawn thither, persecuted them according to the edict of France, and ordered four of them to be thrown into the sea. Disheartened at these events, the ministers, and many of their flock, obtained leave to return. But they were sent home in an unseaworthy vessel, which many of them refused to enter. Those who intrusted themselves to the mercy of the elements, after nearly perishing with hunger from the deficiency of their naval stores, at length reached the coast of France, and delivered a sealed packet to the nearest magistrates, which Durand had assured them would secure to them hospitable treatment; but which denounced them as heretics, and commended them to the secular arm that they might be destroyed. Fortunately, the magistrates of Hennebon, on the coast of Brittany, the place where they touched, were of their own faith, and revealed the perfidy of Durand to the miserable fugitives.\* But the divine Nemesis did not long delay. His colony which remained was attacked and expelled by the Portuguese, in 1565, who founded there the present town of Rio Janeiro, the capital of Brazil; so near did this wealthy kingdom come to being a colony of France, and, perhaps, a Protestant rather than a Papal country.

Before these events were fully known, Coligny sent out another band of emigrants, under Jean Ribault, in two vessels of the royal navy, with a company of veterans, and several gentlemen, all of the Huguenot faith, to found another colony, and on our own shores. They sailed from Havre on the 18th of February, 1562, and landed in the St. John's River, in Florida, on the 1st of May, giving it the name of May River on this account. Here he set up a pillar, engraved with the king's arms, and took possession of the country in the name of the king. "The simple natives having beheld the religious worship connected with this ceremony, crowned the pillar with

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\* Bêze, *Hist. Eccles.* i., pp. 101-102. Smedley, i., 66. Henry's *Life of Calvin*, ii., p. 360.

garlands of laurel after the departure of their visitors, and long esteemed it an object of superstitious reverence."\* Thence he sailed northward for four weeks, till he came to a deep and spacious bay, forming an entrance to a noble river, which he called Port Royal, "one of the fairest and greatest havens in the world," as he says, and which still bears the name he gave it. Here, on the coast of South Carolina, he erected another pillar, similarly engraved, and again took possession of the country in the royal name. Here, also, he built a fort which he called Fort Charles, the traces of whose intrenchments are yet seen;† and having supplied it with tools, provisions, and warlike stores, and left in it a small garrison of twenty-six men—gentlemen, soldiers, and mariners, who had volunteered to remain—he returned to report to Coligny what he had accomplished, and to bring out other colonists to people a land clothed with fertility and beauty. Thus was planted by the Huguenots of France, in South Carolina, the first Presbyterian colony in America, forty-five years before the settlement of Virginia, and fifty-eight before the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth Rock. How Ribault, on returning home, found France involved in civil war, and no one at leisure to attend to the newly planted colony; how they, relying upon supplies from abroad, took no measures, by cultivating the soil, to obtain them; how they were reduced to straits, and became dependent on the friendly Indians for supplies; how dissension arose among them, and their commander was put to death; how they at length constructed the first vessel built by European hands on this continent, and after dreadful hardships at sea, in which one of their number was selected by lot, and his flesh made to satisfy the hunger of the rest, they reached the shores of Europe; how Coligny fitted out a new expedition, the king providing three armed vessels for the enterprise, the command of it being given to Laudonnière, Coligny having advised him to take none with him who were not of his own religion; how officers, soldiers, mariners, flocked to him, and he left with a picked company, among whom were many young men of ancient and noble families; how on the 24th of June, 1564, he entered the St. John's river, in Florida, which was regarded by the French as a part of Carolina or New France, and there built a new fort, *Arx Carolina*, and how troubles and dissensions arose among them also;

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\* Rivers, p. 20.

† On Paris Island, below Beaufort.—*Rivers' South Carolina*, p. 52.

how, in the following year, January, 1565, Ribault again sailed with four vessels and a large company, many of them with their wives and children, seeking that freedom in religion which was denied them at home ; how he was followed by a Spanish fleet under Don Pedro Menendez, who landed at the site of St. Augustine, which was then founded by him, and who had orders to propagate the Roman Catholic faith, and destroy all heretics—all these things are matters of history.

The disastrous issue is well known. Ribault placed the women and children in Fort Carolina, leaving there with Laudonière a garrison of eighty men, only twenty of whom were effective, and, crowding nearly all his force aboard the few ships he had, resolved to attack Menendez, and deliver Fort Carolina from so dangerous an enemy. But while he was waiting for the tide to favor, a storm arose and drove the armament of Ribault down the Florida Gulf. Menendez immediately took 500 well-armed men, and came on Fort Carolina before Laudonière knew of his leaving St. Augustine. The Huguenot settlement had been doomed to destruction from the very commencement of the expedition. There were zealous Papists enough at the French Court to inform their Spanish neighbors of the whole armament and expectations of the Huguenot colony. And now, before his attack on the feeble garrison, his men were summoned to an act of worship of the most high God. From their bended knees they rushed to immolate their victims. The garrison, after a short defence, was forced to surrender. So sudden, however, was the attack, that some were slain in their beds, and others in the act of flight. Women, and boys under fifteen, say the Spanish writers, were spared ; but the French speak of the massacre as indiscriminate. After the battle was over, the living and dead were hung alike on the branches of one tree, and their bodies left a prey to the birds of heaven. At the root of the tree, Menendez set up a stone with the inscription : " I do not do this as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans." Laudonière, and twenty more, leaped from the parapet, and escaped to the woods, and, at length, on board some small vessels yet in the stream. Menendez hastened back to St. Augustine with a part of his force, to defend it against Ribault, was received with triumph, and with chants of *Te Deum* at his victory. But the unfortunate Ribault was in no condition to attack him. His vessels were dashed in pieces on the Florida coast, their arms and a supply of provisions alone being saved. Their only hope was to thread the shore and reach Fort Carolina,

of whose fate they were not aware. The first party arrived at a stream about twelve miles below St. Augustine, when Menendez heard of their situation. Negotiations were entered into, and they resolved to surrender. Menendez had them brought over the river by tens, with their hands tied behind them; and marched to a line drawn by him in the sand with his cane, and there slaughtered in cold blood. "Seeing they were Lutherans,"\* says Mendoza, the priest, "the general condemned them all to death." After some days, Ribault, with the rest of his party, were met at the same stream by Menendez with a large escort. Negotiations were entered into, and the French writers tell us that Menendez promised to spare their lives; that the promise was in writing under his hand and seal, and confirmed by an oath. Ribault and his followers advanced to the bank of the river, and were taken across, ten at a time, with their arms pinioned. Ribault was asked whether they were Catholics or Lutherans. He replied, "that he and his companions were of the new religion." Orders were immediately given for their slaughter. The whole number of French, men, women, and children, slain by the Spaniards, is stated in the petition to the king, by the widows, children, and relations of the victims, to have been more than 900. The Huguenots plead with Menendez that their sovereigns were at peace, and that they should not be treated as enemies. He replied, "The Catholic French are, indeed, our allies and friends; but it is not so with heretics. With these I wage a war of extermination, and in this I serve both monarchs." Though the knowledge of these events aroused the indignation of the people, and touched the national honor, and the friends of these murdered men approached the throne with supplications, the court looked upon the whole with perfect apathy. The rumor even became current that this infamous perfidy was perpetrated with the connivance of the king. Certain it is that no remonstrance was ever sent to the Spanish court.†

But while the king refused to redress this great wrong, the Chevalier de Gourgues, a gentleman of Gascony, of an ancient

\* By this name were the French Protestants then known, though not affiliated with the Church as established by Luther.

† See on this subject the following authorities. *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, par Marc Lescarbot, Avocat en Parlement, *Témoin Oculaire d'une Partie des Choses ici Recitées*. Troisième édition. A Paris, MDCXVIII., pp. 40-225.—*Mémoire*, par Francisco Lopez Mendoza, Chapelain de l'Expédition de Pedro Menendez de Abiles, from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Royale, with other original narratives, edited by H. Ternaux. Paris,

family, and attached to the Papal faith, roused and indignant at the apathy of the court, undertook with his own hand to punish the enormous perfidy. By the sale of his property, and by borrowing from his friends, he fitted out an expedition, keeping his purpose secret until he arrived at the island of Cuba. He then addressed his men, told them of the great wrong which he had come to avenge, and roused their enthusiasm to the highest pitch. Thence he sailed for Fort Carolina. He found that the Spaniards had erected three forts of different degrees of strength. Having arranged with the native Indians, who lent their assistance, each of these was taken in succession. And now came the last act in this drama of retaliation. Gourgues took his prisoners to the place where the companions of Ribault and Laudonnière had been hung, reminded them of that act of treachery, and that he had come to avenge it, and hung them on the same tree on which his own countrymen had been hung by Menendez, leaving behind an inscription on a pine plank, "I did not do this as to Spaniards, nor as to infidels, but as to traitors, thieves, and murderers." After demolishing the forts, Gourgues returned to France. Instead of being rewarded and honored by his own government, he was persecuted by it. Though himself a Roman Catholic, and bent only upon revenging the wrong done to Frenchmen, and to himself *as a citizen of France*, he had, in fact, avenged the wrong of those persecuted Huguenots whom his government hated. He was pursued, too, with bitter malice by Spain, and impoverished by the expenses of the expedition he had fitted out.\*

Thus ended the efforts of the French to establish a colony on the Atlantic coast of these Southern States, while the unsuccessful attempt of Velasquez d'Ayllon, in 1520 and 1524, whose treachery to the natives received a signal retribution, kept the Spaniards in the most southern portion of North America. If the Huguenots of France could have been transported to these shores, with the wealth, education, skill in the arts of war and peace, which belonged to them in the days of Henry IV., and with their religious faith, if unmolested,

MDCCLXXI.—Hackluyt's Voyages, iii., pp. 300-360.—Sparks' American Biography, vol. xvii.; Life of John Ribault, and the authorities there quoted. According to Mendoza, who learned the fact from one of the French captives, there were in the expedition two Protestant clergymen.—Ternaux, p. 214. One of these appears to have borne the name of Robert, who is mentioned as the chaplain; the other was Challeux, whose narrative is found in Ternaux, Comp. Barcia.

\* La Reprins de la Florida.—Ternaux, i., p. 301.

they would have thriven and flourished here, and converted the wilderness into a garden. But this could not be. Their own country sought to destroy them. Even the colony which was established by the king of France he did not foster and protect. He desired its overthrow rather than its preservation, and allowed his Spanish ally cruelly to destroy what he had not yet resolved to destroy with his own hand. Had France protected this colony she would soon have added to it colonists of another faith, and the Huguenot would have been persecuted here as he was persecuted on his own shores. And had Spain established herself in these territories, we should have had here the worthless and paralyzing institutions of Rome. A pure faith would never have been tolerated, nor our free institutions have existed. Under better auspices and other influences was it the will of Providence that this land should be peopled. And for this we are thankful. God forbid that we should ever bow our necks under the cruel superstitions of the Papal Church; that we should lose aught of that pure doctrine, that healthy spirit of individual freedom, that right of private judgment, that sense of direct responsibility to God alone, as Lord of the conscience, and that submission to the majesty of law, which we have received from that noble ancestry from which we sprung, and which could have been fostered in us by no other nation than that under whose auspices our country was colonized.

Meanwhile, the affairs of France underwent a great change. Weary, apparently, of civil war, peace was concluded at St. Germain in 1570, three years after the events just described, on the basis of amnesty for the past, the free exercise of the Protestant religion in the suburbs of two towns in each province, restoration of confiscated property, and the possession of four cautionary cities for two years, as security for the observance of the treaty. This peace, so grateful to France, caused great sorrow to the Pope. It had been the policy of government to persecute the Huguenots. Now, all is flattery and pretended affection. A marriage was projected between the King of Navarre, the Protestant prince, and Margaret, sister of the King, which was urged by the King upon the Protestants as the surest means of cementing the amity between the two dissentient parties, and, at the same time, apologized for to the Pope as the only means of avenging himself on his and God's enemies, and chastising these great rebels. The facts of this consummate treachery are all well known. The Queen of Navarre, with her children, the Prince Condé

and the King of Navarre, were drawn to Paris to be present at the august ceremony; the Admiral de Coligny, in spite of many warnings, also was drawn there with the chief nobility attached to the Protestant cause, and was received with every demonstration of friendship by the King and the Duke of Guise, his ancient enemy; troops were introduced into the city, ostensibly to protect the Huguenots, but, in truth, for another purpose. As he had been fired at and wounded by an assassin, the Protestant gentlemen were invited to gather around the hotel of Coligny for his greater security, and the King of Navarre was advised to strengthen himself by assembling in his apartments persons most attached to his service. These preparations, for the most consummate perfidy that is found on the pages of history, were duly made. At two o'clock on Sunday morning, the 24th of August, 1572, being the eve of St. Bartholomew's, the church bell of St. Germain was rung, which was the concerted signal. The Duke of Guise, attended by his brother and other gentlemen, went to Coligny's house, which was broken open, the Swiss guards at the foot of the stairs were killed, and the hired assassins of Guise, Besme, and Pestrucchi penetrated to the chamber of the Admiral. Awaked by the noise, he asked his attendant what it was: he replied, "My Lord, God calls us to Himself." Coligny then said to his attendants, "Save yourselves, my friends. I have long been prepared for death." They all left him but one. He betook himself to prayer, awaiting his murderers. Every door was burst open, and Besme appeared before him, "Art thou Coligny?" said he. "I am," said the Admiral: "Young man, you should respect my gray hairs; but do what you will, you can shorten my life but a few days." Besme plunged his sword into Coligny's body: his companions stabbed him with their daggers. Besme then called from the window to Guise that it was done. "Very well," was the reply; "but M. d'Angouleme will not believe it unless he sees him at his feet."

The body was then thrown from the window, and the blood spirted on the faces and dress of the Princes. Guise wiped its face to recognize it, spurned it with his foot, and ordered the head to be cut off. Then was one branch of our Presbyterian Church receiving its baptism of blood. Armed men, and priests with a crucifix in one hand and a sword in the other, preceded the murderers, urging them to spare neither relatives nor friends. When daylight came, headless bodies were falling from the windows, the gateways were blocked up

with the dead and dying, the streets were filled with carcasses, which were dragged along the pavement to the river. The palace of the Louvre was itself filled with blood. The Protestant gentlemen whom the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were advised to assemble around their persons, were called forth into the courtyard, one by one, and killed. Most died without complaining, others appealed to the public faith, and the promise of the King. "Great God!" they cried, "be the defence of the oppressed!" "Just Judge! avenge this perfidy." For three days, and to some extent for a week, the massacre continued. The body of Coligny was tossed into a stable, then drawn through the streets for two or three days, then thrown into the Seine, then drawn out and hung in chains by one foot from the gibbet of Montfaucon; a slow fire being kindled beneath, also greatly disfigured it. The King visited these mangled remains, and when some of the courtiers stopped their noses at the offensive smell, he remarked, "The smell of a dead enemy is always sweet." Even the ladies of the court were seen to descend into the square of the Louvre to view the dead bodies of the gentlemen who had cheerfully conversed with them the day before, which they did with unfeeling merriment and wanton curiosity. This massacre was repeated in other cities, till 30,000, or, as some say, 100,000, were put to death. Yet at Rome there were great rejoicings. The Pope went in grand procession and performed high mass. A *Te Deum* was sung, and a medal struck, bearing on one side the head of Gregory XIII. and on the other the Destroying Angel smiting the Protestants, with the legend *Huguenotorum Strages*, 1572.

After this perfidious and cruel act, the Huguenot Churches were brought to a stand. Many of the Reformed took refuge in England, in the Palatinate, and in Switzerland. Others retired to the fortified cities of Cevennes, Sancerre, Montauban, Nismes, and Rochelle, determined to defend their faith with their lives and treasure. Rochelle was one of the strongest places in France. It was attacked by a mighty army, and by the chief nobility of the French monarchy, but such was the valor of the besieged, that this numerous host, after a loss of 40,000 men, were obliged to come to an understanding with the beleaguered city, and to secure privileges of worship, and restoration of offices and dignities to the confederates. Sancerre suffered more than Rochelle during the siege which it underwent. The inhabitants were reduced to such straits as to satisfy the cravings of appetite with the most revolting food.

The skins of animals macerated in water were in great esteem, and *literary* repasts, not figuratively but literally, were often indulged in. Not only blank parchments, but letters, title-deeds, books, printed or manuscripts, after having undergone this process, were eaten as food. Old and valuable records and deeds thus contributed to sustain life. "One could still read," says Lery, pastor of La Charité, and former historian of Ville-gagnon's expedition, "the characters printed or manuscript in the morsels which were on the plate ready to be eaten." Charles IX. seems to have declined in health from the night of St. Bartholomew. Sleep often fled from his eyes, his nights were disturbed by horrid dreams of the blood, murder, and perfidy of those awful scenes. Blood is said to have exuded from every pore, and his frame to have been torn with strong convulsions. He died in 1574, in the 24th year of his age and the 13th of his reign, the victim of remorse. His death was followed by that of the brave Montgomery, the general of the Huguenots, who was first subjected to the torture and then executed by the cruel Catharine of Aragon, the queen-mother. Henry III. succeeded to the throne, a dissolute monarch, of low and brutal tastes, and of blind devotion to the Church of Rome.

The Prince Condé had raised an army in Germany, the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre, brothers of the reigning monarch, had escaped from Paris and joined the Huguenot forces, and the mightiest confederacy and the goodliest army which had ever supported the cause of the Reformed were now arrayed against the oppressions of the court. But it melted away before the genius and duplicity of Catharine. She granted an amnesty for the past, freedom of worship everywhere but in Paris and two leagues around, the right to build churches, erect schools, print books, administer sacraments, solemnize marriages, hold consistories and synods. Courts half Catholic and half Protestant were granted, and cautionary towns were given up to the Reformed. By these measures the Huguenot league was disarmed, though neither Henry nor his mother intended to observe the conditions of the peace. The flames of war were again rekindled in 1577, and raged till 1580, when the Huguenots regained the concessions they had before enjoyed. In 1583 they attempted to form a general union of the Protestant States of Europe, and with this intent undertook negotiations with Queen Elizabeth, to induce her to put herself at the head of a Protestant League. They represented the patrimonial revenues of Henry

of Navarre, at that time, to amount to 300,000 crowns annually, and that from his patrimonial domain he could furnish 300 gentlemen, handsomely accompanied, and 6,000 well-armed arquebusiers. Among the fiefs which he held as vassal of the French crown, the county of Foix could furnish 6,000 more. The district from the Spanish frontier to Dordogne, six days' journey, abounding in noble estates and rich cities, a numerous population, and chivalrous nobles, was wholly devoted to the Protestant cause. The whole of Languedoc, with the exception of two or three places, was devoted to the Huguenots. In Provence, their churches had greatly increased. Dauphiné could give 4,000 arquebusiers, and 400 veteran gentlemen who had been in the saddle since the commencement of their religious struggles. Through the whole length of France, from the Savoy to the Pyrenees, at every three leagues, a traveller might lodge in some town which either belonged to the patrimony or was under the protection of the King of Navarre. In the district between the Garonne and the Dordogne, 4,000 arquebusiers might be collected any time in four days, and 6,000 more and 500 gentlemen would flock to the banners of the Prince of Condé from Angouleme, Saintonge, Poitou, and Aunis. And, though in the northern provinces the Huguenots had been scattered since the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, they were yet secretly banded together, and there was not a corner where some gentleman did not reside, at whose summons the Huguenots of all classes would take the field, if the occasion should demand. The University of Orthés also was under the care of learned men, and there were always in attendance as many as fifty students, preparing, by a ten years' course of study, for the holy ministry. Elizabeth, however, could not be induced to declare for this alliance, and rejected, also, the personal suit of the Duc d'Anjou, who had been suing for her hand the last ten years. Their efforts were unsuccessful also in Germany. In 1584, the Duke of Guise, with the other Popish chiefs, formed a league with Philip of Spain for the extermination of the Huguenots, and the transference of the French crown to the family of the Guises.\* The irresolute King Henry III., for his own

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\* This led to energetic efforts on the part of the Protestants. England furnished subsidies. Beza, now an old man, went on a pilgrimage from Geneva to the Protestant princes of Germany, and succeeded in obtaining a large auxiliary force to aid their cause. The two armies met at the battle of Coutras, in 1587. The army of the Leaguers glittered with gold and silver, like that of the Persians of old; that of the Protestants, led on by Henry of

protection, procured the assassination of the Duke of Guise, and sought an alliance with the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, who were at the head of the Protestant cause. They supported him till his death by the hand of an assassin, in 1589, when the King of Navarre, with the title of Henry IV., succeeded to the throne. He was obliged to contend however still for his crown, and proved himself equal to every emergency. At the battle of Yvry, with an army of 10,000 men, he engaged the Leaguers, who brought to the field a force which was double of his. "If you lose sight of your standard," says he to his soldiers, "bear my white plumes in view; they will ever be found in the path of honor and duty." His efforts were rewarded with a complete victory. As he saw no hope, however, of putting a stop to the civil wars, he at length, to the great grief of the Protestant nobles, professed the religion of Rome. Many have believed that he was wholly influenced to do this by motives of policy; but Sully, who well knew his heart, believed that, though these "first suggested to him the idea of conversion, he brought himself in the end to regard the Catholic Church as the more certain of the two." In April, 1598, the King, not unmindful of his former friends, and dreading lest any longer delay should convert them into enemies, caused the celebrated Edict of Nantes to be published, which consisted of 92 original articles, with 50 subsequently added as explanatory, in which free toleration and liberty of conscience were proclaimed throughout the kingdom for the Huguenots. This edict also gave them equal civil rights, equal privileges in the universities and schools, eligibility to office, courts half Protestant and half Catholic for the trial of their causes. The XVth National Synod of the Huguenot Church assembled in the month of May, 1598, at which time the number of Reformed

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Navarre, were clad in threadbare garments, without any ornaments, weather-beaten men, inured to toil and hardship. No sooner were they formed in line of battle than they raised, after the manner of our forefathers in Scotland, the 118th Psalm, and then knelt while a short but fervent prayer was offered. The officiating minister, D'Amours, no sooner than he had concluded this act of devotion, drew his sword and mingled with the foremost combatants, with his head uncovered and with no other defensive armor than a corselet. The attitude of prayer was regarded by some of the younger cavaliers of the opposing army as the result of fear. "'Sdeath! they tremble," cried they, "the cowards are at their devotion!" A veteran officer, however, who knew them better, turned to Joyeuse, the general, and assured him that after the Huguenots had been so employed, they fought to desperation. The armies joined battle. The King of Navarre exhibited the greatest coolness and valor, and was ever in the thickest of the fight, and more than 400 royalists of honorable birth, and 3,000 soldiers, were left dead on the field of battle.

churches amounted to 760, and some of them were very large, and had three, four, and five pastors; others were very small, in great poverty and distress, and were united two or three together under one minister. The Edict of Nantes was honorably observed by Henry till his lamented death, which was caused by the dagger of Ravailiac, a fanatic, on the 14th of May, 1610.

When Cardinal Richelieu became prime minister under Louis, he set himself at work to suppress the liberties of the Huguenots, and preparations were made for the capture of Rochelle, their chief stronghold, which yielded after a siege of nearly 18 months, during which the garrison was reduced from 27,000 to 5,000, and out of nearly 600 Englishmen, left in the city by Buckingham, only 62 survived. Privas was taken, plundered and burnt, and one stronghold after another yielded to the royal arms. Measures were now set on foot for the conversion of the Protestants. Men of high birth were won by the promise of rank and honors. It was declared to be "essential for all the subjects of a sovereign to have the same creed." Inducements of every kind were held out to abjure the Protestant faith. Laws were passed to prevent a relapse after abjuration. Protestant ministers were forbidden to expostulate with any who had expressed their conversion. An edict against emigration was issued in 1669. Edict followed edict. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes began even now to be contemplated. At length the King fell under the influence of Madame de Maintenon, the grandchild of Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigné, who had renounced the Calvinistic faith, and adopted that of Rome. Protestants were declared incapable of exercising the office of notary, of acting in any branch of the legal profession, of practising medicine. The trades of the apothecary, grocer, printer, and bookseller were forbidden them. No Protestant of any trade was allowed to have an apprentice. Those who abjured the Protestant faith were allowed the delay of three years for the payment of their debts, while the greatest rigor was used in relation to others.

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## CHAPTER II.

### PRESBYTERIANISM IN SCOTLAND.

THE scene now changes to another country. It was on the soil of Scotland that the Presbyterian Church chiefly bore her

testimony and wrestled unto blood, for Christ's Crown and Covenant, against royal tyranny and prelatical domination. The doctrines of our Confession had been known there at a far earlier day. According to Tertullian,\* who lived in the second century, "those portions of Britain which were inaccessible to the Romans had submitted to Christ." Scotland appears to have received the Gospel directly from Asia at that early period. About the close of the third century the Scottish race occupied Ireland, which bore the name Scotia as late as the eleventh century. About A. D. 410, Succath, whose historic name is Patrick, was born at Bonnaven (called after him Kil-Patrick, or Kirk-Patrick), which is midway between Dumbarton and Glasgow. After being twice in bondage as a captive, he became the Apostle of Ireland, and was the instrument of making it what it afterward became, "Insula Sanctorum," "Island of Saints." In his day, the Saxons, then a pagan race, invaded and conquered England, and the flying Britons escaped in different directions, carrying the gospel with them, to the north of Scotland, to Wales, the north of Ireland, and the north of France,† where their descendants remain to this day. Columba was born in Ireland, A. D. 521, and first preached Christ, with great success, in his own country, and afterward went on missionary labor to the Picts of the neighboring coast of Scotland. His preaching was attended with great results, and the King of the Picts gave him the small island of Iona,‡ as a reward for his disinterested exertions. He returned to Ireland, secured twelve assistants, and established himself on the island he had thus obtained by the royal gift. Numbers resorted to them for religious instruction, their little huts and rude chapels were soon superseded, and in a few years the island was covered with cloisters and churches, and inhabited by a numerous body of students and clergymen. The establishment at Iona has been called a convent, but many of the convents of that day were hardly more of monastic institutions than are colleges and theological seminaries now. It was an extensive theological seminary and missionary school. The grand design and effort of Columba and his assistants was to train up men for the holy ministry.

From this institution preachers were sent to England, Ire-

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\* Advers. Judæos, c. 7; also Chrysost., t. vi., p. 635; Euseb., l. iii.

† Hence called Brittany.

‡ Called also I, Hii, and Icolmkill. The original name was I, i. e. *Island*: I—columb—kill, *the island of Columba's cell, or retreat*. Jamieson, *Ancient Culdees*, pp. 3, 4, 5, 354-357.

land, Scotland, and Wales, and they even crossed the Channel and carried the light of the gospel into Belgium and Germany. Not less than a hundred similar institutions, modelled upon that of Iona, were said to have arisen in different parts of Britain, in which missionaries and ministers were also trained.

Such were the institutions of the ancient Culdees of Scotland, who maintained the pure doctrines of God's word, and our own the Presbyterian and apostolic form of government, when "all the world were wondering after the beast," and one thousand years before Calvin was born. They held to the parity of ministers, and knew nothing, except by hearsay, of the prelatical form of government. They opposed the celibacy of the clergy, rejected the auricular confession, penance, absolution, confirmation, the use of the chrism in baptism, the worship of saints, angels, and the virgin, and relied solely on the merits and righteousness of our Lord Jesus Christ. They commenced their efforts in England about the same time that Augustine and his forty monks arrived from Rome—they laboring in the north, and the Romish missionaries in the south. Their opposition to Rome may be judged of by the following extract from the poems of Taliessin, who is supposed to have lived about A. D. 620 :

"Wo be to that priest yborn,  
That will not cleanly weed his corn,  
And preach his charge among :  
Wo be to that sheperd, I say,  
That will not watch his fold alway,  
As to his office doth belong :  
Wo be to him that doth not keepe  
From *Romish* wolves his erringshcepe,  
With staff and weapons strong."\*

The kings of England, however, favored the splendid ritual of Rome : the Romish priests were intolerant and overbearing, and the Culdees, who could not conscientiously conform, returned to Scotland, leaving the plains of the south to the ministers of Rome.† And, thanks to God! the spirit of the

\* Usher, *Religion of the Ancient Irish*, p. 83, where the original Gaelic may be seen. See also Mason's *Primitive Christianity in Ireland*, p. 43.

† Jamieson, *Hist. of the Culdees*, p. 91. The name *Culdee* is of uncertain etymology. It is derived by some from the Latin *Cultor Dei*, worshipper of God, while others derive it from the Gaelic *Kyldee*, from *Cylle* or *Cuil*, a cell, in the plur. *Celydi*, those who occupy religious retreats.—*Jamieson*, p. 5. Authority for the above facts may be found in Bede, *Hist. Eccl. Anglorum*, lib. ii. c. xix., lib. iii. c. iii., iv. v., xiv., xxv., xxvi., lib. iv., c. iv. See Opera, t. iii. *Jamieson, Hist. Account of the Ancient Culdees*, 4to. Edinburgh, 1811. Archbp. Usher, *Disc. of the Rel. anciently professed by the Irish and British*. Mason's *Primitive Christianity in Ireland*, Dublin, 1836. Stuart,

old Culdees has never since been wholly extinguished in Scotland, North Ireland, and Wales. It is honorable to St. Columba and his establishment at Iona, that forty-eight kings of Scotland, four of Ireland, eight of Norway, and one of France, lie interred on that island—a fact which shows how much the Culdees were revered, and how widely their influence had extended. It was not till the fourteenth century, about the time that Wickliffe\* arose in England, “the morning star of the Reformation,” that the Culdee establishments were subjected by the Scotch kings to bishops connected with the see of Rome, and gross darkness covered the land.

Scotland received the light of the Reformation almost as soon as it shone forth on the continent of Europe. In 1528, thirteen years after D'Ayllon's visit to Carolina, and ten years before the expedition of Hernando de Soto to Florida, Patrick Hamilton, her first martyr, sealed his testimony to the truth with his blood. John Knox, the great Reformer of Scotland, received his remarkable call to the ministry in 1547, and ten years after this, on the 3d of December, 1557, the First Covenant, in this land of covenants, was signed by the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, and Morton, Archibald lord of Lorn, and a great number of distinguished men among the lesser barons and gentry. On the 31st of May, 1559, the Second Covenant was signed by “the Lords of the Congregation;”† for it was a remarkable fact in Scotland, as well as in Germany and France, that the nobility and gentry came forward, and often took the lead in the Reformation. The Queen-mother, Mary of Guise, then Regent of Scotland, of the illustrious house of Lorraine, which had so successfully headed the persecution of the Protestants of France, assisted by the ecclesiastics, did all in her power to oppose the Reformation, and was aided by French troops furnished by Francis II. In 1560, December 20th, the First General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was held, consisting at this its first convocation of but forty members, only six of whom were ministers of the gospel. These six constituted, however, one-half of all the reformed

Historical Memoirs of the city of Armagh, Newry, 1819, particularly Appendix Nos. v. and xiii. Munter's Early British Church, Bib. Repository, vol. iv. p. 551, et seq. Dr. Pond's Essay on the Convent of Jona, Am. Quarterly Register for 1839, p. 153, et seq. Introd. by McGavin to John Knox's Hist. of the Reform. in Scotland. And the interesting account of the ancient Culdees, in “Presbytery not Prelacy the Scriptural and Primitive Polity,” by Rev. Dr. Smyth of Charleston, b. iii. c. i. and ii. See also the Culdee Church, by Rev. T. V. Moore, D. D.

\* 1365-1384.

† Hetherington, p. 38.

ministers in the entire kingdom. This assembly adopted the First Book of Discipline drawn up by the Reformer John Knox, and others, which, while it embraced some provisions of a temporary character, embodied the main features of the Presbyterian polity. The ordinary officers of the church were four—the pastor or minister, whose duty it was to preach and administer the sacraments; the doctor or teacher, who was to interpret the Scripture and refute error, among whom were included teachers of theology in schools and universities; the Ruling Elder, who aided the minister in the exercise of discipline; and the Deacon, who had special charge of the poor and the revenues of the church. To these permanent officers were added two others of a temporary character, Exhorters or Readers, who having received a good common education, were to endeavor, by reading and exhortation, to propagate the truth. The other temporary officers were Superintendents, of which five were appointed to traverse the country, to preach, plant churches, and search out men who might be appointed Exhorters. No person was appointed to the ministry without “a call.” “Ordinary vocation consisteth in election, examination, and admission.” “It appertaineth to the people and to every several congregation to elect their minister.” The examination was to take place “in open assembly, and before the congregation,” to satisfy the church as to his “gifts, utterance, and knowledge.” Admission to the ministry, or ordination, took place by the candidate being set apart by prayer, at first without imposition of hands, which afterward was appointed to be done. The affairs of the congregation were conducted by the minister, elders, and deacons, who constituted the Kirk session, which met regularly once a week, and, if necessity required, oftener than this. A meeting, called the weekly exercise, or prophesying, consisting of the ministers, exhorters, and educated men in the vicinity, was held in every town for expounding the Scriptures. This eventually became the Classical Assembly or Presbytery. The Superintendent met with the ministers and delegated elders of his district twice a year, in the Provincial Synod. And the General Assembly, composed of ministers and elders commissioned from different parts of the kingdom, met twice or thrice in a year and attended to the interests of the National Church. The revenues which constituted the patrimony of the Church under the Romish sway, it was proposed should be appropriated to the support of the *ministry*, the *schools*, and the *poor*. The revenues of bishoprics, cathedrals, and the rents arising from monastic

endowments were to be divided and appropriated to universities and to the churches within their bounds. Discipline was to be strictly administered for "reproving and correcting of the faults which either the civil sword doth neglect or may not punish."\*

The Protestant Church of France had adopted its Confession of Faith the year before, consisting chiefly of articles of doctrine, declaring for the Presbyterian polity, the equality of all true pastors under one sole chief, sole sovereign, and sole universal Bishop, Jesus Christ. In 1581, the Second Book of Discipline was adopted in the third year of James I., and became the Standard of the Church of Scotland, as to government and discipline. In it the office of Superintendent has disappeared; and the "ad interim" office of exhorters or readers, the ministers being now sufficiently numerous, has been discontinued. The officers of the Church are of three kinds:—ministers who are preachers and rulers; elders who are merely rulers; and deacons who act as distributors of alms and managers of church funds. Ecclesiastical courts are either particular (consisting of the office bearers of one congregation, or of a number of neighboring congregations), provincial, national, or ecumenical or general, and were arranged substantially as with us.

The patrimony of the Church, according to the Second Book, consists of whatever has been appointed to her use by donation, law, or custom. And it belongs to *deacons*, according to this book, to receive the property of the Church and apply it according to the direction of presbyteries.

The revenues of the Bishoprics never did fall into the hands of the Church as reformed; two-thirds were retained by the prelates incumbent; the whole was grasped at by the nobles, who attempted to continue the prelatical order, so as through nominal prelates to obtain themselves possession of the funds. Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling, was nominated Archbishop of Glasgow. This brought the Church of Scotland into immediate conflict with the civil power. The Presbytery of Stirling summoned Montgomery to its bar, and inhibited his acceptance of the prelacy. The General Assembly ratified this sentence, and declared that he had incurred the sentence of deposition and excommunication. He submitted himself to the Assembly, but the Presbytery of Glasgow were appointed to watch his conduct, and, if he violated his engage-

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\* Hetherington, pp. 53-56.

ment, to report him to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who were empowered to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against him. Montgomery revived his claim to the prelacy under the instigation of the Duke of Lennox, to whom the revenues of the Archbishopric were granted by the privy council. The Presbytery of Glasgow met, therefore, to do as they were directed by the General Assembly, but Lennox having obtained an order from the King, entered the place where they were sitting, dragged the moderator from his chair, insulted, beat him, and cast him into prison. Presbytery, however, proceeded as directed: the Presbytery of Edinburgh appointed one of their number to pronounce the sentence, which was accordingly done, and published abroad. A proclamation of the civil council declared this excommunication void, and in various ways the indignation of the king and his courtiers was shown. But the Church in this juncture was firm to her trust. An extraordinary meeting of the Assembly was called, and a bold remonstrance addressed to the sovereign. In stating to him their grievances, they do not mince their words: "Your majesty, by device of some councillors, is caused to take upon you a spiritual power and authority, which properly belongeth unto Christ, the only King and Head of the Church, the ministry and execution whereof is only given to such as bear office in the ecclesiastical government of the same. So that in your Highness's person some men press to erect a new popedom, as though your majesty could not be full king and head of this commonwealth, unless as well the spiritual as temporal sword be put in your Highness's hand; unless Christ be bereft of his authority, and the two jurisdictions confounded which God hath divided, which directly tendeth to the wreck of all religion."

A deputation, with Andrew Melville at their head, presented this bold remonstrance to the king in council. Its reading having been finished, Arran, looking over the assembly with a threatening countenance, asked, "Who dares subscribe these treasonable articles?" "WE DARE!" replied Andrew Melville, and seizing a pen, immediately subscribed them, and was followed by his brother commissioners.

Melville was arraigned for these and other declarations, and fled for his life. These conflicts for the spiritual independence of the Church became more and more severe, and many clergymen sought safety to their persons in the neighboring country of England. The Church of Scotland stood nobly, amid severe contentings and sufferings, up to her testimony for the sole

Headship of Christ. Yet she made common cause with James against those schemes entered into by Popish sovereigns of Europe for the utter extermination of Protestantism, which, as to France, reached their acme in the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, and as to England and Scotland, in the Spanish invasion. These distinguished services drew forth from James his famous panegyric on the Church of Scotland, in the General Assembly of 1590. "He blessed God that he was born in such time as in the time of the light of the Gospel, and in such a place as to be king of such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk in all the world. The Kirk of Geneva," says he, "keepeth Pasch and Yule. What have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbor Kirk in England, their service is an evil-said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly."\*

Thus full and clear were the declarations of the king, under the influence of probably his sincere convictions, united with a grateful remembrance of the assistance and loyalty of the Church in the past season of peril.

When he had in view the possibility and probability of his succession to the English throne, he was willing enough to favor prelacy; and this, too, put ecclesiastical power and patronage into the royal hand. Two years after, in 1592, the Parliament of Scotland ratified the General Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries, and particular Sessions of the Church, with their jurisdiction and discipline, to be in all time coming most just, good, and godly, notwithstanding whatsoever statutes, acts, and laws—canon, civil, or municipal—made to the contrary.

Thus matters stood, the Church of Scotland clearly established by law, the king's supremacy declared to be in no wise prejudicial to it in matters of religion, commissions to bishops and other judges in ecclesiastical causes declared to be null and void, and nothing now to prevent the prosperity of spiritual religion, and the public peace, but the worldly ambition or avarice of the nobles, and the royal thirst for power.

These influences were neither slow nor scrupulous in their operation. In his *Free Law of Free Monarchies*, and his *Basilicon*

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\* Hetherington, pp. 93-94.

*Doron* addressed to his son Henry, James claimed for a king that he should be a "free and absolute monarch;" that his office is of a mixed kind, partly civil and partly ecclesiastical; that a principal part of his function is to rule the Church, that parity in the Church should be banished, episcopacy set up, and all who preached against bishops vigorously punished. And yet the same king could "lift up his hand and vow, in the presence of God and of the Assembly, that he would, by the grace of God, live and die in the religion presently professed in the realm of Scotland, and defend it against all its adversaries." In the next year, March 31st, 1603, news having reached Scotland of the death of Elizabeth, James was proclaimed King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland. His arrival in England was hailed with something of enthusiasm by the English people, and all sects of religionists presented him addresses and sought his protection. But he had resolved to part with his old friends, and to do it with some show of decency. He therefore appoints a conference between the High Church party and the Puritan non-conformists, he himself appointing the parties to be present on both sides. It would afford him an opportunity to show off his theological learning, of which he was not a little vain. In this conference he became a party instead of an umpire, browbeating the Puritans, who were few in number, while he took care that the chief dignitaries of the English Church should be present. "No bishop, no king," was the maxim he more than once emphatically pronounced. To the remarks of Dr. Reynolds on the power of excommunication, he replied, that he found them aiming at a "Scot's Presbytery," which, said he with profane levity, "agrees with monarchy as well as God with the devil." "If this be all," says he, "which your party have to say, I will make them conform, or harry them out of the land, or else do worse."\*

The king and his adherents in Scotland were assiduous in their efforts to corrupt the government of the Church. By degrees, by means of bribery, treachery, persecution, and by raising sectional jealousy among clergymen themselves, and by overawing the Assembly which met at Perth, in obedience to the royal mandate, they at length partially accomplished their object. *The Five Articles of Perth* were carried by a majority, one nobleman, one doctor, and forty-five ministers voting in the negative.† By these, *kneceling at the communion*,

\* Neal's History of the Puritans, i., 252.

† August 27th, 1618.

*the observance of holidays, episcopal confirmation, private baptism, and the private dispensation of the Lord's supper* were authorized; points which were innovations upon the discipline of the Church of Scotland, and the precursors of still greater innovations. On Saturday, the 4th of August, 1621, the five articles of Perth were ratified in the Parliament of Scotland by a small majority. The act was ominous of evil, and not without singular coincidences, which were noted at the time, and were long remembered in Scotland.

"The morning," says the historian, "had been dark and lowering, and clouds piled on clouds gathered over the capital. At the very moment when the Marquis of Hamilton and the Lord High Commissioner rose to touch the Acts with the royal sceptre, in token of their ratification, a keen blue flash of forked lightning blazed through the gloom, followed by another and another, so bright as to blind the startled and guilty Parliament in the act of consummating their deed. Three terrific peals of thunder followed in quick succession, hailstones of prodigious magnitude descended, and sheeted rains, so heavy and continued as to detain in durance the perpetrators of this treason against the King of kings, by subjecting his Church to an earthly monarch. This disastrous day was known for long years in Scotland as 'the black Saturday'—black with man's guilt and the frowns of Heaven."\* "The sword is now put into your hands," writes the King to Spotswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews; "go on, therefore, to use it, and let it rest no longer, till ye have perfected the service intrusted to you."† In the same year in which the articles of Perth were adopted in the General Assembly, the Synod of Dort assembled in Holland. James had joined with the House of Orange in the convocation of this Synod; and under his appointment, Carleton, Bishop of Landaff; Davenant, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge; Ward, Master of Sydney College; Hall, Dean of Worcester; and Balcangual, a Scotch divine, attended as deputies. James, however, had conceived a disgust alike for the Presbyterians of Scotland and the Puritans of England; he associated with them the Calvinistic faith and the limitation of the royal prerogative, and became by the operation of these causes favorable to the Arminian creed.

Three years after these events, on the 27th of March, 1625, James I. departed this life, leaving behind him, in England and

\* Hetherington, p. 126.

† Calderwood, p. 784.

Scotland, a misgoverned people, a country harassed with religious differences and with party feuds, and possessing in active operation the elements of change and revolution. In Scotland he had been decent in conduct. In England, "the land of promise," he yielded himself up to luxury and licentiousness. His language was often obscene, his acts indecent, his speech profane, nor was he free from the crime of drunkenness. Two acts of his alone remain fruitful in good, which, however, were not of his own original suggestion. One was his setting on foot the English version of the Sacred Scriptures, which Dr. Reynolds, in behalf of his Puritan brethren, requested might be undertaken, and which had been suggested by the Assembly in Scotland two years before, and cordially entertained by him.\* The other was his project of colonizing the northern provinces of Ireland with a Protestant population, which has had so salutary an influence on Ireland itself, and had so much to do with the planting of Presbyterianism in America, and especially in the State of South Carolina.

The forty-five years intervening between the death of James and the first settlement of South Carolina, were replete with great events. Charles I., the son and successor of James, was not wanting in intellectual gifts and refined culture. In his religious belief he was an Arminian, in church government a zealous promoter of Episcopacy, and in private life unblemished; but, as a King, his life was a series of wretched blunders. "He had an incurable propensity to dark and crooked ways," and "was perfidious from constitution and habit, and on principle also."† A season of great trial was now approaching the Church of Scotland, and to prepare her for it her Lord and Head poured out upon her his gracious Spirit. For a period of five years, from James's death, at Irvin and Stewarton, there was what Fuller calls "a great spring-tide of the Gospel," so that, "like a spreading moor-burn, the power of godliness did advance from one place to another." In the Kirk of Schotts, in 1630, there was a still more powerful demonstration of the Spirit, under the preaching of John Livingston, then but a licentiate, and but 17 years of age, when 500 persons experienced conversion under a single sermon.

\* "The Scottish divines of all parties adhered to the Geneva Bible until about the year 1640, when the present translation, originally designed only for the English Church, and too partial to Prelacy, was at length silently established in general use." Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland, p. 87 (published anonymously, but written by Rev. John Lee, D. D., F. R. S. E., quoted by Reid, Pres. Ch. of Ireland, i., p. 239).

† Macaulay, i., 78.

Charles and Archbishop Laud now determined to force the English service, or rather, one still more closely conformed to the Romish missal, on the people. The first step was to frame a book of Canons, which bound the Liturgy yet to be published, upon the Scottish Church. After this followed the Liturgy in 1637, and this was ordered to be used in Edinburgh on Sabbath, the 23d of July. It was more than could be borne by people who had been long weighed down by ecclesiastical oppression. In the church of St. Giles, the dean in his surplice began to read the service of the day, when Jenny Geddes, an aged woman of the common people, unable to restrain her anger, rose and exclaimed, "Villain, dost thou say mass at my lug?" and seizing the stool on which she had been sitting, hurled it at the dean's head. Missiles flew in all directions and the dean was glad to escape with the loss of his sacerdotal garments. In all the churches the Liturgy was performed either amid scenes of great confusion, or of sorrow and lamentation. The people, clergy, and nobles of Scotland rallied in behalf of an oppressed church. On the 28th of February, 1638, it was appointed that Scotland should resume and renew her solemn covenant with God. A form had been prepared embodying the former covenant, and after prayer to God by Henderson, and an address by the Earl of Loudon, Johnston unrolled the vast parchment and read it aloud. A solemn stillness ensued, and all felt themselves in the dread presence of God, to whom they were about to avow their allegiance.

At length the aged and venerable Earl of Sutherland stepped forward, and with great solemnity, and a hand trembling with emotion, subscribed Scotland's covenant with God. Name after name followed, till the entire congregation within had subscribed it. The roll was then taken to the churchyard, spread upon a tombstone, and subscribed by the assembled multitude. The emotion deepened every moment. Some wept, some broke forth in exultation, some added, after their names, *till death*; some opened a vein and subscribed it with their own blood,—sad prophecy of what was to come! As the space on the parchment became less, many wrote their names in a more contracted form, others subscribed with their initials, till not a spot was left. "Again," says the historian, "they paused. The nation had formed a covenant in ancient days, and violated it. What if they should prove faithless too! With heartfelt groans and flowing tears they lifted up their right hands to heaven, and called God to witness, in solemn

adjuration, that they had joined themselves to the Lord in everlasting COVENANT, which shall not be forgotten."

Thus, "the first performance of the foreign ceremonies produced a riot: the riot rapidly became a revolution."\* The King despatched a fleet to Scotland, and marched at the head of an army to coerce his ancient dominion. The Lords of the Covenant were ready for him. They encamped an army on Dunse Law, a conical hill, in sight of the royal forces, and about six miles distant. In a few days it numbered 24,000. The hill bristled with field-pieces. The regiments were encamped, each in its own cluster, around the sides. At the tent door of each captain a banner-staff was planted, from which floated the Scottish colors, displaying also the inscription, in letters of gold, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant!" Regularly as morning dawned, or the shades of evening drew on, the beat of drum or clangor of trumpet summoned each regiment to their worship, which was conducted mostly by the same pastors who ministered to them at home. Even a Balaam might have said, "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob! and thy tabernacles, O Israel!" Before such a host Charles recoiled, and negotiated with his accustomed perfidy.

These attempts and this resistance was the beginning of English and American liberty. The king could not carry out his measures without an army—nor have an army without treasure—nor impose taxes contrary to law any longer. It became necessary to summon a Parliament. On November 3d, 1640, met at his summons the Long Parliament, so famous in English history—so much reviled and ridiculed—but which, in spite of its minor errors in judgment, has laid so widely the foundations of British freedom.

Most of the early English Puritans were favorable to the Presbyterian form of Church government. But as the English Bishops under Elizabeth admitted the validity of Presbyterian ordination, and they themselves admitted the validity of ordination by Bishops, the greater part of them had remained in connection with the Church of England. Some of the more zealous Puritans had, however, secretly organized a Presbyterian church at Wandsworth, county of Surrey, on the Thames, about five miles from London, as early as 1572. On the 20th of November eleven elders were chosen, and their offices described in a book called "The Orders of Wandsworth." A Presbytery was also formed, consisting first of nine clerical

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\* Macaulay, i., 88.

members, who were afterward joined by six others, and to them were united a considerable number of influential laymen. The isles of Guernsey and Jersey had been a place of refuge for the French Huguenots, and they were allowed to use the Geneva or French Discipline. Cartwright, Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, who had been expelled the University and driven into exile for favoring Presbyterianism, became pastor in Guernsey, and drew up for them a Confession and Form of Discipline similar to that afterward adopted by the Westminster Assembly, which continued in force until the Act of Uniformity under Charles II. In 1586 there were said to be more than 500 ministers of the establishment, many of whom were accustomed to meet privately for mutual counsel, and this years before the Westminster Assembly was appointed.\*

The Long Parliament, in June, 1643, passed an ordinance for "calling an assembly of godly and learned divines and others, to be consulted with by Parliament for settling the government and liturgy of the Church of England." Ten from the House of Lords, twenty from the House of Commons, and one hundred and twenty divines, were named in the ordinance as members. The Assembly met at Westminster, on the 1st of July, 1643; and the Scotch being invited to form a union with the English Parliament, and to send delegates to the Assembly of Divines, proposed the Solemn League and Covenant as the basis of their union with the English nation, and appointed commissioners to the Assembly. The Solemn League and Covenant was sworn to by the House of Commons, the Westminster Assembly, and the Scotch commissioners, on the 25th of September, and by the House of Lords on the 15th of October. The result of the deliberations of the Westminster Assembly is well known. The Confession of Faith, Catechisms, and Forms of Government by them elaborated, in 1,163 sessions by them held during a period of FIVE YEARS, SIX MONTHS, AND TWENTY-TWO DAYS, have become the standard of all the Presbyterian churches of Great Britain and America, except that in England, the Book of Discipline, under the opposition of Parliament, of Cromwell, and through the events which followed, failed of being carried out fully into practice.

While these things were maturing, the contest was going on between the king and the Parliament, until it was taken out

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\* Neal, i., 126; Price, History of Non-Conformity, i., 237; Bogue and Bennet, History of Dissenters.

of the hands of Parliament by the army they had called into existence, who arraigned the king for high treason and put him to death, January 30th, 1648. To accomplish this they excluded from assembling the majority of the House of Commons, shut up the House of Lords, and erected a revolutionary tribunal, before which the king was tried. The Westminster Confession, as to its doctrinal articles, was approved by both houses of Parliament; those articles, reduced into the form of the Longer and Shorter Catechisms, were also approved by Parliament. The Book of Discipline and Form of Government were adopted by the General Assembly and Parliament of Scotland, but the Parliament of England could not be brought to adopt the Presbyterian government as of *divine right*; they did indeed adopt it upon trial, to see how it would succeed, but insisted that an appeal should lie from the National Assembly to Parliament in the last resort; that appeal should lie from every *classis* or presbytery to commissioners of Parliament appointed in every province, and from these to Parliament itself; and that the National Assembly should only be legally constituted when summoned by Parliament. Against these things the Presbyterians loudly exclaimed as derogatory to the Supreme Headship of Christ over his Church. They contended vainly for an absolute uniformity of worship. But so far as those of England were concerned, they were obliged to yield to the power of Parliament, who would not be prevailed on to abate in one iota the limitations they had set to the power of Presbytery.\*

Parliament did, however, on the 6th of June, 1646, adopt the Presbyterian government, to be used in the churches of England and Ireland, and give directions that it should be carried into execution. The ministers in the several counties were ordered to form themselves into distinct Presbyteries, and the Provincial Assembly or Synod of London was directed to be held on the 3d of May, 1647. This meeting was attended by 108 persons. The Province of London was divided into 12 Classes or Presbyteries, and to this Synod three ministers and six ruling elders were delegated from each classis. This Synod continued to meet yearly till 1655. The county of Lancaster was formed into another Presbyterial Province, and assembled at Preston, February 7th, 1648. None were formed by law in other parts of England, but in various counties the ministers entered

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\* See contrary to this, Hetherington, History of Westminster Ass., p. 234.

into voluntary associations, many of the Independents joining with them, and ordained ministers.\*

The Scots had never consented to the death of the king, and as soon as it was known in Scotland, the Scotch Parliament proclaimed his son king, under the designation of Charles II. He accordingly landed in Scotland on the 16th of June, 1650, having previously subscribed the Solemn League and Covenant. Cromwell met the Scotch army at Dunbar, and routed it. The king resolved upon the desperate expedient of marching directly into England, but he was overtaken by Cromwell at Worcester, and defeated the year after, and after many hairbreadth escapes fled to the Court of France. The Protectorate of Cromwell continued for nine years longer, and under it England enjoyed a high degree of peace and prosperity. It expired in the person of his son, who was unable to control the elements around him, and had no taste for the turmoils of public life. A new Parliament under new auspices invited Charles II. back to his country, and his return was hailed with the utmost enthusiasm by the people. The Commons decreed that the Covenant should be burnt by the common hangman, that the Sacrament according to the forms of the Liturgy should be taken by every member on pain of expulsion; the old ecclesiastical policy was revived, the Liturgy restored, and Episcopal ordinations made indispensable to church preferment. The retaliation upon the clergy was bitter in the extreme. About 2,000 Presbyterian ministers were driven from their churches and deprived of their livings in one day by the Act of Uniformity, which was to take effect on St. Bartholomew's day, a time purposely chosen because their salaries would not be then quite due.† The five-mile act prevented their coming within five miles of the places of their former charges. The act against Conventicles made it a crime to attend their worship, and the punishments were imprisonment, fine, and banishment to the plantations—New England excepted, where they might find sympathy, and Virginia, where they might disturb the established church.

“The terms of conformity now were: 1. Reordination, if they had not been Episcopally ordained, which involved a renunciation of Presbyterian orders. 2. A declaration of unfeigned

\* Neal, ii., pp. 25, 43, 79.

† “St. Bartholomew's Day [August 24, 1662] was pitched upon, that if they were deprived, they should lose the profits of the whole year, since the tithes are commonly due at Michaelmas.”—*Bp. Burnet*.

assent and consent to all and everything prescribed and contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, etc. 3. The oath of canonical obedience. 4. Abjuration of the Solemn League and Covenant. 5. Abjuration of the lawfulness of taking arms against the king, or any commissioned by him, on any pretence whatever.\* These conscientious men were the butts of ridicule on the stage, in the streets, and too often in the pulpit. "Here were many men," says Burnet, "much valued, some on better grounds, and others on worse, who were now cast out ignominiously, reduced to great poverty, provoked by much spiteful usage." Some sought an asylum in foreign countries; some became tutors in noble families; some turned their attention to medicine or law; a few having property retired to live upon it; the great majority suffered unspeakable hardships. One of the Conformists speaks of the great trials of his brethren who refused to conform, "by uncomfortable separations, dispersions, unsettlements, and removes; disgraces, reproaches, chargeable journeys, expenses in law, tedious sicknesses, incurable diseases, ending in death; great disquietments and affrights to their wives and families, and their doleful effects upon them. Though they were as frugal as possible, they could hardly live: some lived on little more than brown bread and water; many had but eight or ten pounds a year to support a family, so that a piece of flesh had not come to one of their tables in six weeks' time. One went to plough six days and preached on the Lord's day.†" Mr. Baxter, who was one of them, says: "Many hundreds of them, with their wives and children, had neither house nor bread. The people they left were not able to relieve them. Many, being afraid to lay down their ministry, preached to such as would hear them, in fields and private houses; till they were apprehended, and cast into jail, where many of them perished." Of their characters, when the names of Calamy, Bates, Owen, Howe, and Baxter are mentioned as examples, though illustrious ones, of the remainder of their persecuted brethren, there can be no doubt. Bishop Burnet testifies that "many of them were distinguished by their ability and zeal. They cast themselves upon the providence of God and the charity of their friends, which had a fair appearance of men that were ready to suffer persecution for their consciences. This begot esteem and raised compassion; whereas the old clergy, now much enriched, were as

\* Conder, View of all Religions, p. 330. † Conformist's Plea, part iv., p. 43.

much despised.”\* Mr. Locke, who knew many of these noble confessors, says, “The Bartholomew’s day was fatal to our church and religion, in throwing out a very great number of worthy, learned, pious, and orthodox divines, who could not come up to several things in the act.” How many suffered under Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., has never been computed. Well-informed persons, living in those times, calculated that the Dissenters who suffered under Charles II. and James II. amounted to the number of 70,000 families ruined in England itself, of whom about 8,000 died in prison. Records of about 60,000 persons, who had suffered on account of religion, were collected by Mr. Jeremiah White, more than 5,000 of whom had died in prison, under Charles II. James II., hearing of the manuscript of Mr. White, offered to purchase it for 1,000 guineas, but he refused to part with it; and reflecting on the consequences of its publication, he afterward generously committed it to the flames, for which no doubt it was destined by James. This oppression contrasted vividly with the conduct of the reforming Parliament; for though they too sequestered the livings of many obnoxious or unworthy clergymen, they appointed one-fifth of their former income to keep them from starvation. Into Scotland the sword of persecution was also carried: the Duke of Argyle and the Rev. James Guthrie suffered death on the scaffold. Sharp was made Archbishop of St. Andrews. By the Act of Glasgow, passed by the Privy Council, 400 ministers were ejected from their livings, and in many instances their congregations “wept aloud, till their lamentations resembled the wild wailings of a city taken by storm.”† In 1664 the Court of High Commission, which, with the odious Star Chamber, had been swept away by the Long Parliament, was established in Scotland. This, through the espionage of the curates, obtained information respecting every true-hearted Presbyterian. Many were reduced to poverty by fines; some contracted fatal disease in protracted imprisonment; some were banished to distant and inhospitable parts of the country, and some sold into slavery.‡ John Neilson and Rev. Hugh McKail were in 1665 subjected to the torture of the boot, and afterward executed. The former was a gentleman of substance, the latter an eloquent and learned preacher, in the morning of life. In his last speech he breathed the spirit of the Christian martyr, and

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\* Life and Times, vol. ii., p. 315.

† Hetherington, p. 219.

‡ Wodrow, i., p. 390.

closed with these words, which have rung through Scotland ever since : " And now I leave off to speak any more to creatures, and turn my speech to thee, O Lord. And now I begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off. Farewell, father and mother, friends and relations ; farewell, the world and all delights ; farewell, meat and drink ; farewell, sun, moon, and stars. Welcome, God and Father ; welcome, sweet Jesus, the Mediator of the New Covenant ; welcome, blessed Spirit of Grace, and God of all consolation ; welcome, glory ; welcome, eternal life ; welcome, death. O Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit ; for thou hast redeemed my soul, Lord God of truth." \*

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### CHAPTER III.

#### PRESBYTERIANISM IN IRELAND.

THE State of South Carolina received a larger Presbyterian population from Ireland than from Scotland, and in pursuance of our plan, we proceed to give a brief sketch of the establishment of the Presbyterian interest there. The reformation in the 16th century took but a feeble hold of the population of Ireland. Under the bloody Mary many of the people relapsed into popery ; and yet many persecuted Protestants of England fled to it for asylum, and eluded the vigilance of their persecutors. Toward the middle of the latter half of the century, in the year 1560, of nineteen prelates who had conformed to Popery under Mary, only two adhered to their profession. Still, under Elizabeth some important bishoprics remained unfilled, many churches went to decay, and there was a great want of learned and pious ministers. In 1590 the project of the University of Dublin, first proposed by Sir Henry Sydney, was revived ; its first fellows were two Presbyterian ministers ; its two provosts, Travers and Alvey, were Nonconformists and Puritans.

On the accession of James I. to the English throne, he revived the project which had first been attempted by Elizabeth in 1559 and 1572, in the counties of Down and Antrim, of colonizing certain portions of it with a Protestant people. The gunpowder plot in England, and the cotemporaneous dis-

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\* Naphtali, pp. 218—234.

covery of certain Popish emissaries in Ireland, had determined James to discountenance the Roman Catholic worship. Several of the Northern nobles who had sworn fealty to him, resented his determination, and entered into a conspiracy against his government, applying to the courts of France and Spain to aid them. This plot being discovered, its promoters, the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, fled, and their estates were forfeited. A second insurrection, led on by O'Doherty, was suppressed; he was slain, and another large portion of the province reverted to the Crown. These territories James with great wisdom arranged to plant with English and Scotch colonists. The arable lands of nearly six entire counties, amounting to about 500,000 acres, were at his disposal, and the way was open to replace its scattered, miserable, and turbulent population with the adherents of a pure faith. The country was exceedingly desolate, and was covered with immense woods and marshes. Its towns and villages had been levelled to the ground, its herds and products swept away by the war; little remaining except the isolated castles of the English and the miserable huts of the impoverished natives, suffering under the evils of pestilence and famine. Sir Arthur Chichester, who had been made Lord Deputy, and was well qualified to superintend the undertaking, first had the forfeited lands of the six counties minutely surveyed, and then drew up the plan according to which they were to be occupied. They were then allotted to three classes of "Undertakers." These were, first, British undertakers; then Irish servitors of the crown, consisting of civil and military officers; then natives of Ireland. These lands were divided into lots of 2,000, 1,500, and 1,000 acres.\* The occupants of the largest portions stipulated to build within four years a castle and "bawn," *i. e.*, a walled enclosure, usually with towers at the corners, and to plant on their estates 48 able men, eighteen years old and upward, of English and Scottish descent. Those who occupied the second class of lots were to build within two years a strong store or brick house and bawn; and those of the third, a bawn, and to plant on them a certain number of tenants. On the lands of the Irish servitors might be settled either natives of Ireland, Englishmen, or Scotchmen. Large tracts were also assigned to the corporation, and some of the trading companies of London, from which the town and county of Londonderry received its distinctive prefix. There were to be a convenient number

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\* See note, Reid's Pres. Ch. in Ireland, i., p. 90.

of parishes and churches in each county; towns were to be incorporated, markets established, and free schools instituted. The colonists, except perhaps the Irish, were to conform to the religion and laws of the realm. The escheated lands were thus disposed of to 104 English and Scottish undertakers, 56 servants, and 286 natives. From the proximity of the country to Scotland, the Scotch settlers greatly predominated; they were a hardier people, stood the climate better, had fewer inducements at home, and were more favored by the King. Besides Londonderry, Coleraine and Belfast were planted by the English, though the counties of Down and Antrim were settled by the Montgomeries and Hamiltons of Scotland, who brought over many Scotch gentlemen and farmers.

In the Confession drawn up by Dr. James Usher, then Professor of Divinity at Dublin, there was an evident attempt at a compromise between High Church Episcopacy and Nonconformity. Indeed, many of the Nonconformists, as well as Scotch Presbyterians, had already been invested with ecclesiastical dignities; the validity of Presbyterian ordination was acknowledged or clearly implied; no authority is claimed for enforcing ecclesiastical canons, no allusion made to the mode of consecrating the higher orders of the clergy. In the first third of the 17th century there came several noble ministers from Scotland, and some from England, whose preaching was greatly blessed to this people. From Scotland were Edward Brice, Glendinning, Blair, Cunningham, Hamilton, Welsh, Stewart, and Livingston: from England, Hubbard, Ridge, and Calvert. These were godly, and the most of them able men. Some of them had met with persecution at home, and fled to Ireland for greater liberty in preaching the gospel. Welsh was a grandson of John Knox. Under the labors of these devoted ministers religion was greatly revived, and conversions were multiplied. "Preaching and praying," says Livingston, "were pleasant in those days." "And it was sweet and easy for people to come thirty or forty miles to the solemn communions which they had." These men, though following the Presbyterian order, were comprehended within the pale of the Established Church, enjoying its endowments and dignities. Archbishop Usher, the primate, was generous and friendly. The day of trouble was, however, near at hand. The spirit of Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, passed over to Ireland. Livingston and Blair were suspended. Livingston was eventually obliged to leave the country; and Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, being appointed royal deputy, and having re-

ceived instructions from Laud, the Presbyterians of Ulster began to look towards New England for an asylum, and despatched Livingston and William Wallace to select a place where a settlement might be effected. The commissioners proceeded, however, at this time, no further than England, and returned again to Ulster.

Under Wentworth the Irish Articles were superseded by the Articles of the Church of England. Several of the most influential ministers were silenced. The Presbyterian laity were now convinced that it was their duty to abandon their country, and the intended voyage to New England was hastened. They built a vessel called the *Eagle-Wing* of 150 tons burden, and set sail on the 9th of September, 1636, having on board 140 persons; among whom were Livingston, Blair, Hamilton, McLelland, ministers; John Stewart, Provost of Ayr; Capt. Andrew Agnew, Charles Campbell, John Sumervil, Hugh Brown, etc. They had sailed between three and four hundred leagues from Ireland when they encountered a terrific storm, which caused their return. A warrant for Blair and Livingston for preaching the gospel being out, they, with the other clergymen, took refuge in Scotland, and were settled as ministers of the Scotch Kirk. Their people from Ireland would often go over to attend their communions. Five hundred persons, chiefly from the county of Down, were known to go over on one occasion to receive the ordinance from the hands of Livingston, and on another occasion he baptized eight-and-twenty children brought by their parents for that purpose.

To prevent the Scots in Ulster from joining in the Covenant, or in any way opposing Charles I. in his designs, Wentworth imposed upon them an oath, in which they should swear allegiance to him, promise never to rebel against him, nor protest against any of his commands; never to enter into any covenant or oath without his authority, and to abjure all oaths or covenants contrary to this. This oath, which was called "*The Black Oath*," from its direful consequences, many refused to take, and were imprisoned and fined; many left their property behind and fled to Scotland; some ladies were subjected to imprisonment for years. One Henry Stewart was fined £5,000, his wife £5,000, his two daughters £2,000 each, and a servant in the family £1,000, and were imprisoned in Dublin at their own charges till these exorbitant fines were paid. For these and other zealous acts Wentworth was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Earl of Strafford. He then conceived the project of removing the Scottish residents out of Ulster,

and sending them into banishment.\* He was now at the summit of his power and grandeur. But the necessities of Charles induced him to summon the Long Parliament, and one of their early acts was the arraignment, trial, and condemnation of this unfortunate but guilty noble, who was beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 12th of May, 1641, the perfidious Charles giving his royal assent to the deed.

The year 1641 was made memorable in Ireland by the rising of the original Irish population of the Romish Church for the purpose of cutting off the Protestants. The numbers slain in this bloody insurrection are variously estimated. O'Mahony, an Irish Jesuit, in a work published by him in 1645, says that his party had cut off 150,000 heretics in four years.† More than thirty ministers were murdered in a small part of Ulster alone, while many others died of famine and pestilence. Of these, the most were of the English Church, for the more influential Presbyterian ministers, and the principal part of their gentry, had fled to Scotland to escape the tyranny of the bishops, and were so preserved. Those who remained were at first spared, in obedience to the commission of Charles, who had set on this rebellion, and had to arm and provide for their defence; but the ordinances of religion were interrupted, and the Presbyterian Church was nearly obliterated during this civil strife. It was at this period that the siege of Derry took place, whose defence is still read with all the interest of a romance, verifying the proverb, "that truth is often stranger than fiction." To assist their brethren, the Scotch sent over an army to Ireland, and according to their custom each regiment was accompanied by its chaplain, who was an ordained minister of the gospel. These chaplains, with the concurrence of the general and colonels, erected sessions in each of the regiments. In the four regiments stationed at Carrickfergus, the ministers found themselves in a condition to hold a Presbytery, and accordingly one was constituted and held at that town on the 10th of June, 1642, which is the first Presbytery, regularly constituted, ever held in Ireland. Through the efforts of this Presbytery elderships were constituted in the several congregations, and petitions were sent for ministers to the General Assembly of Scotland. This Assembly appointed clergymen to go over and assist those connected with the army in organizing the Irish Presbyterian Church. Great success attended their labors; many Episcopal clergymen

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\* A. D. 1640—Reid, i.

† Quoted by Reid, i., p. 336.

came forward and joined the Presbytery; other chaplains came over with other regiments, and the Assembly sent over faithful ministers to labor successively for the term of three months each. Many of the army chaplains became permanently settled over congregations in Ireland.

After the "Solemn League and Covenant" had been entered into by the English Parliament, they requested the Scottish ministers to take steps that it be taken by all the officers, soldiers, and Protestants of their nation in Ireland. The ministers appointed by the Assembly to visit Ireland were directed to administer the Covenant, and it was taken, not only by the army, but very extensively through the province of Ulster. It not only promoted a strong feeling in favor of the Presbyterian cause, but was blessed, as it had been elsewhere, in the revival of true religion, so that the historian dates at this period the commencement of the SECOND REFORMATION with which that province has been favored.\*

During the period of the Commonwealth the Presbyterians of Ireland maintained their loyalty to the king. They were among the first to protest against his trial, and to denounce his execution as murder, nor were they pleased with the Independents, nor the principles they avowed.† Especially did they censure their "endeavor to establish by law a universal toleration of all religions, which," say they, "is an avowed overturning of unity in religion, and so repugnant to the word of God."‡ It is only in America, and in complete separation from the State, that Presbyterians and others have learned the principle of toleration to all sects professing the Christian faith.

The Independents strove through a period of ten years to establish themselves in Ireland. While Cromwell was in Ireland, John Owen, the most distinguished divine of the Independents, was his chaplain, and preached for several months constantly in Dublin. So anxious was Cromwell for the establishment of Independent ministers, that he wrote to New England inviting ministers of the Congregational churches to

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\* Reid, ii., 44.

† The Presbytery of Belfast freely expressed their indignation at the measures of "the sectarian party" in England, which brought down upon them the indignation of Milton, whose reply was expressed with great acrimony; but these "blockish Presbyters of Clondeboy," these "unhallowed priestlings" of the "unchristian synagogue" at Belfast, as the indignant poet and republican called them, evinced their sincerity by enduring the consequences of their fidelity to the crown with exemplary fortitude.

‡ Presbytery of Ulster, in Reid, ii., p. 175.

come over and settle there.\* At the Restoration the Independent congregations dispersed, and their ministers returned to England. The Presbyterian Church, notwithstanding these influences, steadily and rapidly increased. In 1653 she had but about a half-dozen ministers in the country; in 1660, at the accession of Charles II., she had 70 ministers, nearly 80 congregations, and a population of not far from 100,000 souls.†

Charles restored Episcopacy in Ireland and nominated bishops for the vacant sees. The Bishop of Down, Jeremy Taylor, in one day declared 36 churches occupied by Presbyterian ministers vacant, and in the Province of Ulster 61 ministers, nearly the whole in the province, were ejected from their benefices. Of the entire body of the clergy of this province only seven conformed to prelacy. They were the first ejected for nonconformity in the three kingdoms, the Nonconformists of England not being ejected till August, nor the Presbyterians of Scotland till October, 1662. In the year 1669, the year before the first settlement of South Carolina, Presbyteries were again established, and gradually began to resume all those functions which, in the dark times which preceded, had been suspended. ‡

#### THE INDEPENDENTS.

Besides the Presbyterians, another branch of the English Nonconformists were found amongst the first settlers of South Carolina—the Independents or Congregationalists. Robert Browne, born 1550, is often represented as their founder. But

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\* Nicholls' State Papers—quoted in Reid, ii., pp. 229, 230.

† Ibid., 337.

‡ The various sects which have arisen in England and Scotland have been comprehended under the general names of Puritans, Nonconformists, and Dissenters. The first name they received because they aimed at a purer and simpler form of worship than that adopted in the Church of England. The name Nonconformist arose about the same time, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, from their inability to comply with the conditions of the Act of Uniformity. The name Dissenter arose in the times of the Westminster Assembly, and was first used of those members of that body who maintained the views of the Independents, and dissented from that Presbyterian polity which it was proposed to establish by law. It is used of all those sects which differ from the religion which has been established by public law. In England, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, etc., are called Dissenters. In Scotland, all who differ from the Established Church of Scotland would in like manner be so termed. In the United States of America, since the Revolution, the name is inapplicable, since no one form, except for a season in New England, has been established by the State.

they claim for themselves an existence, at least in scattered congregations, as early as the reign of Mary, in 1555.\*

The first separate congregation of Brownists was gathered in 1583.† This congregation was soon broken up, and Browne, with many of its members, fled to Holland, and reorganized at Middleburg; thence he retired to Scotland, and in the following year to England, conformed to the Established Church, and became immoral and dissolute. In 1583 two of his followers were hanged at St. Edmondsbury. In 1593 Henry Barrowe, a lawyer, and a man of genius and caustic wit, with John Greenwood, also a man of education, was hung at Tyburn, on the 6th of May, 1693, for the crime of nonconformity.

The name of Browne having become odious, the adherents of this faith preferred to be called Separatists, to indicate their separation from the Established Church. They were still, however, pursued with bitter persecution. John Penry, a graduate of Oxford, and a native of Wales, was hung on the 29th of May, 1593, having been condemned by the court of High Commission, and Archbishop Whitgift was the first to set his name to the warrant for his execution. Hume calls it a case of unparalleled atrocity. After this there were no more capital executions by ecclesiastical tyranny. Banishment, croppings, branding with hot irons, slitting of noses, stripes, imprisonment, and fines, were the punishments for heretical pravity and opposition to the liturgy and polity of the Episcopal hierarchy. The first church of the Separatists was organized in 1592, in the city of London. From this time onward they suffered great hardships from the hands of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The name Puritan was common to these men and those who adopted the Presbyterian discipline. Yet of the Puritans there were two classes. The *conformable Puritans*, who, though dissatisfied with the church as established by law, yet adhered to it, and those who would remain separated from it. Of these the Independents retained the name Separatists, and they regarded the Church of England as the "Mother of Harlots." In 1593 a law was passed requiring all who would not attend on some house of worship of the Established Church, to "abjure the realm and go into perpetual banishment," or "suffer death without benefit of clergy." Under this act the Separatists retired to Holland. Among them

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\* Punchard, Hist. of Congregationalism, p. 220.

† Ibid. 248. Neal, or 1586.

were Ainsworth, author of the Annotations;\* Dr. William Ames, author of the Medulla; and John Robinson, from whose Latin Apology, in which he maintained that "every particular society is a complete church, and, as far as regards other churches, immediately and *independently* under Christ alone," the name *Independents* arose. A portion of Mr. Robinson's church at Leyden removed to America, and landed at Plymouth Rock, Dec. 11th, 1620, and laid the foundation of the Congregationalism of New England. Henry Jacob had returned to England about 1616, and organized in the city of London the first Independent Church in England, of which he was pastor till 1624, when he removed to Virginia, where he soon afterward died.† Of the members of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Jeremiah Burroughs, William Bridge, and Sidrach Simpson were Independents. These were often called "The five dissenting Brethren." To these Baillie adds as Independents, Joseph Caryl, William Carter, John Philips, and Peter Sterry, naming nine, but saying there were "some ten or eleven." Neal adds Anthony Burgess and William Greenhill.‡ During the Commonwealth, Cromwell was favorable to the Independents, and indeed his policy encouraged a diversity of sects, and he seemed to dread the ascendancy of any one party in religion. The Independents of his day were influential men. Dr. John Owen, "the prince of theologians," was himself a host. In 1658 they saw fit to issue a declaration of their faith and order. About 200 elders and messengers, from above 100 churches, assembled at the Savoy, in London, with the approbation of Cromwell, and drew up the articles of their faith and doctrine. Drs. Owen and Goodwin, with Nye, Bridge, Caryl, and Greenhill, were the committee who brought in the articles, which, after a full discussion, were adopted as a declaration of the faith and order of the Congregational churches of England. The Cambridge platform of the New England churches had been adopted ten

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\* This distinguished scholar and divine was obliged, in his deep poverty, during his exile, to subsist on a few boiled roots, having but ninepence a week for his support.

† To escape the oppressions of their own government, many of the Puritans had already left the country, and more were preparing to do so. Eight ships were lying in the Thames for the reception of emigrants for New England. Among these were Lords Say and Brooke, John Hampden, John Pym, and Oliver Cromwell. These vessels were detained by the royal proclamation, and ordered to reland their passengers,—a measure of which Charles may afterward have repented.

‡ Baillie, vol. ii., p. 110; Neal, vol. i., p. 262, vol. ii., pp. 275, 360.

years earlier, in 1648. In both of these the Westminster Confession furnishes the statement of Christian doctrine. In discipline they differ from the Presbyterians in the two particulars which the name by which their system is known, "Congregational Independency," denotes—viz., that all the members share with its office-bearers in the rule and administration of the church, so that it must be performed in their presence and *by their authority*; and that each particular society of visible professors is a complete church, with full power to elect and ordain its officers; synods, presbyteries, and convocations, where they exist,—having no power of jurisdiction over them, though their churches may meet by their messengers in synods or councils, in cases of difficulty, to consider and advise for their mutual good.

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## BOOK SECOND.

A. D. 1663-1685.

### CHAPTER I.

#### FIRST PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

As we turn our attention to the permanent occupancy of our own State by a Christian population, among the earliest of whom were men of our own faith, we are forcibly reminded of the words of the 44th Psalm: "We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us, what work thou didst in their days, in the times of old; How thou didst drive out the heathen with thy hand, and plantedst them; how thou didst afflict the people, and cast them out. For they got not the land in possession by their own sword, neither did their own arm save them; but thy right hand, and thine arm, and the light of thy countenance, because thou hadst a favor unto them."

After the attempt of Coligny, no efforts were made for the colonization of *South* Carolina for more than a hundred years. Sir Walter Raleigh, who had served under that great Huguenot leader in France, had obtained a patent from Queen Elizabeth, in 1584, creating him Lord Proprietor of an extensive

region of country on these shores. He fitted out two vessels, under the command of Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, which, sailing from England in 1584, landed in July on the shores of what is now *North Carolina*, on the island of Wococken, the southernmost island of Ocracock inlet, and took possession of the country in the name of Elizabeth. These adventurers carried back with them a glowing account of this new-discovered land, and were accompanied on their return by Maniteo and Wanchese, natives of America. The next year, 1585, Raleigh fitted out a second expedition of seven vessels and 108 colonists, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, and planted a colony on the island of Roanoke, with Ralph Lane as its governor. Being visited by Sir Francis Drake, with a fleet of 23 vessels, the disheartened colonists could be prevailed upon to remain no longer, and in June of the following year they embarked on board this fleet and returned to England. A few days after their departure a vessel arrived with all needed supplies, fitted out by the providence of Raleigh; and in a fortnight more three other vessels under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, who made a vain search for the colonists, and left behind him fifteen men to hold possession of the country for the Lord Proprietor and the English Crown. In the following year, with indomitable perseverance, determining to found an agricultural colony, he sent out families instead of individual colonists, provided for founding a city to bear his own name, and appointed John White governor of the colony. They found at the island of Roanoke only the bones of the miserable men whom Grenville had left, their empty houses and dismantled fort. The "city of Raleigh" was founded by them on the same spot. The colonists insisted that the governor should return with the vessel to England to secure to them re-enforcements and timely supplies. On the arrival of White, he found the public attention wholly occupied with the Spanish invasion. In the following year he was sent back with two vessels, one of which being taken and rifled by the enemy, both returned to England. Sir Walter Raleigh, having expended £40,000, or nearly \$200,000, in these efforts at colonization, found himself unable to proceed further, and made over his patent to a company of merchants and others.

It was not till 1590 that White was able to return to the colony, where he had left behind him a daughter and a grand-daughter, Virginia Dare, the first child born of English parents on the shores of America. He found the island of Roanoke an unin-

habited desert. It had been agreed, that if any misfortune should befall the colonists, and they be compelled to desert their settlement, they should leave behind the name of the place to which they had gone; and that if they were in distress, this should be indicated by a cross. The name Croatan was found cut in the bark of a tree, but without any signal of distress. Lawson, the earliest European traveller through this wilderness, expresses his belief that, despairing of relief from England, the colonists had amalgamated with the native tribes, and brings in confirmation of this a tradition of the Hatteras Indians, "that several of their ancestors were white people, and could talk in a book." "The truth of which," says he, "is confirmed by gray eyes being among these Indians, and no others." Raleigh did not throw off the responsibilities which he felt himself under to these unfortunate men. Purchas informs us that he had sent, at his own expense, in search of them, five several times previous to the year 1602.

In 1658-63, colonists from Virginia had settled upon the Chowan, in North Carolina, and this settlement was probably composed of dissenters from the Established Church. One of these was William Drummond, a native of Scotland, and probably a Presbyterian, afterward made governor of the colony. A colony from Massachusetts had also planted itself on Old Town Creek, on the south side of Cape Fear River, as early as 1660 or 1661. A general contribution was made through the settlement of Massachusetts for this infant colony in 1667.

New proprietors now obtained control, under whose auspices the permanent settlement of *South* Carolina was effected, although the distinction between North and South Carolina was not known till 1693, when the Santee was regarded as the dividing line. The present line upon the sea-coast was fixed by the royal order in 1738.

On the 24th of March, 1663, in the third year after the restoration of the royal government, and of his reign as king of Great Britain, Charles II. granted a charter to *Edward* Earl of Clarendon, *George* Duke of Albemarle, *William* Lord Craven, *John* Lord Berkley, *Anthony* Lord Ashley, *Sir George* Carteret, *Sir William* Berkley, and *Sir John* Colleton, to all the lands south of Virginia extending from 31° to 36° north latitude, and westward from the shores of the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. This country, which had been called by the Spaniards and French, Florida, and by the English, Southern Virginia, received the name Carolina, in honor of the king.

These noblemen were among the highest in office and the

most influential in the realm. Two of them, the Duke of Cumberland and Anthony Ashley Cooper, from whom Ashley and Cooper rivers are named, held office under Cromwell, but were prominent in the restoration of Charles.

This vast territory was granted to these noblemen as a reward for their services to the royal cause. Their object in seeking it was their own aggrandizement; yet the charter speaks of them as being prompted by "a laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the Christian Faith, and the enlargement of the royal empire and dominions."

It does not appear that these proprietors used any direct efforts for the propagation of Christianity; but they certainly were governed not merely by a selfish policy, but showed a disposition to protect their colonists in the free enjoyment of their religious privileges, and in other respects to promote their prosperity. Soon after their charter was obtained they wrote to Sir William Berkley, one of the Lords Proprietors, then governor of Virginia, empowering him "to settle two governors," if he should see fit, over the emigrants who were already settled on the river Chowan, in North Carolina; the reason for which was, "because some persons that are for liberty of conscience may desire a governor of their own proposing, which those on the other side of the river may not so well like; and our desire being to encourage those people to plant abroad, and to stock well those parts with planters, incites us to comply always with all sorts of persons as far as we possibly can."\* Previous to this they had received propositions from several gentlemen of Barbadoes, who wished to remove to Carolina. These they encouraged, and promised them "freedom and liberty of conscience, in all religious or spiritual things, and to be kept inviolable." A colony of English had also settled on the Cape Fear, where they arrived on the 29th of May, 1664, and founded a town, which they called Charles-town, about 20 or 30 miles from the mouth of the river. The gentlemen of Barbadoes sent out an exploring ship, called the Adventure, under Capt. Hilton, in August, 1663, who gave his name to Hilton Head, in the neighborhood of Beaufort, and seems to have explored that region with a view to the proposed settlement.† They determined, however, to settle on the Cape Fear; in pursuance of which determination a colony was conducted thither by Sir John Yeamans, and arrived in the autumn of 1665. In the following year this colony, created by

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\* August, 1663.

† See Hilton's Relation.

this two-fold emigration, is represented as consisting of about 800 persons, and to have erected good houses and good forts for their defence.\*

On June 30th, 1665, a second charter was granted by the king, enlarging the territory southward to the 29th degree of north latitude, and providing "that no dissenter from the Established Church shall be in any way molested for any difference of opinion, so long as he behaves himself peacefully, any law or statute of England to the contrary notwithstanding." In 1669 the Fundamental Constitutions of South Carolina were drawn up by the celebrated John Locke, at the suggestion of the Earl of Shaftesbury; the first copy of which received the signature of the proprietors on the 21st of July of that year. These were intended to be the unalterable laws of the province. They were highly aristocratic in their character, establishing three orders of nobility, Barons, Cassiques, and Landgraves, each with large landed possessions. In these Constitutions, one article made the Church of England the established religion of Carolina, an article inserted, it is said, by one of the proprietors, against Mr. Locke's judgment.† In other respects they provided that "no man could become a freeman, or have any estate or habitation in Carolina, who did not believe in a God, and that he was to be publicly worshipped; but that Jews, Heathens and other dissenters from the purity of the Christian religion, were to be tolerated. Any seven or more persons agreeing in any religion might constitute a church, and should be protected in their worship. No person, however, over seventeen years of age, not a member of some church or religious profession, could claim the protection of law or hold any place of honor or profit."

These Constitutions breathe the liberal spirit of their framer, who was equally the friend of civil and religious liberty. And as this Constitution was a favorite with the Proprietors, it exhibits the singular spectacle of men who had a hand in enforcing a strict uniformity of faith in England, and yet granting, on principles of interest, and perhaps led on by their own honest convictions, the widest toleration of religion in their

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\* Brief Description of the Province of Carolina: London, 1666; Carroll's Collections, vol. ii.

† The copy of the Constitutions first drawn up and sent out with Governor Sayle was without the clause relating to the introduction of worship according to the Church of England. The original is in the Charleston Library, and thought by some to be in Locke's handwriting.—See Rivers, South Carolina, Appendix, p. 334.

own domain of Carolina. The Earl of Clarendon and his associates were using their influence to bring back the days of persecution at home. Owen had been displaced and driven into retirement, and pursued by the soldiers of Charles. Bunyan was in prison, and Baxter, though a friend of royalty, and espousing the Restoration, was suffering with other Non-conformist divines, with the approbation of a majority of these very men. Only Lord Ashley, afterward Earl of Shaftesbury, was found battling in the opposition in resistance to the Bill of Uniformity, and other measures directed against the Dissenters. It was by his advice that Charles published, in March, 1672, the celebrated declaration for suspending the execution of the penalties against the Nonconformists and Recusants, though in his views of toleration he did not go to the lengths of the philosopher Locke, who resided in the house of Shaftesbury, attached himself to his fortunes while living, and vindicated his memory after his death.\* To these men are chiefly to be ascribed the liberal features of these fundamental laws, which for 40 years after their adoption were in force with the proprietors, though never received nor sanctioned by the colonists. Monk, too, could hardly have done otherwise than in his heart approve whatever of kindness they showed to the non-relatical sects. He had befriended the Independents, had sided with the Presbyterians, and, aided by them, had restored the royal government to power.

The proprietors had now resolved on the establishment of a new colony in Carolina. A treaty between England and Spain, in 1667, had acknowledged the English title to its possessions in the New World, and Port Royal was fixed upon as the place of settlement. William Sayle was appointed governor of the proposed colony, and Joseph West commercial agent of the proprietors. Sayle had some experience in contending with the difficulties of planting new colonies. About twenty years before this he had conducted a colony to the Bahamas, composed in great part of Presbyterians who had emigrated from the Bermudas or Sommers Islands, the place of his own former residence.† The proprietary lords seemed to have planned

\* Lord Ashley Cooper, the Earl of Shaftesbury, was one of the five ministers of Charles II. known as the "Cabal," a word made up of initials of the names, viz., Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale. The word *Cabal*—the French *Cabale*—signifies a number of persons acting in concert, and is generally understood in a bad sense.

† Some few persons embarked with him from England, and "sailed to the Sommers Islands, where they took in Mr. Patrick Copeland, elder of that

this expedition with great wisdom and foresight. It sailed from England probably in January, 1670, in three vessels, with several hundred able-bodied men and necessary provisions, tools, and warlike stores. The fleet was to touch at Kinsale, in Ireland, to obtain 25 or 30 servants for the proprietors, who ordered that a plantation should be made, under the direction of Mr. West, in the vicinity of the settlement at Port Royal. The fleet was also to touch at Barbadoes, to procure suitable seeds and plants for the new colony.\* It arrived at the Bermudas in February. They reached Port Royal on the 17th of March. Their continuance there must have been but short. The reasons are unknown which induced them to desert the location on which the heart of the proprietors was set. Nothing can be imagined as a reason for abandoning so favorable a location save a dread of interference from the Spaniards of Florida, or some hostile indications on the part of the native tribes. They had removed to the western bank of the Ashley River in April of the year of their departure from England, and landing "on the first highland," in a spot "convenient for tillage and pasturing," there commenced locating streets and lots, and erecting dwellings and a fortification. Their settlement was called by them Charles-Town. They seem to have been visited with sickness soon after their landing; and in the month of September of this year Gov. Sayle, being "weak in body," added a codicil to his will, drawn up by him at Bermuda the February before, and gave his

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church, a godly man of near eighty years of age, and so many of the church there, as they were in the ship in all seventy persons." They were greatly disturbed by "one Capt. Butler," who "could not endure any ordinances of worship." In their attempt to relieve themselves of his factious disturbance by a removal from the island they first reached, their vessel was cast away, and they were reduced to the greatest straits, being forced to live upon such game and wild fruit as the island afforded. Sayle, with eight others, reached the shores of Virginia, and brought them relief from the church there; and finding them in this miserable plight, persuaded them to remove to Eleutheria; but when they saw his commission and articles, "they paused upon it (for the church were very orthodox and zealous for the truth), and would not resolve before they received advice from us. Whereupon," says John Winthrop, "letters were returned to them, dissuading them from joining with that people under those terms."—Hist. of N. Eng., by John Winthrop, Esq., first Gov. of the colony of Mass. Bay.

Sayle, according to Hewatt, had made a voyage of exploration in behalf of the Proprietors, in 1667. He had visited the Bahama Islands and sailed along the coast of Carolina. His representations to his employers induced them to apply to the King for a grant of the Bahamas, which was bestowed upon them by letters patent.—Hewatt, p. 48; Hist. Soc. Collections, vol. i.; Capt. John Smith's Hist. of N. England and the Sommers Islands.

\* The expenses of the first colony amounted to £12,000.—Hewatt.

house at Albemarle Point \* to his eldest son, Nathaniel, and soon after this died. Not only Gov. Sayle, but the majority of the first settlers, "were Protestant Dissenters from the Church of England."† Joseph West succeeded Sayle as governor of the colony. In August, 1671, the proprietors' ship, the *Blessing*, Capt. Matthias Halsted commanding, arrived, bringing several families from England, for whom a town was directed to be laid out on Stono Creek, westward of Charlestown.‡ In August Capt. Halsted sailed for New York, and returned in December with a company of emigrants from the Dutch settlement of New Belgium. A number of families arrived also in the *Phoenix* from the same province; and for the Dutch emigrants in these two vessels a town called James Town was laid out southwest of Ashley River, as we suppose on James Island, which was subsequently deserted by these emigrants, who spread themselves through the other settlements. The instructions which were sent out by Capt. Halsted gave information to the governor and council that Mr. James Carteret, Sir John Yeamans, and Mr. John Locke had been created Landgraves, and ordered that their baronies, of 12,000 acres each, should be set out where they might desire. Sir John Yeamans had left his colony on the Cape Fear, and had returned to Barbadoes. He joined the colony established by Sayle on the Ashley River, though not permanently, until he was appointed Governor by the proprietors, upon which office he entered on the 19th of April, 1672. He brought with him from Barbadoes the first negro slaves who were seen in Carolina. Many of the settlers whom he had planted on the banks of the Cape Fear followed him to this colony, so that the former colony was at last quite deserted, and relapsed again into a wilderness.§ Their habitations were the narrow and rude shelters which first settlers

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\* The point made by the confluence of the Ashley River and Wappoo Creek.

† Petition of Joseph Boone and other inhabitants of Carolina.—Rivers, Appendix, p. 462.

‡ The town was so laid out on a parcel of land containing twenty-five acres, whereof five acres were reserved for a churchyard. This town was probably the one called Newtown in the Order of Council of June 18th, 1672, providing that two "great gunns" be mounted there for its better defence.—Rivers, p. 100; Appendix, p. 379; see also p. 381.

§ Sir John Yeaman's entrance upon his new office was signalized by several important measures. The new Council then elected ordered the Surveyor General to lay out three colonies, or squares of 12,000 acres, one about Charles-Town, another at James-Town, and a third upon a place known as Oyster Point. The settlement of Charles-Town was now regularly laid out at this place in 62 town lots. The settlers having resigned the lots they had pre-

are always obliged to erect.\* The necessities of the colonists required incessant labor and untiring vigilance. It was providential to them that the native tribes contiguous to their settlement had been thinned off by a desolating sickness previous to their arrival. But the Kussoes, by whom they were surrounded, in about a year after the settlement was commenced became more and more hostile, and threatened by the aid of the Spaniards to cut off the colonists. All arms were made ready for service, the men were practised diligently in their use, the store of powder was divided into three parts and located at the safest and most convenient points, a constant night-watch was kept up, at which all were to take their turns,—the people of the town twice “in every revolution of the watches,” and “those in the outward plantations” once. On any alarm, to be given by “two of the greatest guns at Charles-Town, the entire inhabitants,”—except the negroes on the governor’s plantation, who were left to defend the same, “being an outward place,”—were to assemble at their appointed rendezvous; and on the appearance of any “top-sayle vessell” “one great gunn” was to be fired, upon which all the freemen of the colony were to appear in arms, and no person except the pilot was allowed to go on board the same. Previous to the entire completion of these arrangements, war had been proclaimed upon the Kussoes, and Indian prisoners were taken. Diligence and thrift were enforced upon the colonists. Governor Sayle had been instructed to summon the freeholders and require them, in the name of the proprietors, “to elect twenty persons,” who, together with the deputies of the proprietors, were to constitute his council or parliament. This parliament, elected under the proprietary regulations, constituted a popular assembly, who governed the little colony wisely and efficiently. In a season of scarcity, which occurred early in 1672, they ordained that no person should be supplied from the proprietors’ stores who should not have two acres well planted and cultivated for every member of his or her family; that no mechanic should exercise his trade in town till the gathering in of the next crop, except under the tolerance of the Grand Council; and that every loiterer, whether male or female, should be put under the care of some industrious

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viously occupied, received others according to the new arrangement. The lots were 62 in number, and the distribution of them to the several freeholders may be found in Dalcho, p. 17.

\* The houses of James-Town, the Dutch settlement, were to be “20 feet long and 15 feet broad at least.”—Rivers, p. 100.

planter, for the better raising of provisions and their present maintenance. Thus, almost like the ancient Jews when Jerusalem was to be rebuilt, they wrought with their weapons in one hand and their implements of labor in the other,—vigilant in their defence, yet industrious in their pursuits. The distinction of master and servant existed; but except in the case of Governor Yeamans, those called servants were white persons, laboring for a term of service for maintenance or wages, or both. What attention was paid to matters of religion we know not. The reservation of a site for a church in their little town-plats, showed that the church was not quite forgotten. The many sufferers for conscience' sake who had resorted to the new continent to escape oppression and persecution, would yet be mindful, in some measure, of their former faith. Their religious observances, however, may have been private and domestic rather than social, and their contest with the wild nature by which they were surrounded, their anxieties and many cares for the meat which perishes, may have led them proportionally to neglect that which endureth forever. The Fundamental Constitutions of Locke, which declared that "no man shall be permitted to be a freeman of Carolina, or to have any estate or habitation within it, that doth not acknowledge a God; and that God is publicly and solemnly to be worshipped;" and that "no person above seventeen years of age shall have the benefit or protection of the law, or be capable of any place of profit or honor, who is not a member of some church or profession, having his name recorded in some one, and but one, religious record at once," though unwise provisions, would seem to mark this colony out as one peculiarly religious. The Rev. Atkinson Williamson, of the Episcopal Church, was in the colony in 1680, and Rev. Thomas Barret, a Dissenter, and probably a Presbyterian, was living in South Carolina in 1685; and under these circumstances we can hardly believe that social and public worship was neglected. In the names of the first settlers we also find those who afterward contended for that liberty of conscience which the first constitutions promised. But besides this, there is nothing to assist us to interpret the characters of the colonists in this matter, which is so important. Sir John Yeamans himself was probably a zealous royalist, attached to the Episcopal Church, if any. His father was alderman of the city of Bristol, had been hung for his adherence to the royal cause in the days of the Parliament, and after the accession of Charles II. he had been rewarded

for the sufferings of his family with the title and rank of a baronet.\* Col. West was created Landgrave and Governor in April, 1674. He is described as "a moderate, just, pious, and valiant person,"† and his administration was deservedly popular with the people and satisfactory to the proprietors.

The proprietors continued to invite settlers under the free toleration of their religious opinions. In 1672 certain persons in Ireland received overtures from them, in which they conceded to them the free exercise of their religion according to their own discipline.‡ A revised set of the Fundamental Laws were, however, sent out by the proprietors, and were received by Governor West in February, 1673. It proceeds to say, that "as the country comes to be sufficiently planted and distributed into fit divisions, it shall belong to the parliament to take care for the building of churches and the public maintenance of divines, to be employed in the exercise of religion according to the Church of England; which being the only true and orthodox, and the national religion of all the king's dominion, is so also of Carolina; and therefore it alone shall be allowed to receive, a public maintenance by grant of parliament." These new constitutions were exceedingly distasteful to the people. They had acceded to the first ones, and the parliament utterly refused to accept them in the place of those to which they had originally sworn. Two-thirds of the settlers were dissenters from the English Church, and could not brook the prominence which the proprietors sought to give it. Small parties of settlers were coming into the colony with almost every vessel, and the proprietors sought industriously to add to the number of immigrants. In June, 1676, 12,000 acres were promised to John Berkley, Simon Perkins, Anthony Laine, and John Pettit, on their arrival.

The time now arrived for the transfer of the principal settlement to the present site of the city of Charleston. When the new survey and distribution of lots in old Charles-Town was made, in 1672, Gov. Yeamans had a site for a new town marked off at Oyster Point, at the confluence of Ashley and Cooper rivers. Accordingly, Oyster Point Town was laid off between the present Broad, Water, and Meeting streets. These lots were very gradually taken up; but in 1679 the inhabitants on the west bank of the Ashley began to remove thither. In December of that year the proprietors informed

\* Clarendon, History of the Rebellion, ii., p. 247.

† Archdale, Historical Collections of S. C., ii., p. 100.

‡ Rivers, App., p. 365.

Gov. West that they had appointed it to be the port town, and in 1680 the public offices were removed to the eastern side of the Ashley, and 30 houses were built there during that year. "At this town, in November, 1680," says Samuel Wilson, "there rode at one time sixteen sail of vessels, some of which were upward of two hundred tons, that came from various parts of the king's kingdom to trade there." Writing in 1682, he says, "about a hundred houses are there built, and more are building daily by the persons of all sorts that come there to inhabit from the more northern English colonies, the Sugar Islands, England, and Ireland; and many persons who went to Carolina servants, being industrious since they came out of their times with their masters, at whose charge they were transported, have gotten good stocks of cattle and servants of their own; have also built houses, and exercise their trades."\* Thomas Ash, who was sent out in 1680 to inquire into the state of the country by his majesty Charles II., and who returned in 1682, says, "The town is regularly laid out into large and capacious streets. In it they have reserved convenient places for the building a church, town-house, and other public structures, an artillery ground for the exercise of their militia, and wharfs for the convenience of their trade and shipping. At our being, there was judged to be in the country 1000 or 1200 souls; but the great number of families from England, Ireland, Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the Caribees, which daily transport themselves thither, have more than doubled that number."† This town was at first called New Charles-Town, but since 1682 has been called Charlestown, and more lately Charleston. The site reserved for the Church of England was that now occupied by St. Michael's. The building erected there was built of black cypress on a brick foundation, and was commonly called the English Church, though its distinctive name was St. Philip's. Ramsay says it was built about 1690. Dalcho argues that it must have been erected in 1681 or 1682; Rivers, that it was probably begun in 1682. The reasons for this early date for the erection of St. Philip's given by Dr. Dalcho are—1, that it is unreasonable to suppose the Episcopalians should remain 20 years in Carolina without a church, which is supposed by Dr. Ramsay's date for the erection of St. Philip's; 2, that the

\* Wilson's Account of Carolina, London, 1682, in Carol., ii., p. 24.

† Description of Carolina, by T. A[sh], Gent., London, 1672; Carroll's Collections, vol. ii., p. 82.

model of the town contained the site of the church ; 3, that art. xcvi. of the Fundamental Constitutions (2d set) provides for the maintenance of divines of the Church of England ; 4, that Originall Jackson, and his wife Meliscent, executed a deed of gift, January 14th, 1680-1681, of four acres of land for a house of worship to be erected, in which Atkin Williamson, cleric, may perform worship according to the form and liturgy of the Church of England. This land is not described as being in Charlestown. Jackson owned land on the Cooper River, August 3d, 1672. Yet there was no settlement large enough to afford a congregation out of Charleston in 1680. Nor is there any record of any Episcopal church out of town before 1703. These, with the knowledge that Rev. Atkin Williamson was in the colony in 1680, render it probable, though not by any means certain, that St. Philip's may have had the early date which is thus claimed for it.

During the years immediately preceding these dates, we begin to recognize more and more distinctly the accession of French Protestants. In the re-distribution of lots in Old Charlestown, July 22d, 1672, Richard Batin, Jacques Jours, and Richard Deyos received town lots with other freeholders. In 1677 grants were made to Jean Batton ; in 1678 to Jean Bazant and Richard Gaillard ; to John Monke in 1682 ; and in 1683 to Marie Batton, wife of Jean Batton (ci-devant Mary Fosteen). In 1679 the petition of Renè Petit, for transporting French Protestant families to Carolina, came before the Committee of Trade and Plantations, in the Council Chamber at Whitehall ; and on the 29th of October the petition was granted, and his majesty Charles II. gave orders for fitting out two suitable ships for their conveyance. One of these vessels was the frigate Richmond, which arrived in 1680, bringing out forty-five French refugees. Charles himself bore the expense of their transportation. A more considerable number soon followed in another vessel, also at the expense of government. It was expected that these French colonists would be very serviceable to the province by introducing the manufacture of silk and the culture of the olive and vine. This expectation was not realized. The eggs of the silkworm hatched at sea, and the worms perished for want of food ; and the other branches of industry sought to be promoted by them did not thrive.

Some regard was had to public morality and virtue. Toward the close of Governor West's administration, May, 1682, acts were passed for the observance of the Lord's Day, and

for the suppression of idleness, drunkenness, and profanity.\* West was superseded in his office by Landgrave Joseph Morton, who, with Landgrave Axtell, according to Archdale, had procured the arrival in Carolina of more than 500 persons within the space of one month.† The proprietors continued to exert themselves to invite immigrants into their colony. At the desire of several wealthy persons wishing to remove thither, they “once more” revised the unalterable constitutions, relaxing them anew in favor of freedom.‡ “Many Dissenters went over, men of estates, as also many whom the variety of fortune had engaged to seek their fortunes, in hopes of better success in this new world. And truly such as better improved their new stock of wit generally had no cause to repent of their transplantation into this fertile and pleasant land.”§ Under the administration of Governor Moreton, Joseph Blake, brother to the celebrated Admiral Blake, came into the province. He arrived in 1683, and “being a wise and prudent person, of a heroic temper of spirit, strengthened the hands of sober-inclined people, and kept under the first loose and extravagant spirit.”|| Many Dissenters came with him. About this time “the persecution raised by the Popish faction and their adherents in England was at its height, and no part of this kingdom suffered more by it than Somersetshire. The author of this history (Oldmixon) lived at that time with Mr. Blake, brother to the famous general of that name, being educated by his son-in-law, who taught school in Bridgewater, and remembers, though then very young, the reasons old Mr. Blake used to give for leaving England: one of which was that the miseries they endured, meaning the Dissenters, there, were nothing to what he foresaw would attend the reign of a Popish successor; wherefore he resolved to remove to Carolina: and he had so great an interest among persons of his principles, I mean Dissenters, that many honest and substantial persons engaged to go over with him. I must prevent all

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\* Rivers, p. 130.

† Quoted by Rivers, p. 131. “Under Governor Morton, by order of the proprietors, the province, so far as inhabited, was divided into three counties—Craven county, to the north of the Sewee river; Berkley county, between this and Stono Creek, embracing Charles-Town; and Colleton, south of Stono Creek; of this, London (Wiltown) was to be the county seat, or place of election. It contained Port Royal and the lands in its vicinity for the distance of thirty miles.”—Oldmixon, Hist. Coll., p. 316.

‡ Chalmers' Political Annals of Carolina, p. 315.

§ Archdale, *ibid.*, p. 100.

|| Archdale, p., 101.

prejudice to what I have said, by declaring that this book is written by one who is not himself a Dissenter, but verily believes the true Church of England is the most orthodox and pure church in the world." "I say the more of Mr. Blake," adds the historian, "because his family is the most considerable in this province. What estate he had in England he sold, to carry the effects along with him; and though the sum was not many thousands, if it did at all deserve the plural number, yet 'twas all that his great brother left him, though for several years he commanded the British fleet, and in a time when our naval arms were victorious and the treasures of New Spain seldom reached home. By Mr. Blake's presence in Carolina the sober party began to take heart, and the other to be discouraged in their irregular courses." "The governor, as we are told, married Elizabeth Blake, his daughter, and by this alliance the strength of their party was so increased that we hear little of the other till Mr. Colleton's government."\* Who this opposite party were, may be conjectured in part by Archdale's description—"ill livers of pretended churchmen;"† and in part by Oldmixon's—"The two factions were that of the proprietaries and that of the planters, like court and country party in England."‡ The Blakes were of the English Presbyterians of Somersetshire. His brother was returned by the Presbyterians as a member from Bridgewater of the Short Parliament, in 1640. He sat in the first two parliaments summoned by Cromwell; was the antagonist of the Dutch Admiral Van Tromp, and commanded the British fleet in the most brilliant period of her naval history; was a blunt old man, of ready humor, fearless in the expression of his opinions; a staunch republican; of a singularly fearless temper; straightforward, upright, and honest in an unusual degree; never seeking his own advancement. In his temper he was liberal, and to his sailors ever kind. He was the first man who taught English ships to despise castles on shore; who first infused proper courage into seamen, by teaching them what mighty things they could do when resolved; that they could fight in fire as well as upon water; and though he was very well followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage and bold and resolute achievement.§ His remains, with those of Cromwell's mother and daughter, and others,

\* Oldmixon's Annals in Caroll's Collections, vol. ii., pp. 407, 408.

† Collections, ii., p. 100. ‡ Ibid., p. 406. § Clarendon, iii., p. 602.

buried in Westminster Abbey, had, in paltry and impotent revenge, been exhumed, and cast into a pit in St. Margaret's churchyard. In these high qualities his less illustrious brother shared. He was willing enough to escape from a sovereign who had shown himself a perfidious tyrant, and from a country where freedom to worship God was denied him. He was a Presbyterian of the English stamp, sincere in his religious convictions without bigotry. His wife\* is found afterwards contributing liberally to the adornment of St. Philip's church, and he, as governor, favoring the interests of the same. Moreton was succeeded in the gubernatorial office by Sir Richard Kyrle, of Ireland, who was appointed in April, 1684. Much was expected from his energy and ability, but he died within a few months.†

About this time the colonists were re-enforced by an emigration from Ireland, under the guidance of Ferguson (who was, it is supposed, of Presbyterian predilections), which mingled at once with the mass of the inhabitants.‡ In this same year the state of the Presbyterians in the counties of Derry and Donegal is represented as being "so deplorable, that the greater number of the ministers of the Presbytery of Lagan intimated to the other Presbyteries their intention of removing to America, whither some of them had been already invited, 'because of the persecutions and general poverty abounding in those parts, and on account of their straits and little or no access to their ministry,'"—a determination which seems to have been prevented by the death of Charles II. in the following year, and a change in the administration of affairs. Four of the ministers had been imprisoned for eight months for keeping a fast, on account of the distressed state of the Church, and refusing to take the oath of supremacy. It was in this season of trouble that Francis Mackemie must have emigrated to America. He was introduced to the Presbytery of Lagan in 1681 by his pastor, the Rev. Thomas Drummond, of Rathmelton, in Donegal county, believed to be the brother of William Drummond, first governor of North Carolina, a Presbyterian and valiant supporter of the maintenance of popular liberty, who was put to an ignominious death by Sir William Berkley, royal governor of Virginia, and one of the

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\* In the History of the Charleston Baptist Association, by Wood Furman, A.M., Charleston, 1811, it is said, "She and her mother, Lady Axtell, were members of the Baptist Church."—Dalcho, p. 26; Oldmixon, p. 417.

† Oldmixon, 410.

‡ Chalmers' Annals, p. 315.

original proprietors of Carolina. On an application from Col. Stevens of Maryland, beside Virginia, "for a minister to settle in that colony, he had been ordained; but in what year is not known, as the minutes of that Presbytery are defective, its clerk having been seized and cast into prison, and its meetings suspended for some years." In a letter to Increase Mather, of Boston, written from Elizabeth River, Virginia, July 22d, 1684, he speaks of his "design for Ashley River, South Carolina," that he went to sea in the month of May for the purpose of carrying it out, that "after several essays to the south," being tossed by contrary winds and falling short of provisions, he was prevailed upon by Col. Lawson and others "to stay this season" at Lynnhaven, especially considering "the season of the year, and the little encouragement from Carolina." For the satisfaction of his friends in Ireland, he had sent one of their number to obtain further information respecting the place. In a letter of the date of July 28th, 1685, he again speaks of Ashley River, and says, "I have also wrote to Mr. Thomas Barret, a minister who lived in South Carolina, who, when he wrote to me from Ashley River, was to take shipping for New England." From this evidence it appears that serious thoughts had been entertained by Mackemie of settling at Charles-Town. Webster says, "he visited Carolina in the fall of 1683." In his determination to settle elsewhere, the new colony of South Carolina lost the services of one of the most active ministers of the Presbyterian Church, one who by Reid is said, though not with entire truth, to be the first Presbyterian minister who settled in North America,\* and one who, more than any other, has been regarded its founder.† Of Rev. Thomas Barret, living on Ashley River, at and before 1685, we have no further knowledge.

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\* Mackemie speaks of a Dissenting minister from Ireland, as having preceded him, and as being removed by death, at Lynnhaven Town, Norfolk county, Virginia.—Letter to Increase Mather, Mass. Hist. Soc., and Webster's Hist. of Pres. Ch., p. 207.

† Reid's Irish Pres. Ch., vol. ii., pp. 419, 424, 425, London, 1837.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE COLONY OF LORD CARDROSS.

THE next colony was conducted into Carolina by Henry, Lord Cardross. He was descended from the Lords Erskine and the Earls of Mar, and Lady Erskine was daughter of Sir James Stuart. He had been in many ways a sufferer for resistance to oppression. His house had been entered by armed guards, and the private chaplain\* of Lady Cardross seized and put to death. He had been mulcted in heavy fines, had been imprisoned for non-conformity to Episcopacy and his maintenance of the Kirk of Scotland, under Lauderdale; and for non-payment of his fines he was outlawed, and his life-rents were escheated and given to his oppressor. His dwelling had been rifled, his estate had been wasted by the King's army when it lay at Stirling, his house had been garrisoned for eight years by the English soldiers, by which the dwelling and gardens were quite destroyed.† He determined, therefore, to seek freedom of conscience in America. Nor was he alone in this. A company of noblemen and gentlemen had entered into bonds with each other for making a settlement in Carolina. The subscribers were thirty-six in number. Among them were the names of Callender, Cardross, Yester, Hume of Polwart, Cockburn, Douglas, Lockhart, Gilmour, &c. Sir John Cochrane, of Ochiltree, and Sir George Campbell, had applied, towards the close of 1682, to the King for his encouragement and protection in this scheme. The same commissioners had secured from the lords proprietors a county consisting of thirty-two plats of twelve thousand acres each.‡ The Fundamental Constitutions had been altered to secure to the Scots greater immunity from oppression; the Indian title was to be extinguished by the proprietors by treaty and purchase. The place of settlement was to be the spot to which the first colony was despatched—Port Royal, the fame of whose harbor and the desirableness of whose situation had been so greatly extolled. This colony was to be independent of

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\* Rev. John King.

† Petition to the king in 1680.—Wodrow, iii., p. 192.

‡ Wodrow, iii., pp. 368, 369; Collections of Historical Soc. of S. C., i., pp. 92, 93, 109.

the one at Charleston, and Cardross understood himself to have co-ordinate jurisdiction with the governor there. He landed in 1683, and founded Stuart's Town, probably so called after the family of Lady Cardross.\* Among those who came with him was Rev. William Dunlop. He was the eldest son of Rev. Alexander Dunlop of Paisley, and early devoted himself to the ministry. He entered upon it as a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, at the stormiest period of its history. He belonged to the moderate party of the maintainers of the Covenant, the Whigs, whose principles were engrafted on the English constitution in 1688. His party reluctantly resorted to the sword in defence of the rights of conscience, yet they did so in connection with fierce republicans at the ill-starred battle of Bothwell Bridge. He was at that time tutor in the family of Lord Cochrane, and in connection with Rev. Robert Wylie, drew up the declaration which it was hoped would be adopted by the army. He conveyed it in person to the camp. In the form in which it was presented it was rejected, and another similar but more objectionable paper was drawn up on its basis. Had the original paper been adopted, Wodrow contends that the rising at Bothwell might have been defended on the same ground as the revolution of 1688. Even at this early age he had that shrewdness and activity of mind which gave him an influence with his party far beyond what his years would otherwise have justified. This influence had been much increased by his marriage with Sarah, sister of Principal Carstairs, a name dear to Scotland, and honored in his own day throughout Britain for his shining piety, his universal and polite learning, and his candor and integrity, all of which qualities were insufficient to save him from imprisonment and cruel torture.† During his whole residence in America, Dunlop continued to be deeply interested in the affairs of Scotland, but was an extremely useful

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\* She was daughter of Sir James Stuart.—Wodrow, iii., p. 193.

† Carstairs was a Presbyterian clergyman who fled from Scotland under Charles II. He was taken prisoner in England, and upon suspicion of being concerned in the intended insurrection, for which Lord Russel and Algernon Sydney suffered, was sent to Scotland and put under the torture of the thumb-screw to extort confessions. There is a letter to Mrs. Dunlop, his sister, written from Leyden, March 14th, 1687 (whither he had retired after his release from prison), in which he refers to her contemplated voyage to Carolina; but she had already gone there. This and various other letters to his wife, written from his prison, breathe an excellent spirit, and may be found in the appendix to Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland. He returned from Holland with William of Orange, was with him in all his

member of the infant colony at Port Royal, not only performing the functions of his sacred office, but acting as a major of militia, and promoting in various ways the prosperity and security of the place of his refuge.

It had been expected that some 10,000 emigrants would have been sent from Scotland to this colony of Port Royal, for the persecution consequent upon the rising of the west country, the skirmish at Drumclog, and the battle of Bothwell Bridge, was raging fearfully. But most writers speak of the number who came out with Lord Cardross as being small. About 10 families, says Rivers, among whose names were those of Hamilton, Montgomerie, and Dunlop, accompanied him. But Wodrow, a most veracious and exact historian, speaks of many others. Numbers were condemned by the Royal Commission at Glasgow—"a set," says Wodrow, "of the most violent persecutors of that time." The grounds of condemnation were large: if they would not condemn the rising at Bothwell; if any had attended conventicles or baptizings in the field; if, though *they* had attended at the prelatical churches, their wives had gone elsewhere. This last ground of condemnation had been referred to the king. "The king," says Bishop Burnet, "determined against the ladies; which was thought very indecent: for in dubious cases the nobleness of a prince's temper should always turn him to the merciful side. This was the less expected from the king, who had all his life expressed as great a neglect of women's consciences, as esteem for their persons."\* The council banished many to the plantations. The privy council, May 27th, 1684, orders the commissions of Glasgow and Dumfries, "to sentence and banish to the plantations in America such rebels as appear penitent, in the ship belonging to Walter Gibson, merchant, in Glasgow." "It is a knack peculiar, I think, to this period," says Wodrow, "to pretend kindness and grace in the greatest severities inflicted by them: thus last year and this, the taking the test was pretended to be a favor, and yet the country was forced into it, and now banishment to the plantations is another act of grace and favor to penitents,

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campaigns, and had his entire confidence. In 1704 he became Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and Professor of Divinity. He was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1708, 1711, and 1715, on the 2d of December of which year he died. There is also a very interesting letter of Mrs. Dunlop, dated Edinburgh, September 2d, 1686, directed to her husband "at Port Royal, Carolina," written previous to her voyage.—Wodrow, vol. iv., pp. 516-520.

\* Hist. of his own Times, ii., pp. 994, 995. London, 1725.

much the same with the *coup de grâce* in France." "June 19th, Sir William Paterson, who had been west, upon the conventicles," reports to the council that two-and-twenty persons, prisoners in the Tolbooth of Glasgow, are now banished to the plantations in William Gibson's ship. And at the same diet at Edinburgh, the Lords, by sentence, appoint James McCachin in Dalry, John Creighton in Kirkpatrick, John Matthison in Closeburn, John McClisholm in Spittle, libelled for reset, and converse with rebels, found guilty by their confession judicially adhered to, to be transported to the plantations. And August 15th, about fifteen more are ordered to the same place." John Dick was banished to Carolina in June. "Some of his interrogatories and answers," says Wodrow, "deserve room here, he being a very sensible, knowing person." "Being asked if it was lawful to bear arms, answered, he thought it lawful for the defence of religion,—that is, when people are oppressed for adhering to their principles, pressed to deny them, and killed for not denying them,—and for personal defence against robbers and murderers. He was further asked, 'But what if the king should carry on a course contrary to the word of God, may he be opposed by arms?' The bishop or professor of divinity, he does not mind which, said, 'But I'll make it plain to you, from the word of God, that though the king carry on a course contrary to scripture, he ought not to be opposed.' John interrupting him, said, 'The world will never do that, for it is setting scripture against itself, and the like of it was never heard.' Then he was asked if he would kill one of the king's guards if he found them in the way. He answered he was of no such murdering principles. They were very close upon him as to his praying for the king: and after many questions this way, they asked, 'Can you now pray for him?' He said, 'I can, as he hath a soul, and hath not sinned the unpardonable sin; but to pray for him as he is king, and for the prosperity of his courses, I cannot do.'" "The original testimony of about two-and-twenty, who were banished to Carolina," says Wodrow, "is before me. They received their indictment, as they say in their paper, for not owning the king's supremacy (and indeed it was that, most of the country people meant, when they refused to own his authority), their declining to call Bothwell Bridge rebellion, and refusing to renounce the covenants. The names of the persons signing this joint testimony are James McClintock, John Buchanan, William Inglis, Gavin Black, Adam Allan, John Galt, Thomas Marshal, William Smith, Robert Urie, Thomas

Brice, John Syme, Hugh Syme, William Syme, John Alexander, John Marshal, Matthew Mackan, John Paton, John Gibson, John Young, Arthur Cunningham, George Smith, and John Dowart.\*

Wodrow supposes that it was in the same ship in which these persecuted men came out that Rev. Mr. William Dunlop, "whom," says he, "I can never name without the greatest regard to his memory, transported himself, and voluntarily withdrew from the iniquity of this time. And, if I mistake not," he adds, "the excellent and truly noble Lord Cardross left his native country at the same time." Sad and extremely uncomfortable was their passage to these shores.

"Captain James Gibson commanded the vessel, and is represented to have been very rude to the poor prisoners, who were about thirty-two in number. And his seamen and under-officers were yet harsher. Any small money their friends had scraped together for them before they sailed was taken from them, and they could have no redress. They were disturbed when at worship under deck and threatened; whenever they began to sing psalms the hatches were closed upon them. They had their water given to them in very scanty measure; one man was allowed only a mutchkin in twenty-four hours. And when there happened to be a mutchkin or less over, it was carefully distributed among them all, or they would parcel it out by spoonfuls to such as were most necessitous. All this was really from ill-nature, for there was no strait. When they came ashore in Carolina, they had fourteen hogsheds of water to cast out, besides a good number of hogsheds of beer remaining. At the beginning of their voyage, every eight of them had a Scots pint of pottage allowed them, and a little beer; their only other food was salt beef, with a few peas, three or four years old, sodden in salt water; this they had literally by weight, two ounces and a half to every two of them, with a biscuit, which was old enough. Their bread was indeed so ill that they could not eat it, but bartered it with the seamen for the rain water they gathered. The sick were miserably treated, and had no other thing allowed them but what the rest had. Some of the prisoners, who were sick, desired to be put ashore at Bermudas, offering all security to Captain Gibson, if they recovered, to come to Carolina. At first the captain promised, but, when he found so many sick, altered his mind. The very ship's crew were like to mutiny for want of water; and John Alexander died of thirst, as was thought. When

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\* Two of them, John Buchanan and Arthur Cunningham, add to their names a confession, "that they had fainted in giving consent to their own banishment." This is explained thus: "Most of them had been picked up in searches and otherwise, in Glasgow, Eastwood, Eaglesham, and other places round about, and had continued in prison some months." Walter Gibson and his brother were sending off a vessel to Carolina, and had promised that if they would go with them, they would get their lives spared, and if not, they assured them they would be publicly executed. In this way these suffering and harassed men consented to their own expatriation. But afterwards, when it was represented by some as a confession of their own guilt, and as having a share in their own banishment, they acknowledged it as a step of fainting, and entered their confession as they affix their signatures to their testimony.

they landed in Carolina, all the prisoners almost were sick ; they were taken out and put into houses under guard. Some cloth and other things, given by their friends in Scotland, to be sold at the best advantage and distributed among them in Carolina, was otherwise disposed of, and they had none of it. John Dick, formerly mentioned, having paid his freight to thirty shillings, though he offered his bond for it, and a comrade of his offered to serve in his room till that remainder of his freight was paid, yet the captain would in no wise yield to it, but forced him up the country with him as his servant, where he died. His case differed from the rest of the prisoners, because of the contract he had entered into with the captain, but no faith was kept to him. Two of the prisoners, John Smith and John Paton, offering to make their escape, were discovered, and most barbarously used, being beaten eight times every day, and condemned to perpetual servitude."

"My account of banishments this year," says Wodrow, "shall be ended with an instance of severity great enough. When these prisoners were lying ready to sail from Clyde, Elizabeth Linning, yet alive, attesting this account, came down to visit the prisoners, some of them being her relations ; when she came aboard, Captain Gibson ordered her to be kept and taken with them, though he had nothing to charge her with ; she, perceiving this, took an opportunity, when those who were watching her were asleep, to get ashore. She was soon missed, and the captain ordered most of the crew ashore in search of her ; they found her, and brought her back, and carried her to Carolina with them. After they arrived there, and the prisoners were set ashore, she fell indisposed. One day she heard the captain say, when he did not know she was in hearing, 'Since she is sickly, let her go ashore, but see that she come aboard every night till we get her sold.' Upon this she took the first opportunity to get ashore, and went straight to the governor, and acquainted him how she was forced to that place, and what she had heard. The governor was very civil, and caused cite the captain to the next court-day, where he appearing, was interrogate if he brought the girl from Scotland without sentence or consent ; the captain owned he had, and trumped up a story, which she utterly refuted, that she had come with letters to the prisoners, and means were essaying to procure their escape, though he had given bond to the Council of Scotland for two-and-thirty of them at a thousand merks apiece. To this he answered nothing, but that he had an order from Lieutenant-Colonel Windram to keep her, for she was such a rebel as ought not to be permitted to stay in the nation. The governor desired him to produce this order ; the other answered that he had it only by word of mouth ; whereupon the court ordered her liberation, and allowed her the following extract :—'At a Council held at Charleston, October 17th, 1684, upon the reading of the petition of Elizabeth Linning against Captain James Gibson, commander of the Carolina merchant, in a full council, it was ordered as follows—Whereas, upon the confession of Captain Gibson, that the within written Elizabeth Linning was, without the consent of the said Elizabeth, brought to this province by force and by a pretended order from Lieutenant-Colonel Windram, but the said Gibson producing none, it was ordered that the said Elizabeth be set at liberty as a free woman.'

"In short, most of the prisoners died in Carolina, and scarce a half-dozen of them ever returned to their native land ; and a great many years after, the commander of the ship they were in perished in the American seas, after a most unfortunate voyage. Many others were banished this and the following year, of whom I shall be scarce able to give any account."\*

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\* See Wodrow, *Hist. of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, vol. iii., pp. 96, 192, 193, 194, 368, 369 ; iv., pp. 8, 9, 10, 101, 521.

We have given these extended extracts because they bring before us a vivid picture of those persecutions which our Scotch ancestors endured, and of the reasons which led many of them to seek a home on these, at that time, uncultivated shores, where to contend with the murderous savage, the wild beast, and an unhealthy clime, was less dreadful than to meet with the opposition of their own countrymen, whom a different creed made more bitter and terrible enemies. That these persecuted men were with Mr. Dunlop and Lord Cardross at Port Royal, the letter of Mrs. Dunlop from Edinburgh to her husband in America, September 2d, 1686, preserved in Wodrow, sufficiently shows.\*

It would have been supposed that this settlement on their southern border would have been hailed with joy by the English colony at Charleston, but they were regarded with a narrow jealousy and treated with rudeness. The Grand Council at Charles-Town claimed jurisdiction over the territory granted to the Scots, and did not hesitate to exercise it even over those to whom Lord Cardross had given land as settlers within their county. This and other matters of importance induced Lord Cardross to expostulate with the governor and council,† and to bring to their recollection that both communities were under the same king and the same lords proprietors; that it would not be the true interest of either to allow jealousies to arise when they were already threatened by their Spanish neighbors. He brings to their notice that two noted Indians, Wina and Antonio, were instigating the Indians around them to hostilities among themselves and against their settlement, and were entertaining a Spanish Indian believed to be a spy from St. Augustine or St. Mary's. He desires them to deliver up to the bearer, Wm. Dunlop, the six guns lying at Charles-Town, and directed by the proprietors to be given to them. The letter is signed by Cardross, William Dunlop, Hamilton, and Montgomerie. But their overtures were met with a rude repulse; the Grand Council persist in their complaints, and summon Lord Cardross before them as if to answer for some high misdemeanor, and construe his failure to appear before them as a contempt, though he was prostrated with fever and

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\* "John Simes' wife hath written to himself."—Wodrow, Appendix, vol. iv., p. 520. John Simes was one of the emigrants who came out in Captain Gibson's ship.

† See his letter from "Stuart's Towne, on Port Royall, ye 25 March, 1684."—Appendix, Rivers' S. C., p. 407.

overcome by the heats of a climate to which he was unaccustomed.\*

Robert Quary, to whom this letter of Lord Cardross was addressed, was provisional governor but for a short time. West was again governor from September, 1684, to September, 1685, when he was succeeded by Moreton.

Fifteen years have now passed since the first permanent settlement of Europeans was made within the bounds of South Carolina. A population of about 2500 persons have been transferred from the shores of the old continent and have established themselves here. A portion of them are of the Established Church of England, to which a majority of the proprietors belonged. The large majority from the beginning have been dissenters from that church.† They have come from various portions of Britain or its colonies, and from France. They are of English, Irish, Scotch, French, or Dutch extraction. They have almost all been disciplined in the school of affliction, and their sufferings have to a large extent resulted from the conscientious maintenance of their religious opinions against the possessors of influence and power. The majority of them have high and just ideas of personal responsibility, and of civil and religious freedom. They have come to these shores, some to better their condition in things temporal, the majority of those dissenting from the English Church for freedom to worship God; some voluntarily, to escape bitter persecution, and others as banished for religion's sake to a savage wilderness. They have been obliged thus far to contend with those inconveniences incident to first settlers in a new country, in a trying climate, with everything to learn, and surrounded by a savage foe. The proprietors at home have showed in many respects a remarkable forethought for their prosperity, in furnishing them with the means of introducing those productions of the old continent suited to their clime. Yet in this they had an eye to their own future emolument, a hope which thus far has not been realized. They have employed a scholar and philosopher, in

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\* Cardross's letter, dated Stuart's Towne, on Port Royall, July 17, 1684, and addressed to Robert Quary, Governor.—Rivers, p. 408; Collections Hist. Soc., i., pp. 92, 93.

† In the description of Carolina by Thomas Ash, clerk of his majesty's ship Richmond, who was in Carolina from 1680 to 1682, the population is stated at 1000 or 1200; but "the great numbers of families from England, Ireland, Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the Caribee Islands, have more than doubled that number."—Printed at London, 1682; See Caroll, ii., p. 82.

many respects the most eminent and high-minded of his day, to frame an ideal government, which should combine every imaginable excellence, and surpass the Utopia of More or the Republic of Plato. It has been found unsuited to a region as yet without a people, and where the colonists as they slowly gather must necessarily learn to govern themselves, and where, having originated their own government and usages for the most part, they cannot be brought to adopt a model framed on an aristocratic basis, a government of nobles and barons, of palatines, landgraves, and cassiques, and become tenants and lieges, rather than an independent self-governing people. Already there are the beginnings of three or four Christian denominations, and of the three forms of ecclesiastical government known among Protestants. Dr. Dalcho supposes, without being able positively to prove it, that the Episcopal church of "St. Philip" was already erected. Religious worship had been conducted agreeably to the Scotch Presbyterian usage, by William Dunlop, as yet only a licentiate of Presbytery, at Lord Cardross's colony at Stuart's Town, on Port Royal, from their first landing. Whether the Presbyterian or the Congregational element prevailed among the remainder, it is now difficult to ascertain. The probability is perhaps in favor of the preponderance (as yet) of the former element. The Dutch settlers were of the Presbyterian church of Holland, the Irish were of that faith, the Huguenots were of the French Presbyterian church, and it is most probable that a large share of the English settlers were of the English Presbyterian faith. It is by no means probable that these various representatives of churches which had endured so much for "freedom to worship God," should have lived, some of them, for fifteen years on these shores without social worship. As we have seen that Francis Makemie contemplated a settlement here, and had taken ship from Maryland for that purpose in May, 1684, and that Mr. Thomas Barret had been living in South Carolina as a minister of the Gospel previous to July, 1685, and was then about leaving for New England, perhaps to join the Presbyterian colonists there, it is to be presumed that they had already some more or less formal organization of a religious nature.

## CHAPTER III.

## CONCURRENT EVENTS.—ACT OF INDULGENCE.

DURING these fifteen years great events and great changes had been taking place in those countries from which these colonists came. And as they constitute an outlying and distant portion of the several churches of Europe, it will be proper briefly to review these events in which so much was exhibited which contributes to the glory, on the one part, and the opprobrium, on the other, of those communities claiming to be Christian. And we first turn our attention to Scotland, the earlier home of American Presbyterianism.

The first act which synchronizes with this period of our history was the Act of Indulgence. In this the Privy Council were instructed to appoint such of the ejected ministers of the Church of Scotland as had lived peaceably and orderly, to their former parishes if vacant, or others the Council should approve of, on certain conditions which were mentioned; and that all pretext for conventicles being now removed, they should proceed with all severity against those who should hold or frequent them. Forty-two ministers accepted this indulgence,—not, however, without protesting against the king's supremacy in matters of religion, or maintaining the sole sovereignty of Christ. A great number of the ejected ministers declined to accept the indulgence, believing that in doing so they would necessarily admit the right of the civil ruler to exercise power over the Church of Christ. The church and its ministry thus became divided and weakened. In the year 1670 the "indulged" ministers were dealt with severely for not complying with *all* the terms of the indulgence. Other ministers were seized and punished for holding conventicles, and many gentlemen were heavily fined for attending them. Yet the more these meetings were forbidden the more numerously were they attended, and men of the congregations, of determined courage, armed themselves, and compelled those who came to disturb them to remain quietly, or peaceably depart. Acts of parliament were then passed requiring all subjects, of whatever degree, sex, or quality, to depose upon oath their knowledge of any person holding or frequenting such meetings, under penalty of fine, imprisonment, or banish-

ment to the plantations. Another act forbade all "outed" ministers from preaching, expounding, or praying, except in their own houses and to their own families, threatened that those who convocate conventicles in the fields shall be punished with death and confiscation of goods, and offered a reward to any who should seize the persons of such preachers, and an indemnity for any slaughter which might occur in the seizure. The people were only roused to the most determined resistance by these attempts to coerce them, in matters of conscience, for the purpose of forcing them under episcopal rule. They came together in still greater numbers, prepared with weapons of defence, determined to hear the word of God from the eloquent lips of their own beloved ministers, who preached with the power and demonstration of the Spirit, and with that energy and pathos with which one speaks who feels that it may be the last sermon to his fellow-mortals which the tyranny of men may allow him to utter. In 1671 the Bass Rock, on the western coast of Scotland, was purchased by the Crown, made a prison for the confinement of prisoners of state, and Lauderdale made captain. In 1672 the fines became more oppressive, the ejected ministers were hunted from place to place like wild beasts. In 1673 the Bass became the place of imprisonment of several ejected ministers. In the small county of Renfrew more than £30,000 sterling, about \$150,000, was imposed upon eleven gentlemen, not of the greatest wealth, for countenancing field-meetings. Most ample rewards were offered for the apprehension of the persecuted ministers. Even ladies were imprisoned for daring to petition council in their favor, or banished from their families and homes. In 1675 garrisons were established, in those parts of the country where field-preachings were most numerous, in the houses of Presbyterian gentlemen, that they might be reduced to poverty by the insolent soldiery sent to apprehend the ministers whom these very gentlemen revered. In this way Lord Cardross's house was garrisoned for a term of eight years. He himself was kept in prison because Lady Cardross had attended "conventicles" and Rev. John King was his chaplain, till he paid large sums of money, and was compelled to go to Carolina, and afterwards to Holland. "Letters of intercommuning" were issued against over a hundred persons, of whom sixteen or eighteen were ministers, forbidding any person from having any communion with them, in the way of "furnishing them with meat, drink, house, harbor, victual, nor no other

thing useful and comfortable to them, nor have intelligence with them by word, writ, or message, or any other manner of way." The wife was thus forbid to assist the husband, brother and sister to aid brother and sister, the parent the child, and the child the parent. In 1678 the Highland clans were brought down to assist in this work of persecution. An army of ten thousand, eight thousand of whom were Highlanders, came down upon the most cultivated parts of Scotland, carrying not only the usual implements of war, but large supplies of manacles and fetters, with thumb-screws and other instruments of torture. These wild men met with no resistance; but they pursued their course, sacking towns, plundering houses, destroying property, and abusing the persons both of men and women. In 1679 Archbishop Sharpe was waylaid by certain gentlemen of the Presbyterian party who were watching for another of their bitter persecutors, and came to the sudden resolution of inflicting upon him immediate justice, for his perfidy and many instances of cruelty and crime. This determination they executed with speedy hand, slaying him on Magus Moor, at a short distance from St. Andrew's; a fate richly deserved but wildly executed. The Presbyterian party were driven to the assumption of arms in defence of their civil and religious liberty. The rights of conscience were invaded. They could not submit to prelatical domination. They would have the pure Gospel preached by the ministers whom they loved. A party of them, assembled for this purpose, were attacked by the "Bloody Claverhouse," and took up a position of resistance at a place called Drumclog, where they put their persecutors to flight. They now determined to remain together for mutual protection. They received a considerable accession of numbers, and took up their position on the banks of the Clyde, near Bothwell Bridge. They might have maintained their position against the royalist forces, had there been any concert of action. But they were without any unity of counsel, and without any settled consistent plan of defence. The result was a complete defeat. About four hundred persons perished in the flight, and one thousand two hundred surrendered at discretion on the field. Now began a new and terrible series of vindictive persecutions, in which numbers were executed, and many banished. The Rev. John King, chaplain to Lady Cardross, and Rev. John Kid, were among the prisoners, and were executed at Edinburgh. Claverhouse now raged through the land, and perpetrated

deeds of dreadful cruelty. The recital of all these acts would occupy us too long. Cameron, the fearless minister who led on the Covenanters, was slain at Ayr's Moss. Hackston, who had been present at the murder of Sharpe, was executed with every circumstance of cruelty at Edinburgh. Isabel Alison and Marion Harvey were hung, in 1681, for hearing Cargill preach, and not refusing the Sanquhar Declaration, which the Covenanters had set forth. Cargill himself was at length taken and executed. Hume, a gentleman who had sympathized with the persecuted wanderers, was put to death though pardoned by the king, the Earl of Perth having held back the pardon and allowed the execution to take place. In 1682, "some were banished, or made to serve in the army in Flanders some were sold as slaves in Carolina and other places in America, in order to empty the full prisons to make room for others, or were gifted as slaves to masters of vessels to be transported and sold." In 1683 many perished on the scaffold. In the next year scenes of blood became so numerous and atrocious that the period was popularly known as "the killing time." Many perished during this season of relentless persecution. Among them was Captain John Paton, executed for the part he had taken at Pentland and Bothwell. Baillie of Jarviswood, an aged man, brought into court from his bed of sickness, and sustained on the scaffold by his sister-in-law, was another victim. Three women were seized, and with difficulty escaped banishment, for assisting in her hour of travail the wife of one who was concerned in rescuing his minister from the hands of his captors. "Men," says De Foe, "were obliged by horrible tortures to accuse themselves, and weak women and children to accuse their husbands, fathers, and near relations, by putting fire-matches between their fingers or under their joints." On November 22d, 1684, the Privy Council passed an act, called "the bloody act," against the declaration of the Covenanters lately put forth, "that whoever does not disown the late traitorous declaration upon oath, whether he have arms or not, is to be immediately put to death." The officers and nobles were required to convocate all the inhabitants (in certain parishes named), men and women, above fourteen years of age; and the cruel edict was, "if any own the late declaration you shall execute them, by military execution, upon the place; and if any be absent, ye shall burn their houses and seize their goods; and you shall make prisoners

of all persons in their families, above the age of twelve years, in order to transportation." The military were to put such questions as these to whomsoever they chose: "Will you renounce the covenant?" "Will you pray for the king?" "Was the killing of the archbishop of St. Andrew's murder?" "Was the rising at Bothwell Bridge rebellion?" "Will you take the test?" "Will you abjure the late treasonable declaration?"\*

In the midst of these terrible persecutions Charles II. died, on February 6th, 1685, not without suspicions of poison, and secretly receiving, according to Bishop Burnet,† the rites of the Romish Church, in whose calendars he is canonized as a saint. "His ambition was directed," says Mr. Fox, "solely against his own subjects, unprincipled, ungrateful, mean, and treacherous; to which may be added vindictive and remorseless. I doubt whether a single instance can be produced of his having spared the life of any one whom motives of policy or revenge prompted him to destroy."

The death of Charles gave but a temporary respite to the persecuted church. His successor, James II., was a bigoted papist, whom his English subjects had ineffectually attempted to exclude from the succession to the throne. No amendment took place in the case of the persecuted sufferers. They wandered about almost literally, like the men of faith of a former day, "in sheep-skins and goat-skins, in dens and caves of the earth, being destitute, afflicted, tormented." The system of persecution was only reduced to a more regular plan. Presbyterians were treated still little better than murderers and assassins. In consequence of the unsuccessful invasion of the Earl of Argyle, who was their patron, two hundred of them were, without a moment's warning, taken from the prisons of Edinburgh and sent across the Forth, confined in a small room for two days, offered their liberty if they would take the oath of allegiance and supremacy; which last they could not do, since they acknowledged Christ alone as the supreme and only head of the church. A few only, worn out with suffering, were enabled to compromise with conscience so far as to comply; the remainder were driven like felons, with

\* It was these troubles which induced the Scottish noblemen and gentlemen before mentioned to make their arrangements for a Scotch colony in Carolina, to escape the persecutions of arbitrary power under the guise of prelacy. In 1685 "the great and good Earl of Cassilis," who sat in Westminster Assembly, proposed to leave Scotland.

† Burnet, ii., pp. 457, 263.

their hands tied behind them, to the Castle of Dunnottar, crowded into a damp subterraneous vault, where they were denied the most common necessaries of life, and had to pay for the water with which they were supplied. They were again offered the oaths, and refusing them, were banished to the plantations. Many died on the passage. This was but one instance. There were others of equal barbarity. Indeed, the descendants of these poor sufferers are to be found now in various parts of our country. Women were publicly whipped and branded on the cheek for refusing to take oaths ensnaring to their consciences. Margaret McLauchlan, relict of John Mulligen, a carpenter by trade, about sixty-three years of age, "was a woman of more than ordinary knowledge, discretion, and prudence, and for many years of singular piety and devotion; she would take none of the oaths now pressed upon women as well as men, nor desist from hearing Presbyterian ministers, and joining with her friends in prayer, and supplying her persecuted relations and acquaintances in their straits. It is a jest to suppose her guilty of rising in arms and rebellion, though, indeed, this was in her indictment. For these great crimes, and no other, she was seized on the Lord's day, when at family worship in her own house; which was now an ordinary season for apprehending honest people. Jointly with her, Margaret Wilson, eighteen years of age, and Agnes, her sister, a child of thirteen, whom their parents had been forbidden to harbor, speak to, or see, and who were obliged to wander with their brothers as fugitives through Carrick, Galloway, and Nithsdale, were imprisoned, and many methods used to corrupt them and make them take the oaths. They were sentenced for rebellion at Bothwell Bridge, Ayr's Moss, and being present at twenty field conventicles. They had never been within many miles of Bothwell or Ayr's Moss. Agnes Wilson could be but eight years of age at Ayr's Moss, and her sister but thirteen; it was impossible they could have any access to these risings; and Margaret McLauchlan was as free from them as they. All the three refused the abjuration oath, and it was unaccountable it should be put to one of them. Agnes Wilson had been got out of prison, her father being bound for her. He paid his bond rather than produce her. Both the parents had before conformed to the Episcopal rites, but had been so severely fined for their children as finally to be reduced to poverty. The sentence which was pronounced against the three was, that they should be tied to stakes fixed in the sea, between high and low water mark, and

there he drowned. Margaret Wilson's friends used every means to prevail upon her to take the oath of abjuration, and to engage to hear the curate, but she stood fast in her integrity. The barbarous sentence was executed to the letter. On the appointed day they were guarded by soldiers to the place of execution. Margaret McLauchlan's stake was a good distance beyond the other, that she might be first despatched, and her sad fate terrify the other into compliance. But in vain. When the water was overflowing her fellow martyr, Margaret Wilson was asked what she thought of the other now struggling in death. She answered, "What do I see but Christ in one of his members wrestling there. Think you that we are the sufferers? No, it is Christ in us, for he sends none a warfare upon their own charges." While at the stake, she sang, read the eighth of Romans, and prayed. While at prayer, the water covered her; but before she was quite dead, they pulled her up, and held her out of the water till she was recovered and able to speak, and then she was asked, by Major Windram's orders, if she would pray for the king. She answered, "She wished the salvation of all men, and the damnation of none." One said to her, "Dear Margaret, say God save the king, God save the king." She answered, with the greatest steadiness, "God save him, if he will, for it is his salvation I desire." Whereupon some of her relations called out to Windram, "Sir, she hath said it, she hath said it." The major then came near and offered her the abjuration, charging her instantly to swear it or return to the water. She deliberately said, "I will not; I am one of Christ's children; let me go." She was thrust down again into the water, where she finished her course with joy. She died a virgin martyr, about eighteen years of age. Both suffered for refusing conformity and the abjuration oath, and were evidently innocent of anything worthy of death. The Earl of Argyle was the most exalted of those who ended their lives by the hand of violence during this year of bloodshed. He was beheaded for taking up arms for the deliverance of his afflicted country.\*

In reviewing this period of Scottish history, we are filled with amazement at the efforts which were persistently made on the part of government to invade the rights of conscience and the right of private judgment,—to force upon the people a form of ecclesiastical government which they did not admit to be best for them, nor to rest on the basis of scripture,—to pre-

\* Abridged from Wodrow, vol. ii., p. 289, seq.; iii., p. 363; iv., pp. 247-249.

vent them from attending upon those religious guides whom they loved as their spiritual shepherds, and the ministers whom Christ had appointed,—and to invade, under the fiction of the king's supremacy in matters of religion, the sole headship over the church of the Lord Jesus Christ. In the contentings of the Church of Scotland, she was contending for what was truly expressed on the banners of the covenanters at Bothwell—“*Christ's Crown and Covenant.*” Her people were contending too for civil liberty. “It may be said,” says Hetherington, “in favor of the very strictest of the Presbyterians, that the principles they held were the very same which, nine years afterwards, pervaded the whole nation, drove the race of Stuarts from the throne, and secured the liberty of Britain by what all men with one consent rejoice to term the Glorious Revolution; and it would not be easy for any man who defends the principles which led to that great national deliverance to show his consistency in condemning those of the persecuted covenanters.”\* “Almost the only real difference between the Declaration of the Cameronians, or rather of the true Presbyterians, and that of the Convention of the Estates at the Revolution, consisted in the former being the act of a small band of enlightened and determined patriots, the latter that of the nation.”† And we may take occasion hereafter to show how much these very principles had to do with our own American Independence.

In the neighboring country of England, during these fifteen years, the history of the dissenting churches runs parallel in many respects with that of Scotland. Still, as Episcopacy was declared at once the Established Church—as it had been previous to the Westminster Assembly of Divines—all things reverted easily to their former position. In 1672 a declaration of indulgence suspended the penal laws against the non-conformists, granted to protestant dissenters the public exercise of their religion, and to papists the exercise of theirs in their own private houses. James II. “hated the puritan sects with manifold hatred, theological and political, hereditary and personal.” “He who had expressed just indignation when the priests of his own faith were hanged and quartered, amused himself with hearing covenanters shriek, and seeing them writhe while their knees were beaten flat in the boots. In this mood he became king.” Under him Baxter was browbeaten, abused, and insulted by the demoniacal

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\* History of the Church of Scotland, p. 255.

† Ibid., p. 159.

Jeffreys, the most iniquitous of men, now exalted to be the terror of every dissenter and especially of every Presbyterian, and the disgrace of the English bench, converting a court of law into a tribunal not less tyrannical and bloody and far less decent than the Spanish Inquisition. The invasion of Monmouth, in concert with Argyle, raised the hopes of those who were suffering under the ban of those in power, and his defeat was followed by the most sanguinary vengeance. The courts which were held by Jeffreys immediately after, are known in legal history as "the bloody assizes." This inhuman judge treated every one who thwarted his intentions, whether prisoner or witness, with the most abusive blackguardism. "Show me a Presbyterian," says he to a witness, "and I will show thee a lying knave." "I can smell a Presbyterian forty miles." The condemned were hung in irons, or hung, drawn, and quartered. Even the female sex were not permitted to escape. Lady Alice, the widow of John Lisle, who had been commissioner of the great seal under Cromwell, was condemned to be burned alive for entertaining a couple of fugitives, one of whom was a clergyman, in her own dwelling, in her abundant charity; and yet she had in former times shown the same kindness to suffering royalists. Three hundred and twenty, according to Macaulay, six hundred according to Burnet, seven hundred according to Lonsdale, were hung in these "bloody assizes." Eight hundred and forty-one were transported by Jeffreys to the West Indies, and sold as slaves for the term of ten years, purposely sent to an unhealthy climate and an unsympathizing people. Their property became the spoil of those who condemned them. The dissenters could now only meet in secret, with sentinels posted to give the alarm if a stranger approached. The minister was clothed in some disguise. Trap-doors, or passages through the walls of adjoining houses, furnished methods of concealment or escape, or curtains suspended before the preacher concealed his person till he could secrete himself from search. Some of the best of men retired from England, among whom was John Howe, who went abroad with Lord Wharton and took up his abode at Utrecht.

The affairs of the Huguenots in France became more and more desperate. One after another the higher nobles had deserted their cause, the inferior nobles followed them, and many of the gentlemen also discovered that the path of honorable and lucrative employment was only to be found and preserved by adopting the religion of the state. The ruin of the Protestants was now resolved on. Madame de Maintenon

says of Louis XIV., "If God spares him, there will be only one religion in his kingdom." By special decrees many of the Protestant houses of worship were closed, and ministers convicted of holding unauthorized assemblies were led by the public executioner with a rope around their necks, and banished the kingdom. In 1670, schoolmasters were forbidden to teach the children of Protestants beyond the common branches of reading, writing, and arithmetic. In 1671, it was again decreed that they should have but one school and one teacher in any place. Mixed courts, half of Protestants and half of Catholics, were abolished, and they must always appear before judicatories prejudiced against them. A fund was created for the conversion of Protestants, and placed under the direction of Pelisson, himself a convert from the Huguenot ranks, who bought his converts at six livres per head; the "miracles" of Pelisson were a jest of the court, where he was represented to be less learned, but more persuasive than Bossuet. Protestant nobles were deprived of their nobility, which, perhaps, was but recently conferred; soldiers were quartered upon the reformed, and the privacy of their families destroyed; but if they should be converted to the Church of Rome they were to be exempted for two years. Children were permitted to enter the church from the age of seven years; and if, by the terror of the rod, or the offer of an orange, or any other means, a child could be brought to express the slightest desire to join the Romish Church, or to enter its place of worship,—if it could be affirmed that he had joined in prayer, made the sign of the cross, or kissed the image of the Virgin, he was taken away from the care and society of his parents, and educated in the faith of Rome at his parents' expense. Churches were demolished which were in the vicinity of those of the dominant faith. Those especially in towns where the Protestant population were the most numerous were destroyed. The course of instruction in the Reformed colleges was interfered with. Greek, Hebrew, and Theology were successively struck off from the curriculum. The college of Sedan was destroyed in 1681, that of Montauban interdicted in 1685, and that of Saumur suppressed. At length the soldiery were sent to undertake the conversion of the Huguenots. As they entered the houses of the district of Poitou, sword in hand, they would cry "Kill! kill!" to frighten the women and children. As long as there were any money or valuables remaining, they pillaged them of all. They would then seize them by the hair and drag

them to church, or they would torture them at slow fires, by roasting their hands or feet. They would break their ribs or arms with blows, or burn their lips, or throw them into damp dungeons to rot. In the canton of Bearn, these "booted apostles," instructed by their leader, would keep the head of the family and other members of the household awake by noise of drums, by compelling them to maintain an erect position, pricking them with sharp instruments, pulling them about, suspending them by cords, blowing tobacco smoke up their nostrils, till they were completely exhausted, and would promise anything to escape from their complicated tortures. An old man of Nismes, M. de Lacasagne, tormented thus a long time by fifty dragoons, abjured in the presence of the bishop. "Soon," says the prelate, "you will find repose." "Alas, my lord," replied the worn-out old man, "I expect repose only in heaven, and God grant its gates, should I reach them, may not be shut against me." Young mothers were bound to the post of the conjugal bed, and reduced to the alternative of abjuring or seeing their infants perish with hunger. Some succumbed under their maternal love, and professed conversion, for the privilege of suckling their famishing babes, hoping that the infinite mercy of God would pardon the act, and pity the weakness of a mother's love. The soldiers offered indignities to the women. Their officers were no better. "They spat in their faces, made them lie down on burning coals, forced them to put their heads in ovens, the vapors of which were enough to suffocate them." Their study was to invent tortures which should be painful without being mortal. They affirmed that everything was permitted them, by the order of their superiors, except murder and rape. The greater part of the commerce and manufactures of the nation were then in the hands of the Huguenots. Their richly-furnished houses were rifled, and their stores, filled with goods, plundered. The dragoons made their horses lie down on the fine linens of Holland, and stabled them in the shops of the merchants, filled with bales of silk, wool, and cotton. At Bordeaux some were cast into the dungeons of the castle, the walls of which were arranged in the form of retorts. The miserable victims of imprisonment in these could not continue standing, lying, or sitting. They were let down into them with ropes, and drawn up daily to be scourged. Many, after a few weeks of confinement, came forth from the dungeons of Grenoble without either hair or teeth. At Valance they were cast into deep pits,

noisome with the stench of the decaying entrails of sheep. These combined enormities filled whole communities with terror. Many feigned conversion to escape them. News was constantly borne to the court of Louis, of the result of these diabolical cruelties.\* Madame de Maintenon writes to her confessor, "The king is well; every courier brings him great cause for joy: news of conversions by thousands." At length he gave the finishing stroke, as he supposed, to the French Protestant Church, and signed at Fontainebleau, on the 22d of October, 1685, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Protestant temples were ordered now to be demolished, and their religious worship, both private and public, was prohibited. The ministers were to leave the country within fourteen days, on pain of the galleys. The people were not permitted to leave, and any attempt was punished by the galleys if they were men, and imprisonment if women, and by confiscation of their goods. Refugees were to return within four months, and if they did not so return, their property was to be confiscated. The day the edict was registered, the demolition of the church at Charenton, built by the architect Debrosse, and capable, it is said, of containing 14,000 persons, was begun and finished in five days.† Other churches, where the eloquence of some of the noblest men of France had defended the truth, and called men to repentance, structures, famous for their magnitude or architectural beauty, were levelled with the ground. The temple of Nismes was soon a heap of ruins, which was long marked by a stone in the midst, bearing the inscription, "Here is the House of God: Here is the Gate of Heaven."‡ The ministers immediately

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\* Louvois writes: "60,000 conversions have been made in the district of Bordeaux, and 20,000 in Montauban. There remains only 10,000 religionists in the District of Bordeaux, where, on the 15th of last month, were 150,000." The Duke of Noailles announced the entire conversion of Nismes, Uzès, Alais, Villeneuve. "The most considerable men of Nismes," he wrote, "apostatized in the church the day after my arrival." Again, he writes: "The number of religionists in this province is about 240,000; and when I asked from you till the 25th of next month for their complete conversion, I took too long a time; for I believe that will be finished by the end of the present month."

† The Rev. Thomas Cotton was an eye-witness of this desecration. "The sight of the vast assembly there convened," says he, "was not transporting; but the thought of such numbers being devoted to banishment, to slavery, and to the most barbarous deaths, some of which I witnessed, was more than I could bear."

‡ "The Protestants," says Weiss, "were steeped in a lethargy of grief. They had admired Louis XIV. as the greatest king of the age, obstinately believing in his good faith, his wisdom, and his humanity." They had

left the kingdom, in haste, not knowing whither they went. They were sometimes detained on the frontiers, that they might be prevented from escaping within the appointed time, and so be doomed to the galleys. Multitudes of the people attempted their escape, were arrested, sent to the galleys, and chained for life to the benches on which they ate and slept. Among these were often men of intelligence and illustrious descent.\* Many were sold as slaves to the West Indies. Multitudes, notwithstanding the frontiers were guarded, escaped by night or in the day-time, in innumerable disguises, or in boats, and every kind of procurable craft by sea. "Six hundred thousand," says Voltaire, "fled from the persecutions of Louis, carrying with them their riches, their industry, and their implacable hatred against their king."†

The commerce and manufactures of France were crippled by the departure of her most industrious and valuable citizens, and her arts and manufactures transferred to those countries where the persecuted fugitives found refuge. At this time, and from this cause, Carolina received many valuable citizens from the French Huguenots, who brought their pastors with them, and at an early period set up their worship according to the Presbyterian faith and order. The sufferings which they underwent in escaping from their own country to this, may be conceived by the letter of Judith Manigault to her brother: "During eight months," she says, "we had suffered from the contributions and the quartering of the soldiers, with many other inconveniences. We resolved on quitting France by night, leaving the soldiers in their beds, and abandoning the house and its furniture. We continued to hide ourselves at Romans, in Dauphiny, for two days, while a search was made for us; but our hostess, being faithful, did not betray us. We passed on to Lyons, to Dijon, to Metz, to Treves, to Coblentz, to Cologne, to Holland, and to England, and thence to Carolina. Embarking at London, we suffered every kind of misfortune. The red fever broke out on board the ship; many of us died of it, and among them our aged mother. We touched at the islands of Bermuda, where the vessel which

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reposed, also, on the remonstrances of the Protestant powers. Every illusion ceased, however, when they saw fall, even to the last, the eight hundred temples they possessed."—Vol. i., p. 102.

\* See lists of the sufferers in Coquerel, *Histoire des Églises du Désert*, Appendix.

† Methods of escape.—De Felice, p. 415, *et seq.*; Southern Lit. Gaz., p. 165; and Zurich Letter, Weiss, vol. i., pp. 109, 110. Comp., also, Browning's Huguenots, and Smedley.

carried us was seized. We spent all our money there, and it was with great difficulty that we procured a passage on board of another ship. New misfortunes awaited us in Carolina. At the end of eighteen months, we lost our eldest brother, who succumbed to such unusual fatigue. So that, after our departure from France, we endured all that it was possible to suffer. I was six months without tasting bread, working, beside, like a slave; and during three or four years, I never had the wherewithal completely to satisfy the hunger which devoured me. And yet," adds this woman, in a spirit of the most admirable resignation, "God accomplished great things in our favor, by giving us the strength necessary to support these trials."\* Another, who became the mother of an important family, was conveyed in her childhood over the frontier of France in a large milk-can in the pannier of a beast of burden—for the parents had assumed the guise of dairyman and dairymaid, as if going to the nearest market town to supply milk to the inhabitants for their morning meal.†

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## BOOK THIRD.

### CHURCHES IN CHARLESTON AND ITS VICINITY.

A. D. 1685-1700.

#### CHAPTER I.

DURING the fifteen years immediately following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a number of events occurred intimately connected with the religious interests of the province. One of the most interesting, if not tending to the permanent growth of the Presbyterian cause so much as could be desired, was the emigration of our persecuted brethren of France. As this immediately commenced, and was continued down to the close of the century and after, it will be first presented, without tracing with entire accuracy its successive

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\* Yet her son, Gabriel, became wealthy in the next generation, and loaned 220,000 dollars to the American Congress to carry on the war of Independence.

† See also the escape of La Fontaine.—"Huguenot Family," pp. 111-131.

stages, though there are a number of specific dates, well ascertained, which determine the year in which various families arrived.

Among the original holders of lots in Old Charles-Town, on the west side of the Ashley river, who had removed from the attempted settlement at Port Royal, were Richard Batin, James Jour, and Richard Deyos. These were probably French protestants, who, having fled to England for asylum, came with the first colonists, under the guidance of Sayle. There are grants of land to French emigrants previous to the removal of the government to Oyster Point—the site of New Charles-Town. One, for example, to Jean Bullon, August 11th, 1677; to Lydia Barnott, and Jean Bazant and wife, September 7th, 1678; orders of survey and location of five hundred acres for Pierre Bodit, in 1678; of one thousand acres for Samuel Buttall and wife, in 1682; a grant of seventy acres to Mary Batton (wife of Jean Batton), *ci-devant* Mary Fosteen, in 1683.

We find a sale, by the proprietors, to Nicholas Longuemar, of one hundred acres of land; to James Le Bas of three thousand, in 1685; to Joachim Gaillard of six hundred acres, in 1687; to Bartholomew Le Roux, in 1690; to James Boyd, who had been instrumental in the settlement of French Protestants in Carolina, and been at great expense in establishing a vineyard, three thousand acres, in 1694. On record, in the Secretary of State's office, Charleston, is a deed of contract executed in London, February 25th, 1686, between Arnold Bruneau, Lord (Seigneur) of Chaboissière, and Paul Bruneau, Lord of Ruedoux, of the one part, and Josias Marylan, Lord of La Forcet, of the other part, for the erection of a mill in South Carolina, with a clause inserted that said mill may be erected on the land of either party without prejudice to the interests of the other. In a "Liste des François et Suisses Refugiez, sur Santy en Caroline," which is preserved in Charleston, is found the name of Paul Bruneau de Ruedoux, son of Arnold Bruneau de la Chaboissiere, a native of Rochelle; which would seem to indicate that the settlement of the French on the Santee dates back at least to 1685 or 1686. About the same time, Anthony Cordes, un médecin, arrived in Charleston. He was a native of Beziers, in Languedoc, a city which had been the asylum of the Albigenses in the thirteenth century, and the funeral pile of sixty thousand of those persecuted men. He was the ancestor of several families bearing this name. He was a resident of St. John's, Berkley,

where he died in 1711-12. His wife's name was Esther Madeline Baluet, who was the sister, it is conjectured, of Judith Baluet, the wife of Benjamin Marion. James Cordes, a brother of Anthony, died in the year 1758. Isaac, another brother, died in St. John's, Berkley, where he resided; and John, still another brother, whose only memorial is the inventory of his estate, dated in the year 1757. "Isaac Mazyck, the ancestor of the numerous and respectable families in South Carolina bearing the name, arrived at Charleston, with many other Huguenot refugees, from England, in December, 1686. His father, Paul Mazyck, or Paul de Mazyck, was a native of the Bishopric of Liege, in his religious faith a *Walloon*. The name is said to have been originally attached to the family, as a *nom de terre*, derived from that of a town in the province in which they resided; and was no doubt originally written—'de Mazyck.' Paul married Elizabeth Van Vick (or Van Wick), of Flanders; his descendants therefore are not of French origin. He removed to Maestricht, in the Netherlands, and afterwards to St. Martin, in the Isle de Re, opposite La Rochelle. The name was changed to Mazicq, agreeably to the French idiom. The German orthography was resumed by the emigrant to South Carolina. Stephen Mazyck emigrated to England, thence to Ireland, and resided many years in Dublin, where he died. Isaac fled from France to Amsterdam. He was a wealthy merchant, and succeeded in transferring to that commercial city the sum of £1500 sterling. From Amsterdam he went to England with his funds; and sailed from London with an interest in the cargo of £1000. This investment enabled him, in Charleston, to lay the foundation of the wealth which he afterwards acquired, and which he liberally dispensed in aid of the religious and charitable institutions of the city." He is believed to have been one of the founders of the Huguenot church in Charleston, to which he left in his will £100; the interest of which he directed to be paid annually forever for the support of a Calvinistic minister of that church. In his family Bible, under date of 1685, is this record: "God gave me the blessing of coming out of France, and of escaping the cruel persecution carried on there against the Protestants; and to express my thanksgiving for so great a blessing, I promise, please God, to observe the anniversary of that by a fast." Other emigrants of the same period were Peter Poinsett, Gabriel Guignard, "who emigrated soon after the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, with the Gaillards, Trapiers, Manigaults, and others,—and who gave the city of Charleston a street

which still bears his name,"—Philip Gendron, and indeed a large list of names, yet carefully preserved.

"There were nearly a thousand fugitives," says Weiss, though there may perhaps be some mistake in the number, "who successively embarked for Carolina, in the ports of Holland alone, and under the eyes of the Count d'Arvaux, who carefully informed himself of their designs, and neglected nothing for the purpose of thwarting them." "More than a hundred persons," the Lord de Tillières, the most cunning and best instructed of his agents, wrote him in 1686, "are buying a frigate, half resolved on going to Carolina! I can assure you she will contain more than 1,200,000 livres." He added, some days after, "I have spoken to Sieur la Clide, refugee captain in this country, some of whose relations are going in her to Carolina. He tells me that there will be about four hundred persons resolved to fight well in case of attack, and to set fire to the vessel should they be reduced to the last extremity. Provided the money be saved, the loss of their persons would be no great one." "Messieurs les Carolins," he wrote again, "have bought a hundred and fifty guns and muskets, fifty musquetoons, and thirty pair of pistols, at Utrecht. . . . These gentlemen cannot accommodate themselves with a vessel in this country. There is one carrying fifty cannon, which has been chartered for them in England." "Our Carolinians of Amsterdam are about to join themselves with those of Rotterdam, to the number of one hundred and fifty. They have two barks at Rotterdam, in which they are going to England. At London they have many associates who are going to Carolina. They will load them with Malmsey wine, and other merchandise, in the island of Madeira. The two barks, and their ship of from forty-five to fifty guns, which they have chartered in England, will be manned by four hundred well armed persons. If your vessels would lie off the coasts of the island of Madeira or Lisbon, it would be a great affair."\*

The Rev. Elias Prioleau, ancestor of the family of that name, left Pons, in France, in April, 1686, some six months after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and brought with him a considerable number of his congregation. The following sketch of his earlier history has been compiled from the

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\* Report of Tillières to the Count d'Arvaux. French ambassador to Holland, June 7th, June 12th, June 26th, 1686, in Weiss, French Refugees, vol. i., p. 338. For the preceding, see Lit. Gaz., Presbyterian, 1850.

History of the Churches of Pons, Gemozac, and Montagne, in Saintonge, written in the French language, by Rev. A. Crottet, pastor of the Church at Pons, and published in 1841. His father, Samuel Prioleau, son of Elisha Prioleau,\* *sieur de La Viennerie*, had been Pastor at Jonzac in 1637, and at Niort in 1642, and succeeded Jean Constans, a minister of singular ability and virtue, with whom he had been associated, as colleague, for some years, and who died in 1650. The first years of the pastorate of Samuel Prioleau were passed in tranquillity, but the state of things was changed when the clergy and the Jesuits, who had become all-powerful at the Court of Louis XIV., entered upon their schemes for abrogating the muniments which the edict of Henry IV. had thrown around the Reformed. One after another, with considerable intervals between, its provisions were infringed, even under the appearance of carrying the edict into execution, till the Protestants were deprived of all means of protecting or exercising their ecclesiastical rights. Under these circumstances Elias Merlat, Pastor at Saintes, made overtures for the assembling of a Synod at Pons, to concert means for removing the obstacles interposed to the exercise of the Reformed worship. It met on the 25th of June, 1667, and Prioleau filled the office of Moderator.

Meanwhile, their enemies attempted to deprive this worship, and the pastors, of all symbols of outward dignity. The title of pastors was denied them, and they were called simply ministers of the pretended or self-styled reformed religion (R. P. R.) They were prohibited from wearing their clerical robes, or to appear in long habits, outside of the houses of worship. The use of bells was forbidden except in garrisoned towns. They were forbidden to sing psalms in public, or at the execution of criminals, or on days of public rejoicing. Funerals could only take place at the break of day or in the early night, and this without any address or exhortation from the pastor. The national and provincial synods were required to forbid pastors from preaching, except in the places of their residence, cutting off thus from small congregations annexed to others, the exercise of public worship.

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\* So Crottet. Some American authorities make him the son of Antoine, or Antoni Prioli, who was elected Doge of Venice in 1618, and died in 1623, and suppose that the orthography of the name was adapted to the French idiom by the son on his becoming a citizen of France.—*Histoire des Églises Réformées de Pons, Gemozac, et Montagne, en Saintonge, par A. Crottet, de Genève, Pasteur à Pons: à Bordeaux, 1841.* The author of this interesting history now resides at Iverdon, in Switzerland.

Samuel Prioleau had permitted to escape him in the pulpit some words which showed his indignation at these procedures. These were gathered up and commented on with no friendly spirit. After an imprisonment of more than a year, he was condemned, in reparation of his pretended blasphemy, to pay a fine of six hundred pounds, five hundred of which went to the Franciscans for the construction of their convent, on condition that they should pray on St. Paul's day and St. Peter's for the exaltation of the Holy Church and the Holy Father, the Pope, and should invoke the Lord for the extirpation of heresy.

Samuel Prioleau died February 17th, 1683, having exercised the ministerial functions in the town of Pons for thirty-two years.

Elias Prioleau was called to occupy his father's place by the Colloquy (Presbytery) met at Bazieux on the 4th of May, 1683. With a true devotedness he entered upon the perilous work confided to him. Many of his colleagues, of the neighboring churches, had been torn from their flocks, under various pretences. In spite of this he did not fear to place himself at the head of a church environed with so many dangers. He prudently strove with the Elders of the Consistory (Session) to conform to the royal orders. Proper measures were taken to send the titles of the church to Paris, and to deposit them with the Marquis of Châteauneuf, that they might be remitted to the Council of State. They caused, meanwhile, to be read in church, during many consecutive Sabbaths, the act of the last Synod, which excluded from the Supper those whom fear or worldly interests had induced to abjure the evangelical worship. They distributed *tokens*\* to the communicants, which they must present on approaching the table. Fathers offering children for baptism, and god-fathers and god-mothers, were required to present themselves to the elders near the pulpit, before the ceremony, and establish, by certificate or otherwise, their membership in the Reformed Church. On days of communion, seven or eight hundred persons partook of the sacrament; alms and collections were abundant, and church dues were promptly paid, and discipline strictly administered.

But difficulties thickened around this devoted church and minister. All the churches of that neighborhood had been already annihilated. On the 10th of February, 1684, Du

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\* These were pieces of block tin, of the size of a *soles*, which usually bore on the obverse the comforting words—Luke, xii. 22—“Fear not, little flock.”

Vigier, Councillor of the Parliament of Bordeaux, charged to take cognizance of the infractions of the edicts and declarations of the king in the department of Saintonge, repaired to Pons, and ordered all the papers which the Consistory might possess to be delivered to him. He associated with himself two monks of the Recollets (of St. Francis), as denunciators, witnesses, parties, registrars, or assessors. One, La Roussie, set himself to making extracts from all the sermons of Prioleau that he could hear of or procure, and put them into the hands of the deputy commissary, after he had spitefully distorted them. The other was Augustin Mayac, who, joining his efforts to those of his *confrere*, Du Vigier, was enabled, after an examination of eight hours, to collect sixteen heads of accusation against Elias Prioleau. Behold the heinous crimes with which he was charged! "1st. That he had preached at Pons before being established there as minister. 2d. That he had baptized an infant of Mr. Marchais, privately baptized before by Saunier, the surgeon. 3d. That he had written a letter to M. St. Hilaire, to the address of Sieur Allenet à Saint-Jean, of which the original had been sent to the office of the commissary. 4th. That the daughters of Abraham Garnier la Crápusille had come to preaching at Pons since the abjuration of their father. 5th. That children of one named Bernard Hoste had come to the church of Pons since their father became a Roman Catholic. 6th. That children of one named Richard Blanconnier had been conducted to preaching by their mother-in-law since the abjuration of their father. 7th. That a person named Bertin had come to preaching at Pons since the abjuration of her father, and since she herself had become Catholic. 8th. That the wife of one named Boursier, bastard of Mr. Fourestier La Brande, had come to preaching at Pons." Such is the character of the whole sixteen accusations. They could not furnish sufficient ground for a sentence against Prioleau, and he was restored to his flock.

It was, however, only to witness among them the deepest afflictions. The persecution, which had consisted in confiscation and imprisonment, now was carried out in acts of violence and barbarity. The Countess of Marsan signalized herself by an ardent fanaticism. She caused to be carried off, imprisoned, beaten, and maltreated, those who declined conversion. She caused cruelties to be inflicted on persons of every age and sex, but devoted her attention particularly to the kidnapping of children from every quarter. Many men and

women succumbed, after three or four weeks in prison. Many, however, resisted successfully, and regained their liberty. Even children sometimes carried their firmness further than one could dare to hope. Jean de Brung, an orphan, twelve years of age, persisted more than a month, though the domestics of the lady made him submit to a thousand torments. They strove, above all, to prevent him from praying to God. At last they bethought themselves of the expedient of lowering him with cords into the privies, where they left him suspended, threatening to leave him to die if he persevered. The mephitic vapors he was constrained to breathe wore out his patience. One, named Jacques Pascalet, shut up in the tower of Pons, was thrown into a dungeon, where he could only breathe through a hole. The domestics of the Countess contrived to have the smoke of hay and wet straw penetrate there to suffocate him, and so convert him. This kind of suffering did not destroy his courage, and they conducted him to a chamber, where they made him turn around upon a table, constructed for this purpose, to produce giddiness. This exhausted his strength, and he fell to the ground in a species of *coma*. From this he was aroused by the blows of his pitiless tormentors. He could hold out no longer, but finished by abjuring.

They complained to Du Vigier. He sent them back to the Countess. They next applied to the Parliament of Guienne, and, obtaining no satisfaction, presented their case to the king, but received no response.

Many instances of the like cruelty could be here repeated. The plan adopted by Louis XIV. or his confessor, the Jesuit, La Chaise, was followed. Missionaries were sent to Pons, with little success. These were followed by another kind of converters. Dragoons were quartered on families, to eat out their substance, and where these failed, they resorted to those manifold tortures of the body which we have recounted elsewhere. At length, Oct. 18th, 1685, the revocation of the edict ordained also the demolition of all the churches in the realm—the cessation of Protestant worship—required the ministers to leave the kingdom in fifteen days; required parents to present their children for baptism to the priests, under the penalty of a fine of five hundred pounds. The following November, the inhabitants of Pons belonging to the Reformed religion, received information of this edict. The greater part, fearing a continuance of these cruel persecutions, permitted themselves to sign a formula of abjuration which had been

prepared in advance. Those who persisted, had the pain of seeing their children conducted to the mass, their daughters shut up in the convents of Pons and Saintes, and their sons educated by Jesuits. Others prepared themselves to quit a country where they could no longer serve the Lord in spirit and truth. Prioleau could not decide to abandon his flock, which was still so dear. He braved the danger, and organized secret assemblies. The 15th of April was the most dolorous day for the Protestants who had resisted all the ordeals of persecution. The house of worship was battered down. While their enemies were laboring at its demolition, Prioleau, who had assembled the people together, addressed them a most touching discourse, which they listened to flowing down with bitter tears.

Such is the account which Crottet gives of the pastor, Elias Prioleau. He adds the following words: "From this moment we are entirely ignorant what was the fate of this faithful minister. Perhaps he was the victim of his zeal and self-devotion, and finished his days upon the galleys of Rochefort, or else, seeing that his presence was a continual danger to those who furnished him an asylum, he took the resolution of withdrawing to a foreign country. However this was, while he was at Pons he did not cease to manifest the qualities and virtues of a true servant of God."

The last conjecture of M. Crottet is right. The sequel he did not know until the publication of M. Weiss's History of the Huguenots, in Paris, in 1853. He learned from that work that the pastor Prioleau had come to Carolina. He sought information respecting his descendants through foreign friends resident in New York, and the result was a correspondence between M. Crottet and Daniel Ravenel, Esq., of Charleston, who is a lineal descendant of Elias Prioleau. This correspondence was marked by kindness, and led to the conclusion on the part of M. Crottet that "the REFORMED CHURCH OF CHARLESTON is an offshoot of the church of Pons." Elias Prioleau then may be regarded as its founder, perhaps in conjunction with the Rev. Florente Philippe Trouillart, who were its first ministers. Mr. Trouillart was in Carolina in the latter part of 1686. They served the church as colleagues, and probably without compensation, both ministers and people being dependent alike on secular employment. An additional fact tends to fix the existence of the French church in Charleston at a date as early as this. In the Secretary of State's office in that city is deposited the will of Cæsar Moze, a

French refugee, and written in French, bearing date June 20th, 1687, witnessed by Jacob Guerard and Isaac Lenoir, naming Samuel Boudinot as his executor, in which he bequeaths to this church of the Protestant French refugees in Charleston, "*trente sept lieures*" (thirty-seven livres) to assist in building a house of worship in the neighborhood of his plantation on the eastern branch of the T of Cooper river. There was, then, a church of French Protestants in Charleston, in 1687, fully organized, who could be intrusted with funds for the erection of a house of worship in the country, when it was felt to be needed.

The church of Pons, the former charge of Elias Prioleau, was annihilated. It had neither temple nor pastor. The greater part of its members had feigned a conversion far from their hearts. It was in this melancholy situation that they received a long letter from their co-religionists of Saintonge, who had left all, that they might go to a foreign country to find that freedom to worship God denied them in France. This epistle is addressed, "To our brethren who groan under the captivity of Babylon, to whom we desire peace and mercy on the part of God." It is a letter full of affectionate advice and faithful rebuke, uttered in eloquence of language and deep sincerity. We imagine it to have been penned by Elias Prioleau, though we have no certain evidence that this is the fact.\*

The wife of Prioleau was the daughter of Elias Merlat, pastor of Saintes, before mentioned, who was a Huguenot minister of great reputation and merit, and shared in the common persecutions. He was arrested in July, 1679, on various frivolous pretences, the chief of which was that he had written a book in answer to one published by the celebrated Arnaud, entitled "The subversion of the Morals of Jesus Christ by the doctrine of the Calvinists touching Justification." [This book of Arnaud's was a tissue of dark impostures, designed to show that the doctrine of the Reformed respecting justification, the perseverance of the saints, and the certainty of salvation, dispensed with good works, and promised salvation whatever crimes they might commit.] For his answer to this book he was convicted of sedition and heresy. The book of Merlat was condemned to be torn and burnt in front of the church by the common hangman. He was to retract the propositions which should be read to him,

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\* Extracts from this letter may be seen in Pres. Review for Oct., 1800.

was placed under a perpetual interdict, and was fined 3,000 livres. From this sentence he appealed, but the appeal was quashed. He was condemned to be brought into court in irons, acknowledge that he had inconsiderately and maliciously written the book, and preached in terms contrary to the edict; that for this he was very penitent, and implored pardon from God, the king, and justice. Prioleau, who had approved the book, and René Pean, the printer, were placed under censure. Otherwise Merlat was to be sent into perpetual banishment, to pay a fine of a thousand livres to the king, and six hundred to be bestowed in alms. Four days after this sentence Merlat was conducted into court, and after a short and respectful preface, in which he protested that he had never designed to scandalize any person, and that his conscience was not convinced that he had done aught in malice, and that he read the declaration which had been given him simply in the way of obedience, he complied with the terms of the sentence, and read the declaration. The conviction and sentence of this celebrated minister filled others with apprehension, for none regarded themselves safe from similar vexations, and it was not long before others were proceeded against in the same way.\*

The name of Elias Prioleau and that of Jeanne Merlat, his wife, head the list of French and Swiss refugees in Carolina, who obtained naturalization in 1698.† There are said to be manuscript copies of the productions of Elias Prioleau existing among his descendants, delivered in France as early as 1677, which are characterized by great doctrinal purity, deep piety, elegance of diction, and vigor of mind. In his will, written in French, and executed in Charleston, on the 8th of February, 1689-90, he styles himself "minister of the holy Gospel in the French Church of Charlestown." But it would seem that he preached to other congregations also. The following is an extract from the will:

"I direct my said wife" (his sole executrix) "to give immediately after my death five pounds sterling to the church to whose service I shall be most ordinarily attached at the end

\* Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes, tome troisième, pp. 385-391.

† A copy of this list is in our possession, entitled "Liste de François et Suisses Refugiez au Caroline qui souhaitent d'è [tre] naturalizes Anglois." It was discovered in a parcel of old papers belonging to Henry de St. Julien, who died seventy years of age, in 1758 or 9, and was the youngest son of Peter de St. Julien, mentioned in the list. From a family Bible, still in existence, it appears that a child, whose name is given in the list, was born May, 1694, and died Sept., 1695.

of my days; and if there are two which I serve with equal assiduity, she shall give to each of said churches two pounds and a half sterling. If she cannot pay in money the sum of five pounds sterling, either in whole or in part, she shall give the value of it in what she can."

Mr. Prioleau owned a farm on Medway river, a branch of Cooper river, over against Cote Bas, and opposite the French settlement of Orange Quarter, and no doubt gave his services at times to that settlement.

The pastor Prioleau died in 1699, and was buried at his farm on Black river. He has left behind him numerous descendants in South Carolina, who cherish his memory and emulate his virtues.

The colony which was sent out by Charles II., in the ship Richmond, forty-five in number, in the year 1780, were settled, it is believed, on the East branch of Cooper river, and formed the nucleus of what was known as ORANGE QUARTER, and subsequently the parish of St. Denis. It has been conjectured that the first name was derived from the principality of Orange, in the province of Avignon, which at the period of the revocation belonged to William, Prince of Orange, afterwards king of England, and where they had been terribly persecuted under Louis; an assembly for public worship having been attacked, a large portion captured, both men and women, and delivered over to the civil authorities, while the fugitives were pursued into the woods, some stripped, tied to trees, and left to perish with starvation. "Females were afterwards found with their noses cut off and their eyes put out, stripped of all their clothing, and in this pitiable condition wandering in the woods and highways." The name St. Denis is supposed to commemorate the battle-field of St. Denis, in the vicinity of Paris, which was the scene of a memorable encounter, in 1567, between the Catholic forces, commanded by Montmorency, and the Huguenots, led by Admiral Coligny and the Prince of Condé, in which Montmorency was slain.\* Some thirty-two families were settled here soon after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and by the culture of the vine and the olive, attempted to carry out the wishes of the proprietors, who had desired to introduce the manufacture of wine, oil, and silk. The climate proved insalubrious: the land, except on the

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\* Southern Literary Gazette, July, 1856

margin of the river and the creeks, was unproductive, and did not reward the care of the cultivator. Among the settlers are the names of Bineau, Boisseau, Bonneau, Boudinot, Douxaint, Dupré, Dutarte, Guerard, La Pierre, Le Jean, Lesesne, Lenoir, Martien, Moze, Peyre, Poitevin, Roche, Rember, Simons, Tissot, Thomas, and Videaux.

We have seen, from the will of Cæsar Moze, that in 1687 they were accustomed to assemble here for divine worship, if there was not a church already organized. We have mentioned the probability that Elias Prioleau frequently ministered to them, as he had property in that neighborhood. The Rev. De la Pierre is supposed to have been their first pastor, but when his pastoral office commenced is unknown. This settlement was in advance of the English population.

There was another settlement and church of the Huguenots on the WESTERN BRANCH of COOPER RIVER. Of this, Anthony Cordes, M.D., who arrived in Charleston in 1686, was one of the founders. His brothers were James, Isaac, and John, who resided in St. John's, Berkley, and have no descendants. Ten families composed this settlement at the close of this century, who, though greatly scattered, were organized into a church. Their first and only pastor was Rev. Florente Philippe Trouillart, whom we have found associated with Elias Prioleau in the pastorship of the church in Charleston. When he left that church is nowhere recorded, nor is there any record of his previous history. Mr. Daniel Ravenel once possessed a certificate of marriage in his handwriting, and in the Latin tongue, the penmanship and diction of which showed that he was an educated man. In this settlement were to be found the names of Guerard, Dubose, La Salle, Le Bass, Cordes, Verditty, De Rousserye, Monck, De St. Julien, Marion, &c.\*

There was still another French settlement on the SANTEE, more considerable than the two which have been last mentioned. Towards the close of this century there were two distinct settlements south of that river, known as the French and the English Santee. The first of these was in what is now the parish of St. James, and the other in the parish of St. Stephen. The two communities had but little intercourse with each other. Of the families in French Santee was that of Boisseau, of Dubose, of Dutarte, Gaillard, Gendron, Gig-

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\* Presbyterian, June 15th, 1850.

milliat, Gourdin, Horry, Huger, St. Julien, Le Grand, Mayrant, Michaud, Porcher, Postell, Ravenel, Rembert, Richebourg, Robert, and others.

To what date we should assign the organization of a Huguenot church on the Santee it is difficult to determine. Like the date of the first settlement, it is involved in uncertainty. The refugees, who emigrated to the British provinces in groups, were usually accompanied by their ministers, and their earliest solicitude, after a settlement had been effected, was the erection of a church and the institution of worship. It was for this they abandoned their native country. We cannot doubt that the Huguenots on the Santee, contemporaneously with their first possession of their newly-acquired territory, reared a church in the wilderness for the public exercise of their religion. The writer whom we quote, says, we may date their colonization antecedent to the year 1690, and expresses the opinion that this was the third church erected in the province. The settlement, again, has been referred to a date contemporaneous with the revocation, 1685; and it has been thought questionable whether the church was not older than that in Charleston. Others make it the third church probably in the province.\* Rev. Pierre Robert was their first pastor. There is an ancient register of his family in which he is said to have been the first Calvinistic minister who preached in South Carolina. He is said also to have been the first person in the settlement who owned a horse; which was imported for his special use, to enable him to attend religious services, held often at remote distances from his house. There are said to have been eighty families of French Protestants on the Santee before the close of this century.

There was still another small settlement of the Huguenots on GOOSE CREEK, which was probably earlier than any other out of Charleston. They would easily find their way to this neighborhood after their arrival. But they never formed, so far as we can learn, any organized congregation.

The number of French Protestants in these several settlements, in the year 1698-9, may be known from the following return made by Peter Girard to E. Randolph, sent out to look into the affairs of the colony by the Lords of Trade. He states the number of refugees of the French church of **Charleston** to be 195; of **Goose Creek** to be 31; of the eastern branch

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\* See Southern Literary Intelligencer, July, 1852, and Philadelphia Presbyterian for April 20th, 1850.

of Cooper River to be 101, of the French church on the Santee, 111—being 438 in all.

In this enumeration is omitted the settlement on the western branch of Cooper river, said to consist of ten families. The settlement on the eastern branch is said to have embraced thirty-two, and that on the Santee from eighty to one hundred families at the beginning of the eighteenth century, which would suggest a larger number.

Among the early emigrants entitled to honorable mention was Benjamin Marion, grandfather of Gen. Francis Marion, of Revolutionary renown. The year of his arrival in the colony has been variously stated. Dalcho names 1694, Judge James and Simms about 1685, the author of "the Marion Family," 1690. There is an order of the governor and council, addressed to Job Howes, surveyor, to survey and admeasure 350 acres of land for Benjamin Marion, he having imported into the province seven persons, viz., Benjamin Marion, Judith, his wife; Andrew DeLean, Madelean Budnat, Mary Nicolas, servants; Toby, and Rose, a negro woman. This order bears date, March 13th, 1693-4. Another of these emigrants was Solomon Legaré, who left his native land for America in 1695 or 1696, and fixed his residence in the northeastern part of the city of Charleston. He acquired in that quarter of the town a considerable landed property. He also purchased other property on the opposite side of the city, which is traversed by a street called Legaré street. This property descended to his children. One of his descendants sold a portion of his estate in the city and purchased other possessions on John's Island, which became the seat of that branch of the family, and where still remain two ancient mansions, erected by their forefather, the son of the emigrant.\* Another family is that of General Horry, distinguished in the war of the Revolution, whose grandparents settled on the Santee, and began their fortunes, as the general often related, by working together at the whip-saw.†

There was a portion of this population reckoned as Huguenot, who were natives of Switzerland, and another and smaller portion who were of the Waldensian church. The Duke of Savoy, who had pursued these heroic men for years with bloody wars and horrid persecutions, which we shudder to

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\* Biographical notice of Hugh Swinton Legaré, prefixed to his works. Charleston, 1846, 2 vols., 8vo.

† Presbyterian; March 30th, 1850.

repeat, reduced them, in 1686, by falsehood and treachery, more than by arms, to unconditional submission, or forced banishment from the country. Multitudes fled to Switzerland as a temporary refuge, and reached at length our own shores. Their reception at Geneva was most noble and generous. One half of the population of that city, headed by the patriot Gianavel, came to meet them at the Arve, the boundary of their domain, and there competed with each other who should receive to the hospitalities of his dwelling the greatest number of exiles. Many remained there, near their much-loved valleys, which they hoped yet to recover; others dispersed for protection and final settlement to other countries. These were the people for whom Milton cried in his well-known sonnet :

“Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones  
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold.”

Of those who came to Carolina, there were the names of Laurens, De la Bastie, Gautier, Leger, &c. Jean Laurens was the pastor of a Vaudois church, and signed an address to the Swiss Commissioners in 1686. Siderac de la Bastie affixed his signature as moderator of the synod of Lucerne, Augrogne, Perouse, and St. Martin. Etienne Gautier and David Leger subscribed the address—the former as a deputy, the latter as assistant moderator. It is not improbable that the late Henry Laurens, who was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was descended from a refugee from Piedmont.

There is an order of the Earl of Craven and others to Joseph West, governor, to assign to Jean François de Genillat, “the first of the Swiss nation to settle in Carolina,” three thousand acres of land. Other names were Pierre Robert, first pastor of the church on Santee, Honore Michaud, Jean Pierre Pelé, &c.

The predilections of the French were for Carolina rather than any other of the English colonies. It corresponded more nearly in climate and productions with their own country, and many who first landed at the north found their way here. Those who came to Carolina were either agriculturists, or tradesmen and mechanics. The last found employment in Charleston. Among these were merchants, goldsmiths, watch-makers, shipwrights, blockmakers, sailmakers, coopers, weavers, leather-dressers, gardeners, apothecaries, gunsmiths, and wheelwrights. Some seventy families settled in Craven county, on the Santee, or on Cooper river and at Goose Creek,

and addicted themselves to the culture of the soil. Some of these were possessed of considerable property in France, which, being converted into funds, enabled them to take up large tracts of land, to obtain servants, and to surround themselves soon with comfort and plenty. Grants of land were made to them, including a small portion to some Swiss reckoned among them, to the amount of more than fifty thousand acres within a period of two years.

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## CHAPTER II.

AT the commencement of the period we are now considering, and contemporaneously with the commotions in France, Joseph Morton was governor of the province of Carolina. He is spoken of as a man of deeply religious character, of sobriety and wisdom. He had married the sister of Joseph Blake, lately arrived from England; was himself a dissenter from the Established Church; and great hopes were entertained that his administration would have secured perfect harmony in the infant colony. But there had already arisen two parties, one supporting the prerogatives of the proprietors, the other contending for the liberties of the people. He found it beyond his power to control the turbulent spirits who appeared, offered insult to his person, and complained of his administration. The Spaniards, whose headquarters were at St. Augustine, viewed the English colony as intruders. They claimed Florida both by the right of prior discovery and by a special grant from the pope, and regarded the southern Atlantic coast for an indefinite extent northward as included under their right. They encouraged indented servants to leave their masters, and gave them their protection; prejudiced the savage tribes against their British neighbors, and instigated them to destroy them. It was the expectation of the proprietors that the Scotch colony of Lord Cardross would have proved a barrier to the Spaniards on the south, and it was for this reason that the order was given by them that the six pieces of cannon lying dismantled and useless at Charlestown should be delivered up to Cardross. In 1686, while England and Spain were at peace, the Spaniards came with three galleys, and effected a landing at

Edisto. With them was a force of Indians and negroes. They pillaged the houses of Governor Morton and Paul Grimbald, secretary of the province, who were on duty at Charlestown, murdered the brother-in-law of the governor, carried off his money, plate, and thirteen slaves,—gathering a booty from these two individuals valued at £3000 sterling. They then attacked the Scotch settlers of Stuart-Town, who had but twenty-five men in health to oppose them, killed some, burned one alive, took others captive, whom they barbarously whipped and plundered, and destroyed the entire colony. The fugitives escaped to Charlestown.\* Some of them may have returned to Scotland, and others settled in that vicinity. The name of Robert Ure occurs as having made a bequest to the church of John's Island in 1735; and it is not impossible that he may have been either the Robert Urie named in Wodrow as of Lord Cardross' colony, or his son. William Dunlop was in the colony in 1687, and, according to Hewatt, was on a committee appointed to revise the Fundamental Constitutions, and draw up a new code of laws to be transmitted to England for the approbation of the proprietors.† He returned to Scotland in 1690, and became, in the same year, principal of the University of Glasgow.‡ Letters were written to the proprietors by Cardross, complaining of the ill-treatment he had received in Carolina, to which they replied, March 3d, 1686-7, that all this was without their concurrence, expressed their regret at his losses from the Spaniards, and their determination to apply to the king for reparation.§ Broken by his

\* Letter to Sothel.—Rivers, Appendix, p. 425.

† Hist. Coll., vol. i., p. 92.

‡ Wodrow, iv., p. 522.

§ Coll. of Hist. Soc., vol. i., p. 118. The invasion above alluded to put a stop for a season to all party strife in this vexed and turbulent colony. The people were roused with the greatest indignation against their Spanish neighbors. A parliament was summoned by Morton, then governor, and an act passed for raising a force against the Spaniards. An assessment of £500 was made. Two vessels were manned, and a company of four hundred men were on board, ready to sail, with the determination of taking St. Augustine, when they were arrested by the arrival of James Colleton, from Barbadoes, who was brother of Sir John Colleton, one of the proprietors, and had been created a landgrave and governor of Carolina. He commanded the return of the troops, and threatened any that persisted with hanging. The proprietors approved of the course of the governor, and wrote that, if the expedition had proceeded, "Mr. Morton, Colonel Godfrey, and others might have answered it with their lives." This indignity the colonists never forgave. In their charges against Colleton, whom, by act of parliament, they afterwards banished from the colony, they allege as one of his misdemeanors that he "did, contrary to the honor of the English nation, pass by all the bloody insolencies the Spaniards had committed against this colony; and did, with

misfortunes and suffering in health, Cardross returned to Europe, and attached himself to the friends of liberty in Holland, whence he came over to England with the Prince of Orange in 1688. He raised a regiment of dragoons for the public service in 1689, and, in the same year, obtained from parliament the restoration of his rights, privileges, and estates. He died at Edinburgh in 1693, in the forty-fourth year of his age. His son David succeeded him in his estates, and afterwards became the Earl of Buchan.\* The governmental seal used in his colony was returned by the then Earl of Buchan in 1793, one hundred years after his death, as an object of curiosity, and was deposited in the Charleston library.† The happy change produced by the accession of the Presbyterian Prince of Orange to the British throne, in 1688, put a stop to the persecutions in Scotland, and the attempt to re-establish the Scotch colony was never resumed.

Besides the emigrants already mentioned, there were others who came into the colony from New England. Under the government of John Archdale, [August, 1695,] a pious and intelligent Quaker, means were taken to propitiate the Indian tribes, and to protect them from injustice. His ideas respecting their conversion were simple indeed, and contrary to the dictates of experience and apostolic example. He would have missionaries sent among them skilled in chemistry and mineralogy, to win their respect. He would have English children sent with them, who should become familiar with the Indian children, and introduce them to a knowledge of letters. He was successful, however, in propitiating the native tribes both towards the north and the south, and took them under the protection of his government. The good results were soon witnessed. Among others who enjoyed its benefits were a company of emigrants from New England, fifty-two in number, who were shipwrecked at Cape Fear, and finding themselves surrounded by barbarians, expected nothing but immediate death. They threw up around themselves an entrenchment, for their protection, the Indians, meanwhile, making signs of friendship, showing them often fish and corn to invite them

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others, enter into a contract of trade with the Spaniards." "As Englishmen, who wanted not the corage to doe themselves honorable satisfaction, we could not but admire yt soe execrable a barbarity committed upon the person of an Englishman; and the great desolation yt was made in the south part of this settlem't should be buried in silence for the hopes of a little filthy lucre."—Letter to Seth Sothel. Rivers, Appendix, p. 418; and text, p. 145.

\* Wodrow, iv., p. 194.

† Ramsay, i., p. 127.

out. At length they were compelled by famine to resort to them, and were kindly entertained by the chief. Some of their number then visited Charles-Town, and informed Governor Archdale of their misfortune. He sent a vessel for them, and settled them on the north side of Cooper river, thus forming a settlement in what is known as Christ's Church parish, and within which the Congregational church of WAPPETAU was afterwards gathered, whose uncertain date, however, belongs to the early part of the next century, and not to this. The arrival and settlement of this New England colony occurred probably late in 1695, or early in 1696. About the same time Archdale received the following letter from Ipswich, Massachusetts, "from a person of note there, on the behalf of a number of people" desiring to emigrate into this province, couched in terms sufficiently flattering to the vanity of the Quaker governor :

IPSWICH, 26th June, 1696.

"GREAT SIR,—I had not thus boldly intruded myself in this manner, or been the least interruption to your public Cares, but that I am commanded to do this Service for a considerable number of Householders, that purpose (with the Favor of God's Providence, and your honour's countenance) to Transport themselves into *South Carolina*, as it now stands circumstanced with the honour of a true *English* government, with virtuous and discreet Men Ministers in it, who now design the promoting the Gospel for the increase of Virtue among the Inhabitants, as well as outward Trade and Business; and considering that the well peopling of the Southern Colony of the *English* Government or Monarchy may, with God's blessing, be a Bulwark to all the Northern Parts, and a Means to gain all the Lands to Cape *Florida* (which are ours by the first discovery of Sir *Sebastian Cabot*, at the Charges of King Henry VII., to the Crown of *England*; and being credibly informed of the Soil and Climate, promise, that all adventurers, with the favour of God, shall reap Recompence as to Temporal Blessings.

"Sir, These and such like Reasons have encouraged and produced the aforesaid Resolutions. And farther, Sir, your great Character doth embolden us, for it is such as may be said, without Flattery, as was said of *Titus Vespasian* that noble *Roman*, *Ad gratificandum assiduus Natura fuit*: So praying for blessings upon your honorable Person, concerns and Province, I rest, etc."

We are not informed whether the persons thus referred to emigrated to the province. That they did is most probable, and that they became a component part of the New England colony, whose principal seat was on Sewee Bay and the river of the same name. In confirmation of this conjecture, see Felt's *History of Ipswich, Mass.* "Rev. Wm. Hubbard wrote to Archdale in favour of certain emigrants. This appears to have been done Oct. 11th, 16 [ ] when several were dismissed from Salem Village (now Danvers) who were bound to the same part of the country." So Oldmixon. "In his (Archdale's) time several families removed from New England to settle at Carolina, and

seated themselves on the river Sewee in North [South] Carolina."\*

Another important colony, which seems to have originated in great part from religious motives, was the colony from Dorchester, in Massachusetts, which founded the town and settlement of Dorchester, in South Carolina. This also took place while Archdale was governor, and sixteen years after the foundation of the present city of Charleston. They came into this country as a missionary church, to plant the institutions of the gospel. In the farewell sermon of Rev. Mr. Danforth to the colony when leaving, he reminds them of the "importunity both by letter and otherwise that was used with our minister, that both a minister should be sent to these remote parts and that he should be ordained also; sundry godly Christians there being prepared for and longing after the enjoyment of all the edifying ordinances of God; there being withal in all that country neither ordained minister nor any church in full gospel order; so neither imposition of the hands of Presbytery, nor donation of the right hand of fellowship can be expected there." The text of Mr. Danforth's sermon was Acts, xxi. 4, 5, 6,—“And finding disciples, we tarried there seven days: who said to Paul through the Spirit, that he should not go up to Jerusalem. And when we had accomplished those days, we departed and went our way; and they all brought us on our way, with wives and children, till we were out of the city; and we kneeled down on the shore and prayed. And when we had taken our leave of one another, we took ship; and they returned home again.” This text is a description of the parting scene between the Christians of Tyre and Paul and his companions, and was peculiarly appropriate to that occasion when a beloved pastor took his farewell of those to whom he had ministered for thirteen years as they were to go forth as missionaries of the cross.

On the 22d of October, 1695, being the usual lecture day in the town of Dorchester, Mass., and messengers having been invited from neighboring churches † to constitute a Council, or Provisional Presbytery, according to congregational usage, Rev. Joseph Lord ‡ was duly set apart and ordained to the gospel ministry, and a church was organized, with him for its

\* Archdale, p. 105; Oldmixon, p. 416, in Carrol, vol. ii.

† Of Boston, Milton, Newton, Charlestown, and Roxbury.

‡ Joseph Lord was of Charlestown, Mass. He had graduated at Harvard College four years before in the class of 1691, and was then teaching a school in Dorchester and studying theology with the pastor.—Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ix.

pastor, as a missionary church. One of the members was William Norman, from Carolina, who probably went on to Massachusetts for the purpose of encouraging and securing the execution of this missionary enterprise. The name of Norman still exists in the Midway congregation, Georgia, and the correspondence referred to from Carolina may be accounted for from the fact that the population of Dorchester, Mass., was from the counties of Devon, Dorset, and Somersetshire, England,\* from which came also many, perhaps most of the dissenters then in Carolina. The text of Mr. Lord's sermon at his ordination was in accordance with the occasion and object in view. "Ye are the salt of the earth," Matt. v. 13. Their friends accompanied them to the place of embarkation, where they took leave of each other, "after kneeling down and mingling their supplications, with every expression of Christian tenderness." They embarked on the 5th of December, and set sail on the night of the 14th, in two small vessels, towards the land God had given them as an inheritance, not knowing whither they went. Not without peril and severe trial of their faith was the voyage accomplished. A severe gale was experienced soon after their embarkation, and one of the vessels came near being lost. A day of fasting and prayer was observed on board. One vessel arrived in about fourteen days, the other had a passage of near a month. "What an interesting sacred company did those two frail barks contain! Infancy, not knowing whither it went; youth, with all its joyousness; middle age, with all its conscious weight of responsibility; the old and the young, the strong and the weak, the protector and the protected; a sacred company—aye, sacred, because they were *a whole church of Christ*, with their chosen, consecrated pastor in their midst."† Threading their way up the Ashley river, in quest of a convenient place for settlement, they fixed upon a spot which they named after Dorchester, in Massachusetts, which was named after Dorchester, in England, whence their first minister came. Here, in the midst of an unbroken forest inhabited by beasts of prey and savage men, twenty miles from the dwellings of any whites, they took up their abode. The Westoes and Stonos were the

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\* The church of Dorchester, Mass., was composed of a company of Puritans gathered out of these several counties, who, early in 1630, met at the new hospital in Plymouth, England; and after a day of fasting and prayer, elected the Rev. John Warham of Exeter, and Rev. John Maverick, to be their pastors, and resolved to settle in New England. They sailed on the 30th of March, 1630, and arrived in about two months, encountering many hardships in the waste howling wilderness to which they came.

† Sheldon's Discourse on the 150th anniversary of the Dorchester church.

two most powerful tribes around them, and were at this time very hostile, so that the settlers, as they erected their dwellings, were obliged to station their sentinels to watch the foe. They did not fail in their duties to God. Shortly after their arrival, on the 2d of February, 1696, under the spreading branches of an oak, which still stands,\* stretching out its weather-beaten limbs, affording a shelter to the living and to the resting-places of the dead, they celebrated the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and renewed their vows and thanksgivings to Christ their Saviour. Never have their descendants failed in religious duty, nor when their country called them either to do or suffer. Though they migrated to a neighboring State in the middle of the next century, they were the first there to embark in the struggle of the Revolution, and sent their delegate on horseback to Philadelphia to represent them in Congress, when the State of Georgia had not yet decided to abandon the royal cause.

The communion above referred to has been said to be the first sacrament of the Lord's Supper ever administered in the colony,† and the Dorchester church the first *organized* Congregational church in the State. Both these statements are open to adverse criticism. St. Philip's (Episcopal) church was earlier by several years. The first Episcopal minister in the province, Atkin Williamson, was here as early as 1680, and the second, Samuel Marshall, came in 1696.

The second statement can only be true if the church now called "THE CIRCULAR CHURCH," but known in its earlier records as "THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH," were Presbyterian strictly. Dr. Ramsay argues that it was formed and constituted between 1680 and 1690. One reason for this declaration is the assertion in a letter written by this church in 1750 to Rev. Drs. Guise, Doddridge, and Jennings, "that upwards of sixty years ago they had been a church." Another is found in the consideration that a community, a large majority of whom were dissenters from the Church of England, and zealous in their religion, would not have remained very long without some religious organization. To this we may add, the residence of Rev. Thomas Barret, Makemie's correspondent, on Ashley river, in 1684-5, and Makemie's own attempt to remove here in 1684, to which he was drawn, probably, by knowing the existence here of a religious community desiring

\* It had fallen and was fast decaying in 1850.

† Holmes, Annals, ii., p. 34; History of the Town of Dorchester, Mass., 1856, p. 263; Mallard's Short Account of the Cong. Ch., Midway, Ga., p. 4.

the services of a Presbyterian minister. Benjamin Pierpont, the first regular pastor of this church of whom we read, "was graduated at Harvard University, in 1689, and emigrated from near Boston, in 1691,\* with a select company, to found an independent church in South Carolina. He died near Charleston in 1698, aged about thirty."† Of his successor, Mr. Adams, probably from the same region of country, we know nothing. Of John Cotton, his successor, a more ample history might be given. He was son of the celebrated John Cotton of Boston; was graduated at Harvard, in 1657, at the age of seventeen years and four months. From 1664 to 1667 he preached as a missionary to the Indians on Martha's Vineyard, in whose language he became a proficient. In November, 1667, he removed to Plymouth, where for thirty years he preached to the descendants of the Pilgrim fathers. Some difference of opinion arising between him and his church, he was dismissed October 5th, 1697. He was invited to South Carolina, and set sail for Charleston, November 15th, 1698, where, say the authorities we have consulted, he gathered a church, and labored with great diligence and success till his death, which occurred September 18th, 1699. During his brief ministry of nine months, twenty-five were added to the church, and many were baptized. In his labors he was very abundant and successful, as appears from a daily journal kept by him, which yet exists among his descendants.‡ The existing records of this church

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\* He was the fifth son of John Pierpont of Roxbury, Mass. Born at Roxbury (as supposed) July 26th, 1668, died at Charleston, S. C., January 3d, 1697 (1698), where he had been for some time preaching. He died without issue.

† American Biographical Dictionary, by William Allen, D.D.

‡ John Cotton was born on the 13th of March, 1640. For some reason he was excommunicated by his father's church, May, 1664, but was soon restored. He preached first at Guilford, Mass. He was eminent for his acquaintance with the Indian language. He hired an Indian for his instructor at twelve pence a day for fifty days; but his teacher, before twenty days elapsed, having received his whole pay, deserted him. He found means, however, of perfecting himself in it, and frequently preached to the Indians, who lived in several congregations in his neighborhood. The whole care of revising Elliot's Indian Bible fell on him. He died, according to Cotton Mather, who was his nephew, of yellow fever: "the horrible plague of Barbados was brought into Charlestown by an infected vessel." "It had been there little above a fortnight before many above an hundred were dead." He had eleven children, five of whom died young. Four of his sons were graduates of Harvard, three of whom were ministers of the gospel.—John at Yarmouth, Rowland at Sandwich, Theophilus at Hampton Falls.—American Quarterly Register, vol. x., p. 246; Allen's Amer. Biog. Dict., p. 268; Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv.; Magnalia, iii.; Holmes; Savage, Genealog. Dict. of N. England.

do not ascend to so early a date. The first records were destroyed in the hurricane in the fall of 1713, which beat upon the house of Rev. Mr. Livingston, who then lived on the spot occupied by the battery, at the foot of East Bay; and we are dependent on these northern sources for information. According to these both Mr. Pierpont and Mr. Cotton organized the church—the one in 1691, the other in 1698. The probability is, that these statements are either not perfectly accurate, but refer to the revival of the church organization under these different ministers, or have reference, the one or the other, to the organization of a church in the country near Charleston, (at Wappetaw, in the New England colony?). As to the time of the erection of the first house of worship for the Dissenters in Charlestown, we have no certain data which enable us to determine. It was very early. In the deed of gift, bearing date October 23d, 1704, by which “Madame Symonds” conveyed the land on which the meeting-house stands, it is said, “And whereas the *Protestant Dissenters* of the southern part of the province have for many years since built a meeting-house on said plot of ground.” These “many years since” would suggest to us a time considerably earlier than the arrival of Mr. Pierpont in 1691. The preamble also to the act for building a new church, bearing date December 18th, 1729, commences thus: “Whereas the present Publick Meeting-house in Charleston, which in the early times, or *beginning of the settlement thereof*, was erected for the publick worship of God, after the *Presbyterial form and discipline*, is now by long time gone to decay, and become old and out of repair,” &c. These passages would intimate a very early date for the erection of the house of worship, perhaps as early as, or earlier than, that assigned by Dalcho for St. Philip’s. It was a wooden edifice, and long known as “The White Meeting.” The Calvinistic church of French Protestants, Dalcho allows, was built before 1693. The Quaker meeting-house, whose erection was promoted by Governor Archdale, was built, according to this authority, in about 1696. A Baptist church was organized about 1685,\* and its first pastor was Rev. William Screven, who began his labors in the province about the year 1693.

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\* Rev. Wood Furman, in his History of the Charleston Association, dates the organization of this church in about 1683. This is the date of the first Baptist emigration into the province. “They came,” says he, “in separate colonies, about the year 1683, partly from the west of England, with Lord Cardross and Mr. Blake, and partly from Piscataway, in the district of Maine. Of the former

In "the White Meeting," the Presbyterians, whether English, Irish, or Scotch, and the Independents, worshipped together. Those of English origin were accustomed at home already, by force of persecution, to see their own discipline imperfectly practised. Philip Henry, the father of the commentator, had no session in the church he gathered in his own house at Broad Oak. His son Matthew had none in his church. And the times were such as to render a private ordination in his own case most eligible. His ordainers were Presbyterian ministers of London, six in number, who performed the service in private, and gave him the following certificate: "We, whose names are subscribed, are well assured, that Mr. Matthew Henry is an ordained minister of the gospel. *Sic Testor.*" To which were attached their signatures, and the date, "May 9th, 1687."\* From the Act of Uniformity to 1694, it is not known that there was a single public ordination among the Dissenters in England. At this latter date the Presbyterians began to ordain publicly several candidates at the same time, probably in imitation of Episcopal ordinations, and consequently not in the congregations where they were to minister. In 1690, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists in and about London drew up "heads of agreement" for the maintenance of friendly intercourse between their ministers and churches. And in addition, there was a board at the metropolis, consisting of the most influential men of these denominations, who watched over their general interests, as dissenters from the Established Church; and before the accession of Queen Anne the Baptists also began to act in concert with them, so that when she ascended the throne the three denominations united in a joint address to her majesty. The Presbyterians were represented, because of their superior numbers, by two delegates to one of each of the other denominations. All these things tended to wear away the distinctive peculiarities of Presbyterian government in the English Presbyterian church, and among those who migrated from that church to America.

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some settled about Ashley and Cooper rivers, others about the mouth of the Edisto river. The latter settled at a place called Summerton, situated on Cooper river, and at a small distance from Charleston. Here they were formed into a church under the care of the Rev. William Screven." As to the emigration with Lord Cardross, we had supposed it was entirely Presbyterian. It is more probable that the earliest English Baptist emigration was with Mr. Blake, whose wife, and her mother, Lady Axtell, Mr. Furman informs us, were Baptists.—Furman's History of the Baptist Association, pp. 5, 55, 68.

\* See Memoir prefixed to his Commentary.

As we have now reached the close of the sixteenth century, and of the third decade of the history of South Carolina, it will not be amiss to take a review of several points touching her general, and more especially her ecclesiastical history.

*Population.*—This was computed to be, in 1700, between five and six thousand whites, besides Indians and negroes.\* Of these, as late as 1706, it was said, "Tis notorious that above two-thirds of the people of Carolina are Dissenters." The Rev. Mr. Marston, of the Church of England, in a letter to Rev. Dr. Stanhope, says of them, that they are "the soberest, most numerous, and richest people of the province."†

*Extent of Territory occupied, and Political Divisions.*—On the northeast, the French settlements on the Santee seem to have been the utmost limits to which population had reached. On the southwest, after the Scotch were broken up and driven in from Port Royal, the population seems not to have extended far beyond the Edisto river. The chief settlement being at Wilton, then called New London, in the vicinity of which were the plantations of Gov. Morton, of Landgrave Axtell, and Paul Grimball.

In the interior, the settlements of the French reached no further than the neighborhood of Lenud's Ferry on the Santee, and the church and congregation of Dorchester was the remotest settlement in the interior on the banks of the Ashley, and for a considerable time far distant from any other settlement of the whites. The province was divided under Gov. Morton into three counties, named after three of the proprietors. Craven extended on the sea-coast from the North Carolina line to the Sewee river; Berkley extended from the Sewee to Stono Creek; Colleton extended on the coast from Stono Creek southward. These counties were understood to be bounded in the interior by a line parallel with the coast and thirty-five miles from it.

*Churches.*—These, as we gather from the preceding, were of five denominations of Christians.

*Episcopalian.*—Two churches. 1. St. Philip's, Charlestown. First minister in the colony, Atkin Williamson, whose arrival was prior to 1680. Erection of house of worship: 1690, Ramsay; 1682, Dalcho, Rivers. Second

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\* Hewatt, p. 132; Rivers, p. 216, who concurs in Hewatt's statement, and regards as incorrect the assertion in Humphrey's Historical Account, in which the white population in 1701 is said to be above 7,000 persons.

† "Case of Dissenters," quoted by Oldmixon, p. 430; vol. ii. of Carroll's Historical Collections, p. 430, and by Rivers, p. 217.

minister, Samuel Marshall, appointed to this church in 1696, died 1696.

2d Church, Goose Creek. First clergyman, Rev. William Corbin. He arrived in the province in the year 1700, and left in 1703. His successor, Mr. Thomas, two years after, found here but five communicants. It appears to be quite uncertain whether the church here was an organized Episcopal church before Mr. Corbin's arrival. The first house of worship for Episcopal service, out of Charleston, was built on Pompion Hill, in the parish of St. Thomas and St. Denis, in 1703.\*

*Presbyterian. French Huguenots.*—1. The Huguenot church in Charlestown. Date of its migration, 1686. Pastors, Elias Prioleau and Florent Philip Trouillart.

2. The Huguenot church on the Eastern Branch of Cooper river, 1686 or 1687. First minister, De la Pierre.

3. The Huguenot church on the Santee. Date of settlement, 1686 or 1687. First pastor, Pierre Robert, of the Waldensians of Piedmont.

4. The Huguenots of Goose Creek. This was a small handful of people, under the pastoral care of Florent Philip Trouillart.

*Mixed Presbyterian and Independent Church.*—This church was composed of Presbyterians, chiefly from Scotland and Ireland, Congregationalists from Old and New England, and French Huguenots, who were strictly Presbyterian in their form of government, and had been recently driven from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, has been known by various names: the Presbyterian church, the White Meeting, the Independent church, the New England Meeting, the Circular church. Date of church organization, previous to 1690, and between 1680 and 1690. Date of first church structure probably as early as 1690, and perhaps still earlier. First known minister in the province, and but as a temporary resident, Thomas Barret, 1685. First regular pastor, Benjamin Pierpont, 1691.

(Presbyterian church at Stuart-Town, composed of Lord Cardross's colony, and existing from 1683 to 1686. Minister, William Dunlop.)

*Congregational church of Dorchester.* Date, January, 1696. First pastor, Joseph Lord.

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\* Dalcho, 32, 33; Ibid., 284, 244-5.

*Baptist church.* Date, 1685. First pastor, William Screven, 1693.

*Quaker Meeting.* Date, 1696.

During the period over which we have passed, the governors of the colony were sometimes of the Church of England and sometimes Dissenters. The first governor, Sayle, was a Presbyterian, so probably was his successor, West; Jos. Morton was, it is supposed, either a Presbyterian or Congregationalist. Thos. Smith and Joseph Blake, Presbyterians, and John Archdale a Quaker. Of Joseph West, Prof. Rivers says, in high commendation, "In a government carefully planned to be an aristocracy, and under the fostering direction of a distinguished nobility in England, he, a plebeian, faithful, wise, and modest, became for fifteen years the guiding spirit of all that was good and successful." Gov. Morton "was a man of a sober and religious temper of mind," had married the sister of Joseph Blake and had increased his personal influence by this alliance, and was connected with several other respectable families in the colony. Much was hoped from his government in checking the more irregular and licentious of the people. But his council were of a different mind from himself, and thwarted him in his endeavors to carry out the instructions of the proprietors. Thomas Smith came into the colony in 1671, with his brother James, who afterwards removed to Boston. He was one of the earliest citizens of Charlestown,\* and had been induced to emigrate to this country, from Exeter, in Devonshire, England, the place of his birth, from religious motives, and for the enjoyment of civil liberty. He was possessed of large estates, having received various grants from the proprietors, and accumulated more by good management. He held other estates by his marriage with the widow of John D'Arsens, who was the owner of 12,000 acres by grant of the proprietors. He had been deputy in council, sheriff of Berkley county, and been chosen to succeed Colleton in 1690, but did not enter upon the office, Sothell having meanwhile arrived and claimed the authority. He was made landgrave in 1691, with 48,000 acres of land, and much being hoped from his acquaintance with the colony, and his great personal influence, he was made governor in 1693. He encountered the same difficulties with his predecessors, from the confused and turbulent state of the colony, and the conflicts between the proprietors and the settlers. These difficulties arose about the

\* Thomas and James Smith held lots 41 and 57 in the original plan of the city.

tenure of lands, the collection of quit-rents, and various matters touching the order of judicial procedure and popular elections. One of the chief controversies was as to the rights and privileges to be enjoyed by the Huguenots. While treated kindly by the proprietors, they met with a less hospitable treatment here than among any other Protestant people. The old hostility of the English to the French seemed to be revived. They were told that the marriages solemnized by their ministers were illegal, because these ministers were not episcopally ordained, that their children were therefore illegitimate, that their estates would be escheated, and not descend to them. They were not allowed to sit on juries, and other privileges belonging to citizenship were pertinaciously denied them. They were required to hold their worship at the same hour with the English church, although several of their congregation lived out of Charleston, and could reach the place only by water, and as the tide served, and for this reason their hour for public worship had varied as their convenience required. Of these things they complained to the proprietors in England for redress, whose instructions to the governors and deputies afforded them some measure of relief. This relief, however, was reluctantly accorded to them. When these proprietors issued orders to Gov. Ludwell, the predecessor of Smith, to allow six members of the Provincial Parliament from Craven county, which was settled by the Huguenots, there had arisen a great clamor. "Shall the Frenchmen," said the British colonists, "who cannot speak our language, make our laws?" Landgrave Smith at length wrote to the proprietors in utter despair, and informed them that he and many more had resolved to leave the province, and expressed his conviction that nothing would restore harmony unless they sent out one of the proprietors to redress grievances. To Governor Smith is ascribed the process of drawing juries in South Carolina, by a little boy under ten years of age, from a box in which the names of the freeholders are placed; but, this again has been questioned.\* He has the credit also of introducing the culture of rice into the colony, which has been so great a source of its wealth,—having received the seed from the captain of a brigantine on its way from Madagascar to Britain. He took pains to have it distributed and cultivated in different soils, until the means of its successful culture were ascertained. He was the founder of a family which contrib-

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\* Rivers, p. 161.

uted much, in succeeding generations, to the advancement of the church. His suggestion was followed by the proprietors, and the Quaker governor, Archdale, was sent out, whose administration was a popular and successful one, though he was not able to accomplish all that he desired. He was a kind and pious man, and sought the good of the colony and of the Indian tribes by which it was surrounded. He appointed Joseph Blake, son of the Joseph Blake before mentioned, as governor, under whose administration the French refugees, and other aliens, were instated in all the rights of Englishmen, and have ever since lived in the utmost harmony with them.

These disturbances, however, had their effect. "A number of French refugees," wrote the proprietors, April, 1698, "had recently proposed to settle upon Port Royal, but were retarded upon hearing of the unhappy commotions among those already settled." Their attachment too was still great to their king and country, notwithstanding the dreadful persecutions they had encountered. They desired to be under French laws in the New World, if they might not be in the old. As Bienville, in 1699, was ascending the Mississippi, he met an English vessel which was sounding the bed of the river, with the intention of colonizing that region. William of Orange was bent upon it, and expressed a willingness to send over several hundred Huguenots and Vaudois at his own expense. This vessel was one of two sent out by Coxe, a London physician, who had bought the old patent of Carolina granted to Sir Robert Heath in 1630, and under the encouragement of William was claiming a right to the mouth of the Mississippi. These vessels had landed in Carolina a body of French emigrants before proceeding to the Gulf of Mexico. Bienville assured the English captain that this was not the Mississippi, but a dependence of Canada belonging to the French, as was proved by the establishments they had already made. The Englishman turned back and desisted from the enterprise. The place of the interview is still called "English Turn." While Bienville was on the English ship, a French engineer, who was employed on board, delivered to him a document which he begged him to send to the court of Versailles. It was a memoir, signed by four hundred families, which had taken refuge in Carolina. They asked the privilege of settling in Louisiana on the sole condition of liberty of conscience. Ponchartrain replied from Paris that "the king has not driven Protestants from France

to make a republic of them in America."\* This rude reply seems to have put an end to their longing for La Belle France and its institutions as transferred to the New World. And the recovery of their rights under Gov. Blake brought with it contentment under Anglo-Saxon rule.

Governor Blake, though a Puritan and a Dissenter, † possessed a liberal spirit towards all Christians. During his administration a bill was introduced into the General Assembly appropriating to Samuel Marshall, a pious and learned man, then the Episcopal minister of Charlestown, and his successors forever, a salary of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, together with a house, glebe, and two servants. At the same time Mrs. Afra Coming gave to the church seventeen acres of land, adjoining Charles Town, and now within it, which constitute the present glebe of St. Michael's and St. Philip's. ‡ Thus closed the first thirty years of the colony of South Carolina, in which the first difficulties of a settlement in a distant wilderness, among savage tribes, and in an unhealthy clime, had been surmounted; in which there had been, indeed, much confusion and turmoil, and many differences between the proprietary government and the people; in which, however, the principles of popular liberty had always obtained the victory, and in which the foundations of the church in most of the denominations now represented in it had been laid.

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\* Gayaré, *Hist. of Louisiana*, vol. i., p. 69; Hildreth, *U. S.*, ii., p. 222; Bancroft, ii., p. 202.

† He was one of the earliest donors to the church of the Dissenters (now the Circular) in Charleston, having given, on the 20th of June, 1695, £1,000 sterling to that church.

‡ Dalcho, pp. 33, 34, 35, and Hewatt, 126, 127.

## BOOK FOURTH.

A. D. 1700-1710.

## CHAPTER I.

AT the commencement of the eighteenth century we find but little done towards the organization of churches among the population of British origin strictly Presbyterian in their form of government. The French Huguenot churches, besides their pasteurs, had their anciens or surveillans—*i. e.*, their elders or overseers, and perhaps their diacres or deacons, from the first.\* The pastor and elders constituted the consistory or session of the church.† The deacon's office was to collect and distribute, by the advice of the consistory, moneys to the poor, sick, and prisoners, and to visit and take care of them.‡ Whether their ministers in this country met in colloquy or presbytery, according to the order of the national church of France,§ is not a matter of record. It is most probable that the exigencies of their condition in these new settlements would render such meetings irregular if they existed, and yet in the many troubles which assailed them, the need of mutual counsel and encouragement must have been felt. Their worship was liturgical, according to the ideas of Calvin, whose liturgy, established in 1543, constitutes the foundation of all the liturgies of the Reformed

\* See Article xxxi. of the Confession of the Reformed churches of France, adopted by the first National Synod held in Paris in 1559. "This confession was also signed and ratified in the national synod at Rochelle, in 1571 (the year before the Massacre of St. Bartholomew), by Jane, Queen of Navarre; Henry, Prince of Berne; Henry de Bourbon, Prince of Condé; Louis, Count Nassau; and Sir Gaspard de Coligni, Lord High Admiral of France. Of this confession, according to Quick, there were three originals on parchment; one kept at Geneva, one at Pau in Berne, and the third in the archives of the City of Rochelle."—Report of Committee on the Revision of the Liturgy of the French Protestant church of Charleston, by Daniel Ravenel, chairman, Charleston, 1853.

† Discipline of the Reformed Church of France, chap. v., canon i., in Quick's Synodicon, p. xxx.

‡ Chap. iii., canon iv.

§ Chap. vii., canon i. See also Aymon Synodes Nationaux, pp. 1-7, where the original articles of the first national synod of Paris are given. In Quick they are given as subsequently enlarged, and drawn into xiv. chapters, or sections, containing 222 articles.

Church of France. The one now in use in the Huguenot church of Charleston was first put forth in 1713 by the churches in the principality of Neuchâtel and Valangin, to which various additions have been made.

Presbyterians and Congregationalists of British extraction had worshipped together in CHARLESTON under the pastoral supervision of Pierpont, Adams, and Cotton, in harmony and peace, little solicitous, probably, of those differences of church government which respectively distinguish them, and with a frank and catholic feeling as yet unmingled with jealousy towards the Established Church of England. Indeed a large proportion of the Congregational churches of New England differed but slightly in their special individual organizations from churches of the Presbyterian faith. The church of Plymouth, of which Mr. Cotton was pastor for thirty years, had its ruling elders, with whom he was incessantly occupied in visiting his flock, in catechizing the children, and in attendance upon church meetings. Elder Brewster, himself educated at Cambridge, England, accompanied the church when it sailed from Leyden, and landed on Plymouth Rock; and the graves of the elders of that church are marked by a specific designation on Burial Hill, where are interred the remains of the Pilgrim Fathers in that Mecca of New England, to which her sons are wont to make at least one pilgrimage. The pattern of church government, as laid down by John Owen, who was the contemporary of these colonists, and died August 24th, 1683, was not far removed from moderate Presbyterianism. Few have argued as conclusively as he for the office of the ruling elder, and his views as to the powers of synods\* are many degrees removed from those of the Brownists, the advocates of *strict* independency. We cannot suppose that there had arisen, therefore, as yet, among the Dissenters in Charleston, any special zeal on the subject of church government. Whether their original ecclesiastical organization was strictly congregational or not in its theory, or Presbyterian after the English form, the absence of all written monuments renders us unable to decide. Outside of the French Protestant churches we know of the existence of no ruling elders: we are not even informed as to the existence of the office of deacon, which in many respects has usurped its place in churches of the Congregational order of our own times; and yet one or the other class of officers there must have been.

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\* See his True Nature of a Gospel Church.

The CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH at DORCHESTER held on its way among the discouragements incident to settlement in a new country. A letter of Rev. Joseph Lord, their pastor, to Judge Samuel Sewall, of Boston, the original of which is in possession of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, in the antique abbreviated writing of that day, speaks of the general state of affairs at this period :

"They seem," he says, "not near so encouraging as they did six years ago. It is true the country is more frequented by way of trade than formerly; but our tar and rice take up so much room, that a cargo of Barbadoes commodities (and of the commodities of some other places) is worth so much more than a cargo of others, that our trade is like to leave the country moneyless. We have been favored by God's providence beyond expectation in our freedom from annoyance from the Spaniards, especially considering we, so soon after the proclamation of war, began with them; and this freedom I think the most ground of encouragement to expect the carrying on the work of Christ in these ends of the earth (next to the promise of the Father), that I can take notice of. For why should Christ give us (an undeserving as well as a much-exposed people) so much peace in time of war if he has no work to be carried on here? We have no reason to suppose it is because we are less sinful than others. The means of safety are partly the Indians that dwell about Wachessy Creek, who are, the most of them, such as formerly left the Spaniards, and are great enemies to them, but friends to the English; but among them are some Westoes, which, in all probability, are a remnant of the Pequods, that escaped when the rest were destroyed in New England." His statements about these Indians are interesting. They had joined with the Savannas, which came into those parts "about twenty-five years ago," and "the Annesees that fled from the Spaniards" and came to dwell near the English; that these had made inroads upon the Spanish Indians, took many prisoners, killed many, and some Spaniards; had fallen "upon the Tymchaws" (probably the tribe of which Tomachichi, the friend of Oglethorpe, was afterwards a chief). He closes thus: "But as to the gospelizing of these Indians, or any others in these parts, I doubt there is little hope, because the traders, that go among them, and converse with them, are so much like heathens themselves. Yet, if it should please God to work upon some of these traders, as he has lately done upon one, there might be some hopes of something to be done, if we were all furnished with ministers as New England is. But neither are our circumstances much more encouraging this way than those of the Indians: but God is able to raise up instruments for his work (and Is., li. 1, 2, 3, may encourage us to expect it). The obligations you have laid upon me, have drawn these things from me, who am,

"Your honor's humble servant,

"JOSEPH LORD."

Dorchest'r in Carolina, Mar. 25, 1706.

[In Judge Sewall's writing.—"Rec'd, April 19, 1706."]

There occurred, however, at this juncture, an event which, in its consequences, developed more and more those strictly Presbyterian elements which lay dormant.

In 1698 the enthusiasm of the Scotch nation was greatly roused by the splendid project of planting a New Caledonia on the Isthmus of Darien. They had been led on to this by

a man by the name of Patterson, of whose origin little appears to be known. By some he is represented as a man of no education, but by others he is spoken of as having been bred for the church, and as having gone forth to the New World with the alleged purpose of converting the Indians of America to the Christian faith. In his travels he became acquainted with Captain Dampier and Mr. Wafer, who afterwards published, the one his voyages, the other his travels in the regions of the Isthmus connecting North with South America. From these gentlemen he obtained much information, and more from his familiarity with those bold buccaneers who had made these coasts their haunts, and who had crossed and recrossed from ocean to ocean hundreds of times, driving strings of mules laden with treasure and plunder which they had collected. He became acquainted with the fact that there was a tract of country from the Atlantic to the Pacific never possessed by the Spaniards, but inhabited by independent tribes; that a belt of islands lay along the coast, one of them the Isle of Pines, and that midway between Porto Bello and Carthagea there was a natural harbor, at a place called Acta, capable of holding the largest fleets; that there are natural harbors on the Pacific side; that the two seas were connected by a ridge of hills, producing a delightful temperature in a sultry clime; that the soil was of almost unsurpassed fertility, and that this place was pointed out by nature as the centre, and the transit of commerce between Asia and Europe. He knew, too, that by taking advantage of the trade-winds navigation would be easier and far safer to and from this region. He believed that the same winds which carried ships to Darien, would waft them from Panama to the East Indies. He conceived the idea, therefore, of forming a great and powerful colony at this point, under the protection of some great nation, who would shelter it in its infancy, and be enriched by it in return. His first intention was to offer it to England, but he was without friends there on whom he might depend. He, however, engaged in the project of erecting the Bank of England, of which he became a director, and rendered great service to this institution, for which he was poorly requited. He subsequently visited the continent, and offered his project to the Dutch, the Hamburgers, and the Elector of Brandenburg. On his return to England, through Mr. Fletcher of Salton, a wealthy and intelligent gentleman, and an enthusiastic Scotchman, he became introduced to several Scotch noblemen of distinction, who, in June, 1695, procured an act of Parliament, and afterwards a

charter from the crown, for creating a trading company to Africa and the New World, with power to plant colonies, with the consent of the inhabitants, in places not in the possession of other nations. The Scotch nation became infatuated with the dazzling project, and, as Lord Dalrymple expresses it, their frenzy (?) to sign the solemn league and covenant never exceeded the rapidity with which they ran to subscribe to the Darien Company. The nobility, the gentry, the merchants, the people, the royal burghs, without the exception of one, and most of the other public bodies, subscribed. Young women threw their little fortunes into the stock, widows sold their jointures to get the command of money for the same purpose. Almost in an instant, £400,000 were subscribed in Scotland. Col. Erskine, son of Lord Cardross, and Mr. Haldane, of Gleneagle, the one an illustrious nobleman, the other a country gentleman of fortune, being appointed to obtain subscriptions abroad, the English subscribed £300,000, and the Dutch and Hamburgers £200,000 more. We find our old acquaintance, William Dunlop, now principal of the University of Glasgow, a director of the company, and the professors of that learned society stockholders in the same.

William of Orange now, however, withdrew from the undertaking his countenance, and sent a memorial to Hamburg, disowning the same, and warning against all connection with it; and in consequence of his opposition, the Dutch, Hamburg, and London merchants withdrew their subscriptions.

In proportion as they were opposed, the national persistency of the Scotch waxed stronger. The company proceeded to build six ships in Holland, of from thirty-two to sixty guns, and engaged twelve hundred men for the colony. Among them were the younger sons of many noble families in Scotland, and sixty disbanded officers, who carried with them such of their private men, raised on their own estates, as they knew to be faithful and brave, most of whom were Highlanders. "Neighboring nations, with a mixture of surprise and respect, saw the poorest kingdom of Europe sending forth the most gallant and the most numerous colony that had ever gone from the Old to the New World."

They sailed from the port of Leith, amidst the tears, prayers, and praises of their excited countrymen, on the 25th of July, 1698. Many seamen and soldiers, whose services had been refused, the complement having been made up, were found hid in the ships, and when ordered ashore clung to the ropes and timbers, imploring that they might go even without re-

ward. Twelve hundred men sailed in five stout ships, and arrived at Darien in two months. They purchased lands of the natives, sent messages of friendship to the nearest Spanish governors, fixed the settlement at Acta, calling it Saint Andrew, after the tutelar saint of Scotland, and the country itself New Caledonia. They erected a fort, and planted on it fifty pieces of cannon, and, by the enlightened suggestion of Patterson, proclaimed freedom of trade and religion to all nations. Two Presbyterian ministers, Messrs. James and Scot, accompanied these first colonists, one of whom died at sea, and the other soon after their arrival. The Dutch East India Company, meanwhile, pressed the king to prevent the settlement of Darien: the English murmured, the House of Commons took up the popular clamor, and represented that the whole trade of England must be eventually destroyed by the privileges granted to the Scotch, that the situation of the colony would enable it to give law to America, and that the interest of all Europe required that it should be crushed. William listened to these representations, dismissed his Scotch ministers, and issued his orders to all his governors in America and the West Indies, to give no succors, and hold no correspondence with the new colony. The Scots had counted on supplies from the West Indies, and fell into great distress from bad food, or from absolute destitution. The generous savages of the coast hunted and fished for them, and did all they could to supply what their own countrymen denied. Bad food produced disease, the climate aided its ravages, the hardy mountaineers of Scotland perished, dying by dozens in a day. They remained at the settlement between seven and eight months without the least communication with Scotland, not a line having been received since their arrival. A vessel had been sent out from the Clyde in January, 1699, which was wrecked. At length, despairing of succor from their native country, they went on board their ships, and left Darien on the 20th of June, 1699. There were at that time scarcely a hundred men with strength and health enough to work them. Of the four vessels, one was abandoned at sea: the St. Andrew got into Jamaica, having lost her captain and one hundred men. The Caledonia and Unicorn got into New York, having lost three hundred men. Meanwhile the Spanish ambassador presented to the king a memorial, complaining of the settlement of Darien, and the king's proclamation had become known in Scotland. The Scots, notwithstanding, being as yet ignorant of the misfortunes of their colony, sent out an additional

colony of 1,300 men, in vessels inferior, and worse furnished. Two vessels, commanded by Captains Jamieson and Stack, preceded the rest with recruits of men and provisions, having on board about three hundred persons, and arrived in about eight weeks after the departure of the first colony, only to find a perfect waste and desolation. To add to their distress, one of these vessels, the provision-ship, took fire in the harbor, and was consumed. This party, too, took to their remaining vessel, and abandoned the colony. Afterwards came the main body of the second expedition, four vessels in all, the largest of which was the *Rising Sun*, carrying sixty guns, Captain Gibson commander. This fleet brought out about twelve hundred men. With them came Rev. Alexander Shields, Francis Borland, Alexander Dalgliesh, and Archibald Stobo, sent at the request of the directors of the company by the commission of the General Assembly, who drew up a specific commission, addressed by them to these ministers, as the Presbytery of Caledonia, and bearing date July 21, 1699. They were directed, on their arrival, to set apart a day for solemn public thanksgiving, to constitute themselves a Presbytery, with moderator and clerk, to appoint ruling elders and deacons, to divide the people into districts or parishes, and to hold parochial sessions and diets of Presbytery, as soon as the circumstances of the colony would allow. All this was to be done with the consent and advice of the civil council, and the consent of the people, which, it seemed to be supposed, could not be withheld. One of these ministers, Mr. Dalgliesh, died at sea, between Montserrat and Darien. The others arrived in health, and entered upon their work with more zeal than discretion. Their proposition for a day of thanksgiving, humiliation, and prayer, was acceded to by the councillors, though the paper setting forth the reasons had much to say of the flagitious lives of the colonists.\* The day was observed, each of the three ministers preaching, and spending the whole time in religious exercises. They also preached on the Sabbath

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\* "It is too evident," they say, "many, both at home and abroad, engaged in the prosecution of this great enterprise, have been more influenced by their own selfish and worldly interests than by a zealous concern either for the glory of God or for the public honor and advantage of our nation. Secondly, that in the choice of instruments for promoting this noble design, there hath not been that tenderness and caution exercised which the case required, to admit and entertain none but such as were of honor and integrity, and fit to advance the religious as well as the civil design of this settlement; on the contrary, too many have been admitted into this service that are men of flagitious lives, and some of pernicious principles."

aboard their largest ship, the *Rising Sun*, and on shore. Their zeal and labors seem to have been abundant, but they complained greatly of the poor attendance upon their ministrations, and the little encouragement they received. One-third, they say, "are wild Highlanders, that cannot speak Scotch, which are barbarians to us, and we to them." They can do nothing for the Indians, having neither the language nor an interpreter; and they complain, in severe terms, of the profaneness, obscenity, drunkenness, and contempt of gospel ordinances of many among them.

Such was the language these clergymen used of their associates in this expedition. Men who have all their lives been isolated from promiscuous society, and look upon the world in merely a religious point of view, who are zealous for the glory of God, and indignant at the indifference and sins of men, are able to make but little allowance for those who are not actuated by high religious principle, and are tempted to visit them with unmeasured censure. On the other hand, they themselves have been visited in a spirit of unmeasured retaliation. Sir John Dalrymple, in his *Memoirs*, says, "Added to the misfortunes of the first colony, the second had a misfortune peculiar to itself. The General Assembly of the church of Scotland sent out four ministers with orders," &c. "When they arrived, the officers and gentlemen were occupied in building houses for themselves with their own hands, because there was no help to be got from others; yet the four (3?) ministers complained grievously that the council did not order houses to be immediately built for their accommodation. They had not had the precaution to bring with them letters of recommendation from the directors at home to the council abroad. On these accounts, not meeting with all the attention they expected from the higher, they paid court to the inferior ranks of the colonists, and by that means threw divisions into the colony. They exhausted the spirits of the people, by requiring their attendance at sermons four or five hours at a stretch, relieving each other by preaching alternately, but allowing no relief to their hearers. The employment of one of the days set aside for religious exercises, which was a Wednesday, they divided into three parts—thanksgiving, humiliation, and supplication, in which three ministers followed each other. And as the service of the church of Scotland consists of a lecture with a comment, a sermon, two prayers, three psalms, and a blessing, the work of that day, upon the average of the length of the service of that age, could not take up less than twelve hours,

during which space of time the colony was collected, and kept close together in the guard-room, which was used as a church, in a tropical climate and in a sickly season. They damped the courage of the people by continually presenting hell to them as the termination of life to most men, because most men are sinners. Carrying the Presbyterian doctrine of predestination to extremes, they stopped all exertions by showing that the consequences of them depended not on those by whom they were made. They converted the numberless accidents to which soldiers and seamen are exposed into immediate judgments of God against their sins."\*

In this unfriendly and retaliatory way were the services of these zealous ministers spoken of by those who were evidently hostile to the truth. The services of these clergymen may have been, and doubtless were, too protracted. But the day of public thanksgiving, humiliation, and prayer, which was but a single Wednesday, is here held up as if this was the common and weekly method of service. Here is the old strife between the church and the world, carried out on both sides with many of the infirmities of our fallen nature.

The last party that joined the second colony, after it had been settled for some three months, was Captain Campbell of Finab, who was descended from the families of Breadalbane and Athole, with a company of people from his own estate whom he had commanded in Flanders, and whom he brought over in his own ship. He had no sooner arrived than news came that the Spaniards were marching against them, and that a party, 1,600 strong, lay encamped at Tubucantee, awaiting the arrival of a fleet of eleven ships, when they were to attack the settlement by sea and by land. The command being given to Captain Campbell, he marched with 200 men and fell upon the Spanish camp by night and drove them before him. Five days after his return the Spanish fleet hove in sight, and landed their troops, but after a siege of about six weeks—the ammunition being almost expended, most of the officers dead, their supply of water cut off—they capitulated with all the honors of war, and hostages for the observance on the part of the Spaniards of the conditions. The poor remnants of the Scotch colony then made arrangements to leave, but they were so reduced by disease and unwholesome food, that they found great difficulty in getting under way, and but for the assistance of the Spaniards, their largest vessel,

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\* Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. iii., pp. 136, 137.

the *Rising Sun*, would have been lost in the harbor itself. They then commenced their homeward passage in seven vessels, making their way first to the nearest British colonies. Some of them reached Spanish ports and were well treated. English ports showed them little kindness. Of the seven vessels, only Captain Campbell's and one other reached home. Great numbers died on the homeward passage, and of the entire colony not more than thirty, saved from pestilence, war, shipwreck, and famine, ever saw their own country again. The Rev. Alexander Shields died in Jamaica of a malignant fever, and two students of divinity who had accompanied the expedition. On board the *Rising Sun* malignant fevers and fluxes prevailed, and many died. And to complete this chapter of disasters, this vessel encountered a gale off the coast of Florida, which brought them into great distress. They made for the port of Charleston under a jury-mast, and while lying off Charleston bar, waiting to lighten the vessel that she might be got into port, a hurricane arose, in which she went to pieces, and every person on board perished.\* Rev. Mr. Stobo had, however, been waited upon by a deputation from the church in Charleston, and invited to preach in the pulpit which had been vacated by the death of Mr. Cotton, while the *Rising Sun* should be waiting for supplies, and had gone up to Charleston with the deputation the day before.† Lieutenant Graham, James Byars, David Kennedy, Lieutenant Durham, Ensign John Murray, Ensign Robert Colquhoun, William Bready, John Spence, James

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\* "A tradition prevails, that about the year 1700 a large vessel, supposed to be the *Rising Sun*, with 346 passengers on board, came without a pilot up Sampit Creek to the place where Georgetown now stands; but finding no inhabitants there but Indians, the captain made for Charleston. On his arriving near the bar, he was boarded by a pilot, who told him that his vessel could not enter the harbor without lightening. The captain being in distress, sent his long-boat with the Rev. Mr. Stobo and some others to solicit assistance. Before the boat returned a hurricane took place, in which the vessel and every soul on board were lost. Tradition states further, that the same hurricane broke open the north inlet, and that previously there had been only one inlet from the sea to Winyaw bay. That a vessel came over Georgetown bar without a pilot which could not cross Charleston bar with one, if true, is very remarkable. It is rendered probable from the circumstance that the bar of Georgetown has from that time to the present been constantly growing worse."—Statistical Account of Georgetown, appended to Ramsay's History, vol. ii., 590, Charleston, 1809.

† Another story is, that he was sent for to perform the marriage ceremony for a couple who desired to be married by a Presbyterian minister. Nothing was saved to him but his Bible and Psalm-book, which he brought up with him.—Letter of T. Stobo Farrow.

Dick, Alexander Hendric, John Miker (a boy), James Pickens, and Mrs. Stobo went up at the same time, and were preserved. Captain Gibson, the commander of this vessel, was among those who were lost, and this was regarded by many in Scotland the retribution of heaven upon him for his cruel conduct towards those poor prisoners whom he transported to this same Carolina in 1684. "In the very same place," says Mr. Borland, the historian of the Darien colony, "it pleased the Sovereign Lord of heaven and earth to call him in so terrible a manner to his account." Mr. Stobo himself, in a letter severely commented on by Sir John Dalrymple, and written to Mr. Borland shortly after this catastrophe, says: "I doubt not but you have heard how narrowly I escaped the judgment that came upon the Rising Sun; I and my wife were scarce well gone from her, when wrath seized upon her; and after our departure the storm came so sudden, that none could find the way to her. It was the Lord's remarkable mercy that we were not consumed in the stroke with the rest. They were such a rude company, that I believe Sodom never declared such impudence in sinning as they; any observant eye might see that they were running the way they went; hell and judgment was to be seen upon them and in them, before the time. You saw them bad, but I saw them worse; their cup was full, they could hold no more; they were ripe, they must be cut down with the sickle of his wrath.—Here I lost my books and all, and have only my life for a prey, with my skin as it were in my teeth."\*

The idea of retributive justice in this life is a doctrine of divine revelation, and runs through all pagan religions. But the book of Job, in the Old Testament, occupies its conspicuous place to teach us caution in inferring peculiar criminality from peculiar misfortunes. And our Saviour's pregnant instructions to the Jewish people were: "Think ye that these men were sinners above all the Galileans, because they suffered these things? I tell you, nay, but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish." Human nature is bad enough in all countries,

\* THE HISTORY OF DARIEN, by the Rev. Mr. Francis Borland, sometime minister of Glassford, and one of the ministers who went along with the last colony to Darien; written mostly in the year 1700, while the author was in the American regions. To which is added, a Letter to his Parishioners.

Quæque ipse miserrima vidi,  
—Hæc olim meminisse juvabit.

Deut. viii. 2, 15, 16.—*Thou shalt remember all the way, which the Lord thy God led thee, thro' the great and terrible wilderness, to humble thee, and to prove thee, and to do thee good at thy latter end.* Glasgow: Printed by JOHN BRYCE, 1779.

and under all circumstances; disappointments and calamities do not improve it, but reveal more glaringly its failings and its depravity, which are smoothed over and hidden in settled and polished society. These Scotch ministers were theoretical believers in the total depravity of the heart of man, but were not prepared to see it in its outward manifestations, and may not have been sufficiently aware that the same nature was shared by themselves, nor been ready enough to exclaim with John Bradford, when he saw a criminal led to execution,—“There goes John Bradford, but for the grace of God.”

Thus ended the Scotch colony at Darien, as disastrously as that of Lord Cardross at Port Royal. The one, however, was the feeble effort of a few persecuted men; the other the vigorous enterprise of the whole nation of Scotland. It cost them 1,000,000 of dollars, and the lives of 2,000 men. The jealousy of the Dutch and English shows its importance and its great results, had it been crowned with success.\* It was the noblest project that had been undertaken since the days of Columbus—the working out of a shorter road for East India commerce, and the establishment of a great commercial colony on the Isthmus of Darien: a project which is revived in this our day, which has been the subject of much negotiation with other powers, of many schemes of canals and railroads, which many of our countrymen are now embarked in, but which the jealousy of England, the imbecility of local governments, and the physical difficulties which the nature of the country presents, have hitherto hindered.

It is interesting in this connection to notice the remarks of Sir John Dalrymple in his Memoirs in reference to our own country:

“If neither Britain singly, nor the maritime parts of England jointly, will treat with Spain for a passage across Darien, it requires no great gift of prophecy to foresee that the period is not very distant when, in order to procure the precious metals at once, without waiting for the slow returns of trade, the States of America, who were able to defy the fleets of England, and the armies of England and Germany, will seize the pass of Darien, and with ease, by violence, from the feeble dominion of Spain. Their next move, or perhaps rather part of the same move, will be to take possession of the Sandwich Islands in the South Seas, discovered by the immortal Captain Cook, where they will find provisions and salt enough, and besides these, swarms

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\* When the news of these disasters arrived, and the harsh treatment which the fugitives received from the hands of the English authorities in the West Indies and at New York was understood, the whole of Scotland was excited almost to frenzy, and nothing was talked of but a war with England, and a declaration that the throne of Scotland was forfeited by the conduct of William of Orange in this matter.

of mariners to sail in their ships. Stationed thus, in the middle, and on the east, and on the west sides of the new western world, the English Americans will form not only the most potent, but the most singular empire that has ever appeared; because it will consist, not in the dominion of a part of the land of the globe, but in the dominion of the whole ocean." \* \* \* "On both sides of their continent, they will, during the wars of the European nations with each other, enjoy, under the sanction of neutral bottoms, the carrying trade of those nations from Europe to the one, and from India to the other side of the New World; and even during peace, they may enjoy the whole Indian trade of Europe, if they choose to exclude other nations from the benefit of the passage; in which event, the East India Companies of Europe will cease to be known, except by the territories which they possess in India. To all nations their empire will be dreadful, because their ships will sail wherever billows roll or winds can waft them; and because their people, capable of subsisting either almost wholly on the produce of the waters, by means of their fisheries, or on the plunder and contributions of mankind, if they choose to do so, will require few of their number to be employed in manufactures or husbandry at home; and therefore, like the ancient Spartans, who defied all the power of Persia, or the roving Normans, who pillaged the sea-coasts of Europe from Jutland to Dalmatia, the occupations of every citizen will lie, not in the common employments of peace, but in the powers of offence or defence alone. Whether they may have arts and letters will be a matter of chance. The Phœnician and Carthaginian rovers had, the present successors of those Carthaginians have them not now, and the northern rovers never had them. But if they shall be blest with arts and letters, they will spread civilization over the universe. If, on the other hand, they shall not be blessed with them, then they will once more plunge it into the same darkness, which nations have thrown upon each other, probably much oftener than history can tell. And when that happens, England, with all her glories and all her liberty, will be known only as a speck in the map of the world, as ancient Egypt, Sicily, Pontus, and Carthage are now. \* \* \* It is however some comfort for those who feel for the cause of human nature, that if the States of America should, from the supineness of rulers and ministers, seize, and make the passage of Darien their exclusive property, the trading nations of the world would combine to wrest it from them. And as the men of this age have seen almost all Europe join, either actively or passively, to rear America into eminence, they may live to see all Europe join to pull her down again. And of all those powers, none (if future history can be judged of by past history) will be so ready to lend a helping hand to the work, as that very one to which she thinks she has lately owed the most."\*

These words were written immediately after the war of the Revolution, and it is interesting to see how far, as a prophecy, these vaticinations have been accomplished. Already our

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\* *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland; from the Dissolution of the last Parliament of Charles II. till the capture of the French and Spanish Fleets, at Vigo.* By Sir John Dalrymple, Bart., Baron of the Exchequer, in Scotland, vol. iii., pp. 150-153. Sir John Dalrymple died in 1810, aged 84. He was born, therefore, in 1737, was a contemporary of these events, and obtained his knowledge of the Darien colony from the original documents of the Scottish African Trading Company, in the Advocate's Library and the Exchequer, Edinburgh. His first volume was published, in quarto, in 1771. The edition here quoted is the London edition of 1790, from the Smyth Library of the Theol. Seminary.

ships vex the most distant seas, and our mercantile marine equals, if it does not surpass that of Britain. We look from California upon the eastern coast of Asia. The Sandwich Islands have sought admission into this Union, but have been repulsed. Private citizens have sought to seize upon the Isthmus, but have been prevented by our government, which is endeavoring to secure a free transit of goods, not for itself, but for all nations. In several important respects, the anticipations are not fulfilled. We are an agricultural and manufacturing people. We have made progress in literature and the arts, and in many things have successfully competed with the nations of Europe. There is a higher destiny yet before us, if we remain a united people. Let us never acquire foreign possessions by force or fraud, so as to give offence to other nations. Let our influence abroad be beneficent and just, and we shall have all the greatness which the Scotch baronet, by the second-sight which he possessed equally with the fabled seers of his nation, has foreseen, without fulfilling his auguries of evil.

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## CHAPTER II.

Mr. STOBO's ministry commenced in Charleston immediately after the disastrous shipwreck which occurred on the night of Sept. 3d, 1700. "He possessed," says Dr. Hewatt, who came into the province sufficiently early to know the estimation in which he was held, "those talents which render a minister conspicuous and respected. To his treasures of knowledge and excellent capacity for instruction, he added uncommon activity and diligence in the discharge of the various duties of his sacred function. No minister of the colony ever engrossed so universally the public favor and esteem." He resigned the pastoral charge of the congregation in Charleston in 1704. The plan of the city of Charleston, drawn by Crisp in 1704, exhibits the site of his residence as in King street, above Queen;\* but whether he continued to reside in the city after he ceased to be pastor of the church, we are not able to say.

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\* See plan in Johnson's Traditions of the Revolution, published in Charleston, 1851, on page 2.

He is represented by Ramsay\* as having founded several churches, particularly at Wilton, Pon-Pon, James Island, and Cainhoy. The date of these several organizations, in the absence of any ecclesiastical records, it is exceedingly difficult to fix. Mr. Stobo was pastor of the church at Wilton in 1728. His name, in his own handwriting, is appended to a formal agreement, drawn up by the Presbyterian worshippers at WILTON BLUFF; and, together with his, are the signatures of *four elders* and *six deacons*. This would imply that there was a Presbyterian church at that time in that place, fully officered and considerable in numbers. It is evident, from the same and other documents, that there was a congregation previously to that date. Indeed, it is contrary to all experience that a church demanding such a corps of officers could be gathered in a day. It implies, unless a most extraordinary effusion of God's Spirit should be enjoyed, either years of labor spent in sowing the seed, or a very large and homogeneous emigration of Christian people from a Christian land at nearly the same time. But Wilton, or New London, was one of the earliest settlements in the low country, and those who resided there were Christian people. They would desire the ordinances of the gospel, and were too far from Charleston to be always there for the worship of God; so that it is most probable that a church organization, more or less complete, existed there soon after Mr. Stobo retired from the pastorate of the Charleston church. A letter written from Charleston, June 1, 1710, six years after that time, says there are "five churches of British Presbyterians." The church of Pon-Pon was not one of these, since it was not organized so early. The church in Charleston being one, and Wilton one, the other three must be selected out of those of Cainhoy, James Island, John's Island, and Edisto. And the two declarations, that of Dr. Ramsay as to the agency of Mr. Stobo, and this of the letter-writer as to the number of Presbyterian churches in the province in 1710, argues much for the rapid growth of Presbyterianism, and for the activity and influence of Mr. Stobo.†

The Rev. William Livingston succeeded Mr. Stobo in Charleston in 1704. Whether he was from Scotland or Ireland is not

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\* History of the Independent Church, Charleston, pp. 12, 13.

† The name Stobo is not unknown among the sufferers of the Church of Scotland. Robert Stobo, of Evandale, was one of eight who were shot on the highway, as they were successively met by the king's soldiers, on their ingenuously declaring that they were coming down to hear sermon.—Wodrow, iii., 105.

known. The name of Livingston has been an honored one in the old country, as well as on these Western shores, from John Livingston, whose first sermon in the kirk of Shotts, June 20, 1630, was blest to the conversion of five hundred persons, down to his great-great-grandson John Henry Livingston, D. D. of the Theological School of New Brunswick, who died in 1825. Mr. Livingston's ministry extended down at least to 1720, and somewhat beyond, and the testimony of tradition is that he was a useful and worthy minister of Christ.\* The church of which Mr. Stobo and Mr. Livingston were pastors, was the only place of worship for Presbyterians or Congregationalists in Charleston during this period, and was remembered in their benefactions.†

Of other Presbyterian or Congregational ministers in the colony, from 1700 to 1710, we have no knowledge. But in one way or another there seems to have been something done in religious instruction. Dr. Le Jeau, who was the second missionary sent out by the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts into South Carolina, "transmitted to the society (in 1706) an account of the state of his parish (of Goose Creek) and other neighboring settlements, wherein he represented very earnestly (with something of the air of superiority of a Church of England minister), that it was the greatest pity imaginable to see how many various opinions had been spread there by a multitude of teachers and expounders of all sorts and persuasions; and yet he could find very few that understood Christianity, even as to the essential parts of it."‡ The people of St. Helens, in Port Royal Island, agreed in 1712 to have a resident minister of the Church of England, and called Mr. Guy, then assistant of Mr. Johnson, rector of Charlestown, and applied to the society, in compassion to their great wants, to allow him a salary. "Though there had been formerly some

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\* See Scottish Biographical Dictionary, Art. Livingston, and American Quarterly Register, vol. xii., Feb., 1840, pp. 217-233. Descendants of Rev. Wm. Livingston of Charleston, by the name of Tunno and Stewart, were living in Charleston and near Dorchester in 1815.

† 1704.—Frances Simonds, widow of Henry Simonds, planter, gave a lot of land, on which the old White Meeting was built, 100 by 130 feet,—agreeable to the designs of her husband, long before his decease. 1707.—Frances Simonds also bequeathed another plot of garden ground adjoining the preceding, and one large silver cup marked H. S.

‡ Humphrey, Hist. Acc. of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, London, 1730. This society was incorporated by William of Orange, June 16th, 1700, in the thirteenth year of his reign,—one of the last public acts of his life.

Anabaptist and Presbyterian teachers here, yet, at his arrival, the people had no teacher of any persuasion, and lived all without using any kind of public divine worship."\*

Of the French Presbyterian church, especially of that on SANTEE, we have some few notices. The earliest European voyager who travelled through the country, and left any account of the people, and especially the native tribes, is John Lawson, afterwards Surveyor-General of North Carolina, who left Charleston on Saturday, December 28th, 1700, in a canoe, and threading the bays and creeks of the coast, entered the mouth of the Santee on the Friday following. Soon after this he encountered a party of the Sewee Indians, who have given their name to Sewee Bay, and whom he represents as having been formerly a large nation, but at that time much diminished in numbers—by the small-pox, by intemperance, and by a disaster at sea, which reduced still more the remnant of this people. Under the mistaken idea that England was not far from the coast, they fitted out a large fleet of canoes, laden with skins and furs for the purpose of traffic, and embarked all their able-bodied men, leaving the old, impotent, and those under age, at home. A part of their fleet was destroyed by a storm, and the remainder taken by an English vessel, which sold them as slaves in the West India islands, (pp. 11, 12). These circumstances illustrate the evils which came to the native tribes from the contact of the whites. In this instance their diseases and vices, and the aspiring imitation of their example, equally tended to their destruction. They show us how near together were the abodes of civilization and barbarism, and how these early settlers were surrounded on all sides by savage neighbors. He next describes the Huguenots on the Santee, among whom he arrives in January, 1702. He considered them as exceedingly prosperous and happy. "Tis admirable," he says, "to see what time and industry will (with God's blessing) effect." "Some of them bringing very little of effects, yet by their endeavors and united assistance among themselves (which is highly commendable), have outstripped our English, who brought with them larger fortunes, though (as it seems) less endeavor to manage their talent to the best advantage." "They live as decently and happily as any planters in these southward parts of America." He commends them for their temperance, industry, and brotherly affection. On the fourth of January he

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\* Humphrey, p. 95.

arrived at the residence of Daniel Huger, the emigrant, above the Wambaw creek, and at the point of its confluence with the southern branch of the Santee: "The first Christian dwelling we met withal in that settlement; and were very courteously received by him and his wife. We lay all night at Mons. Eugee's, and the next morning (Sunday) set out further to go the rest of our voyage by land. At ten o'clock we passed over a narrow, deep swamp (Echaw creek). At noon we came up with several plantations, meeting several creeks by the way. The French were very officious in assisting with their small dodories to pass over these waters (whom we met coming from their church\*), being all of them very clean and decent in their apparel, their houses and plantations suitable in neatness and contrivance. They are all of the same opinion with the church of Geneva, there being no difference among them respecting the punctilios of their Christian faith; which union hath propagated a happy and delightful concord in all other matters throughout the whole neighborhood, living away among themselves as one tribe, or kindred—every one making it his business to be assistant to the wants of his countrymen, preserving his estate and reputation with the same exactness as he does his own, all seeming to share in the misfortunes, and rejoice at the advance and rise of their brethren. Towards the afternoon we came to Mons. L'Jandro ('Philip Gendron's'), where we got our dinner; there coming some French ladies whilst we were there, who were lately come from England, and Mons. L'Grand ('Isaac La Grand'), a worthy Norman, who hath been a great sufferer in his estate by the persecution in France against those of the Protestant religion. The gentleman very kindly invited us to make our stay with him all night, but we being intended further that day, took our leaves, returning acknowledgments of their favors.

"About four in the afternoon, we passed over a large cypress run" (Santee, then called Labardee creek, which is about five miles above the Echaw) "in a small canoe. The French doctor sent his negro to guide us over the head of a large swamp," (which unites with the Fountain creek within a short distance

\* What he called creeks were probably bodies of water occasioned by the great fresh in the river then prevailing. "The French and Indians affirmed to me, they never knew such an extraordinary flood there before." A writer, who, by his acquaintance with the history of the French refugees, we suppose to be Daniel Ravenel, Esq., of Charleston, thinks (Presbyterian, April 20, 1850) from this, that the church built by the earliest colonists was between the Echaw and the Santee creeks, which would be convenient to the scattered inhabitants, and not on the river where Jamestown was located.

from the river, and has been since cultivated). "So we got that night to Mons. Galliar's, the elder," (John Gaillard), "who lives in a very curious-contrived house, built of brick and stone, which is gotten near that place.\* Near here comes in the road from Charlestown, and the rest of the English settlement." He remarks upon the Santee and the swamp over which he was ferried the next day, "which," he says, "the overflowing of the freshes, which then came down, had made a perfect sea of; there running an incredible current in the river." "We intended for Mons. Galliar's, junr.,† but was lost. When we got to the house, the French inhabitants treated us very courteously, wondering at our undertaking such a voyage through a country inhabited by none but savages, and them of so different nations and tongues. After we had refreshed ourselves, we parted from a very kind, loving, and affable people, who wished us a safe and prosperous voyage."

The description which this interesting and earliest traveller through the wilds of Carolina gives of this people, reminds us of the purest days of the church, and the most peaceful pictures which poetry has sketched of social and rural life. Immediately as he left this French settlement, he visited the "Seretees, or Santees" (Zantees), many of whose customs he describes. Thus this settlement then was, and long continued, the most advanced settlement of Europeans towards the interior and northern portions of the province. Pierre Robert continued to be their minister through these first ten years of the eighteenth century. In September, 1705, the lords proprietors ceded to the French inhabitants a tract of land on

\* "Vestiges of the foundation of this house may now be traced. It stood on the eastern margin of Fountain Creek, and about one mile from the river."—Daniel Ravenel, in South. Lit. Gazette of July 28, 1852, to whom I am indebted for the local explanations interspersed in this extract from Lawson.

† "The Huguenot refugees of this name, who emigrated to South Carolina, formed several distinct families—*Pierre Gaillard*, from Cherneux, Poitou, the ancestor of the several families bearing that patronymic in South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi; *Joachim Gaillard*, from Montpellier, Languedoc; *Jean, Barthelemi*, and *Pierre Gaillard* (brothers), &c.; *Pierre* and *Richard Gaillard*, who resided and probably died in Charlestown. The name *Gaillard* is enrolled among the persecuted Albigenes in the thirteenth century (Sismondi). In the year 1616, a Huguenot of that name was broken on the wheel at Bordenaux, (Browning). In 1659, *M. Gaillard*, a priest and minister in Montauban, was banished from the kingdom by Louis XIV., and died a professor of theology in the University of Leyden, (*Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, &c). Refugees of the same name settled at Spital Fields soon after the Revocation, (Burns); and very recently a "priest *Gaillard*, who had abjured the Popish faith, mysteriously disappeared under circumstances which impressed upon the public mind the conviction of his having been assassinated, or immured in a dungeon by the papists."—Presbyterian, June 15, 1850.

the Santee for a town, or a plantation in common, as they should prefer. In January following, a town was laid out, with streets intersecting at right angles, in the middle of which a lot was appropriated for a church and cemetery. This town was settled and inhabited for a term of years, of what duration we are not informed. There is in existence a receipt signed by Philip Gendron, an elder (Ancien de l'Église François de Jamestown sur la Rivière de Santy en Caroline) of the French church of Jamestown, upon the Santee river, in Carolina, acknowledging the payment of £9 15s. 11½d., by René Ravelnel, another elder (aussi Ancien de la dite Église) in said church, and the delivery of the registers and papers of said church, to which is attached the date, Nov. 8, 1708.\* Pierre Gaillard also bequeathed, by his will dated in 1710, £5 to the French church in Jamestown. Through this period, then, the French Huguenot church on the Santee retained its own distinct organization, under its own pastor, Pierre Robert, notwithstanding the efforts made to conform it to the church then established by law. "Thursday, August 17th, 1704, Pierre Robert, minister of the holy gospel at Santee, married Margaret Huger to Elias Horry," and "January 25th, 1709-10, Daniel Huger was married to Elizabeth Gendron, by Mr. Pierre Robert, minister of the holy gospel."†

The Huguenot church in ORANGE QUARTER continued to be served by the pastor, the Rev. Mr. de la Pierre. The first Episcopal church out of Charleston, as has been already mentioned, was built on Pompion Hill, a Bluff on the eastern branch of Cooper river, in what is now the parish of St. Thomas and St. Denis, in 1703. When the parish church was completed, in 1709, this became a *chapel of ease*, of which the Rev. Mr. Hasell was pastor. The French still adhered to their own church and worshipped agreeably to its ancient model, unseduced by the English ritual.

The same is true of the Huguenots on the WESTERN BRANCH OF COOPER RIVER. They adhered to their own worship through the lifetime of their own minister, M. Trouillart. "A good number of churchmen had settled there," says Dr. Humphrey, "but they had no house of worship till 1711. The Rev. Robert Maule, a missionary from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, arrived in Charleston in 1707, and was appointed to the parish of St. John's, which included this

\* It includes an acquittance—"dont je le decharge au nom de la Assemblée, fait a Santy ce 8 Nov., 1708."

† Records of the Huger family.

settlement of the French. By the courtesy of the French pastor, M. Trouillart, Mr. Maule frequently performed service in his church; at other times in the houses of the planters in the different neighborhoods. Few of the French attended the service of the English church, partly for want of the language."\*

Meanwhile in their native France, the Huguenots were again involved in suffering. After the peace of Ryswick, 1697, Louis renewed his project of compelling his subjects to a unity of faith. He was amazed to find that, though their pastors had been driven into exile, their churches levelled to the ground, and their assemblies for worship prohibited under penalty of death, their faith yet flourished in its pristine vigor. In proportion as their regular clergy had been removed, others arose among the peasantry, of rustic manners but of strong minds, to take their places and become leaders of the flock, whether in religious worship, or in those defensive, sometimes retaliative, measures, which the cruelties of their persecutors provoked. From the time Basville was made Intendent of Languedoc, and the Abbé du Chaila Inspector of Missions, these cruelties became more systematic and continued. Whenever the tortures of the abbé failed of effecting abjuration or the revelation of the hiding-places of other victims, the sufferers were thrown into narrow cells (*ceps*), where the impossibility of moving caused new and terrible torments. In 1702, a party of fugitives were overtaken by him at Pont de Mont-Vert on their way to Geneva, and placed in the *ceps* to await judgment. Great efforts were made with the abbé in behalf of several young ladies who were travelling in the party in male attire for their greater security. But he was inexorable, and threatened the guide, Massip, with certain execution. An appeal was made in their behalf to a Huguenot assembly, who after prayer, marched with such arms as they could command—swords, halberts, and scythes—to their rescue. They entered the place at nightfall, chanting a psalm, and surrounded the house where Du Chaila was lodged and demanded the liberation of his captives. Their demand was answered by a volley from his soldiers, and one of the party fell. The house was then forced, and while some were engaged in freeing the prisoners, others sought the abbé and called upon him to sur-

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\* Humphrey, Soc. for Prop. the Gospel, pp. 89, 105.

render. The answer was another discharge of musketry. The enraged assailants then set fire to the house, and the abbé escaped from the window, but broke his leg by the fall. Being discovered, in the light of the conflagration, he was reproached with his cruelty, and abjectly begged for his life. He was instantly pierced with near fifty wounds, each blow being accompanied with words like these: "This is for your violence to my father." "This for sending my brother to the galleys," &c. This proceeding gave rise to the war of the *Camisards*.\* The perpetrators of these deeds then retired to the forests, and decided to defend themselves to the utmost. Seguier, one of their leaders, being taken, was burned alive. Others arose: Laporte, Castanet, and Roland each had their band of heroes. The first of these men was regarded as their commander-in-chief, and after he was cut off, Jean Cavalier, a native of Ribaute, a man in humble life, though but twenty-one years of age, became their leader. He is described as a man rustic in appearance, diminutive in stature, and ungainly; but a man of remarkable vigor, and of great natural fluency and intellectual endowments. He held religious assemblies, and whenever their little army was present he afforded protection to their worship. It was immediately resumed, and baptism and the Lord's supper administered, and marriages celebrated in all their towns. The greatest harmony prevailed among them, oaths and obscenity were unknown, they held their goods, as it were, in common, and addressed their chief as *brother*. Their enemies have insinuated that there was debauchery in their camps, and have adduced the presence of women among the slain in proof. But these were their wives and daughters, who carried them food, and were their means of communication with their friends in the towns. These could only be safe with

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\* There have been many speculations as to the origin of this name. The most probable, says Browning, is that it is a corruption of *Camisade*, a nocturnal attack. Some attribute it to a succor sent, during the wars of Louis XIII., to Montauban by the Duke of Rohan, in which the mountaineers, to distinguish each other, wore their shirts on the outside. Cavalier, one of the leaders, who published a History of the Wars of the Cévennes, says: "It was then that the name of the *Camisards* got its beginning or revived itself; and the reason was, our men commonly carried but two shirts, one on their backs, the other in their knapsacks; so that when they would pass by their friends, they would leave the dirty and take the clean in lieu thereof, not having time to spare to wash their linen. But having disarmed the citizens, they took clean linen from them and left the dirty."—*Memoirs of the Wars of the Cévennes*, translation, Dublin, 1728, p. 157. Another probable reason was that they ordinarily appeared in the smock-frock of the peasantry, the *chemise* provincially *camise*.

their husbands and brothers, and shared in all the hardships of this dreadful war. One of their chief resorts was Calignon, in the centre of the Vaunage, which before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes counted no less than thirty churches, and was known to them as *La Petite Canaan*. The punishments inflicted upon these poor people, who were convicted before the tribunals, were terrible. They were first broken upon the wheel, and then thrown, yet alive, into fires kindled at the foot of the scaffold. At Nismes, at Alais, and at St. Hypolite, the gibbets and scaffolds were always standing, and the executioner within call.

The Camisards were nerved not only by desperate courage, but with religious fervor, and the impetuosity with which they hurled themselves upon their foes was often irresistible. In January, 1703, the Count de Broglie overtook them at Val de Bane. Cavalier was absent, and the command devolved on Ravanel. About two hundred only were present. The approach of the troops did not move the resolute band, who continued singing the sixty-eighth psalm of their version,

Que Dieu se montre seulement,  
Et l'on verra dans le moment  
Abandonne la place ;  
Le camp des ennemis épars,  
Epouvanté de toutes partes,  
Fuira devant sa face, &c.

They received the first volley with one knee on the ground, and then replied with such effect that their enemy retreated. A youth struck Poul, the officer who led the attack, from his horse with a stone, killed him with his own sword, and, mounting the horse of the slain officer, joined in the pursuit. On another occasion, Nov. 13, 1703, Cavalier de Ribaute was surprised, at Nages, by the Count de Fimarcon. They had time, however, to retire to an eminence before they were attacked. About thirty women, who had carried provisions to their husbands and brothers, were with them when the alarm was given. A girl of seventeen, Lucrèce Guignon, stimulated her friends by her example. Shouting, "The sword of the Lord and Gideon!" she rushed with her companions on the foe, disarmed a wounded dragoon, and joined in the pursuit of the flying soldiers. Cavalier himself was nearly taken in the onset. He had gone to reconnoitre, and was intercepted by a cornet and two dragoons. He was within pistol-shot ere he perceived his danger, and the cornet, calling him by name, offered him quarter.

He shot him immediately through the head with his musket. The dragoons advanced upon him. He awaited them with a pistol in either hand : each carried true, and Cavalier joined his companions drawn up in order of battle. After this gallant defence and victory, he proceeded to Clarensac, where he remained three hours, preached a sermon, and rendered defenceless the walls of the town. One of Fimarcon's officers, Laborde, was defeated by him at Rogues des Aubais. Laborde had divided his dragoons into two bodies, to surround the Camisards. Cavalier did the same. The dragoons galloped down, sure of victory. They were met by a discharge of stones from slings from a band of sixty new recruits, who had no better arms. By this they were thrown into confusion. The main body of the insurgents, rushing forward, completed the defeat, and twenty-five dragoons lay dead on the field of battle. At length Cavalier made terms with the Marshal Villars, and, at the time of his death, was a general in the British army. But Roland, Ravanel, Castanet, and Catinat kept up the conflict. Roland was betrayed and slain ; Castanet died upon the wheel ; Ravanel and Catinat were put to the torture to induce them to make disclosures, and were burned alive.\* These were times of new suffering to the oppressed church of France, but whether they added materially to the French population of this colony we are not apprised, though the French population was still increased by individual emigrants from time to time.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### ADVANTAGES OF THE EPISCOPALIANS.

THE Episcopal church was greatly aided by two causes during the first ten years of the eighteenth century. One was the assistance furnished it by the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Mr. Samuel Thomas, their first missionary, came into the colony in June, 1702, as a missionary to the Yamasee Indians, but by the advice of the governor settled at Goose Creek. He died in 1706, and was succeeded by Dr.

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\* Nap. Peyrat, *Hist. des Pasteurs du Desert*, Paris, 1842 ; Charles Coquerel, *Hist. des Eglises du Desert*, Paris, 1841.

Le Jeau, also sent out by the society. Mr. Maule was sent out to St. John's parish in 1707. It is evident from his report to the society that the Independents and Anabaptists were there before him. He preached, as we have seen, in the French church, which their minister, M. Trouillard, kindly offered him. Mr. Hasell was sent to the parish of St. Thomas in 1709. Mr. Dunn was sent as the society's missionary to St. Paul's, in Colleton, in 1705, and a small church erected in 1708. He was succeeded by Mr. Mateland in 1708. Rev. Mr. Wood was sent to St. Andrew's, thirteen miles from Charleston, on the south side of Ashley river, in 1707, but soon died. Rev. Gideon Johnston was sent as missionary to St. Philip's, in Charleston, in 1707, and Mr. Dennis appointed schoolmaster at Goose Creek in 1710. These great and signal advantages were enjoyed by the Episcopal church through the labors of this society, and that church is more indebted to it for its early clergy than to any other source.

The second advantage the Episcopal church obtained was its establishment by law as the religion of the State. There were several circumstances which concurred to accomplish it. The proprietors were almost all Episcopalians, and were using their efforts to give their own church the ascendancy over all others. The original constitutions, which were sent out with Governor Sayle, ordained nothing in favor of Episcopacy. And, as we have before seen, the new constitutions had not been accepted by the colonial parliament. The maintenance which was voted to the Episcopal minister of St. Philip's, under Governor Blake, was not designed to be construed as a general church establishment. On the death of Governor Blake, Joseph Morton, a landgrave, was elected by the Grand Council, but was displaced by an ambitious man, James Moore, who scrupled little by what arts he obtained power. Meanwhile, William of Orange, the Presbyterian king of England, who, while he maintained the Established Church, treated those of his own early church with great moderation and kindness, died March 8th, 1702, and Anne, second daughter of James II., succeeded to the throne. William of Orange, though not without his imperfections, was possessed of virtues which are rare in the palaces of kings; among them, integrity, moderation, magnanimity, simplicity, firmness, and undaunted courage were conspicuous. He presided over the Dutch Republic with energy and wisdom, and skilfully guided his course in circumstances of great difficulty on the English throne. He desired sincerely the union of all Protestants, but the most that could

be gained was an act of toleration—"An Act to *permit* Almighty God to receive the worship of his creatures according to His own Word." (Brooks, *Rel. Liberty*, ii.) The king left the matters of the church much in the queen's hands, who, though the daughter of James II., was a woman of rare excellence, and a sincere disciple of Christ.

Anne was a woman of amiable disposition, and was generally known among her people as "The good Queen Anne." Her reign was one of great prosperity and glory, by the merit and great abilities of her statesmen and commanders, and by the abilities and refinement of scholars and philosophers. Locke, Newton, Flamstead, Addison, Clarke, Steele, Arbuthnot, Halley, Bentley, and others, contributed to render this period, what it has often been termed, "The Augustan Age of Great Britain."

Anne had more of the spirit of the House of Stuart than her sister Mary. She had the same high notions of prerogative which had been entertained by her fathers. She was the dupe of the violent among the clergy. The cry was raised of "The Church in danger," and efforts were again made to abridge the privileges of those who dissented from the church as established. Now the names "High Church" and "Low Church" began to be bandied to and fro. Under the countenance of the queen, bigotry and High Church illiberality increased: the universities, especially Oxford, lent their influence to increase it, and a large share of the established clergy were men of little principle, imperious and ill-tempered, at least to those who differed with them in religion. About the same time Lord Granville was made palatine of the province, and Sir Nathaniel Johnson was appointed its governor. James Moore was attorney-general, Nicholas Trott chief-justice, and Job Howes surveyor-general. The palatine, Lord Granville, was a bigoted churchman, and held all dissenters in great contempt. He had already vehemently supported in the English parliament a bill to impose a severe penalty on all officers of government who should enter a dissenting chapel. Johnson, the governor, was a non-juror and a zealous prelatist, and Moore and Trott were ready to sustain him. Everything being carefully and skilfully prepared, a bill was introduced in the Commons House of Assembly requiring all persons hereafter chosen to the Commons House to conform to the Church of England, and to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper according to the rites of the said church. It passed the House by a majority of one, some Episcopalians voting against it.

Thomas Jones, John Beamer, Laurence Denner, William Edwards, John Stanyarne, Charles Colleton, and James Cochran entered their dissent. In the council, Landgrave Joseph Morton asked leave to record his protest, and leave was refused him. An act was also passed against blasphemy and profaneness, by which, whoever should speak against the Trinity or the divine authority of the Scriptures was to be deprived of holding office; and if a second time convicted, was disabled from giving suit in a court of law, or being guardian, administrator, and executor, and in default of bail was to suffer imprisonment for three years. This was intended to cast reproach upon dissenters, as if they were skeptics and blasphemers, and to arrogate to the ruling party a supreme regard for the interests of religion. In reference to this, the second Landgrave Thomas Smith, wrote, "I send you a copy of their act against blasphemy and profaneness, which they always make a great noise about, although they are some of the most profanest in the country themselves." For these words Mr. Smith was taken into the custody of the messenger of the House. And in reference to the religious character of these gentlemen, Mr. Marston, the rector of St. Philip's, says, "that many members of the Commons House that passed this law are constant absentees from the church, and eleven of them were never known to receive the Lord's supper," though he had administered it in his church at least six times a year. On November 4th, 1704, an act for establishing the Church of England was passed, which divided the several counties into six parishes; enacted that six churches should be built, with parsonages, and glebes; that bricks, lime, and other materials, carpenters, joiners, and other workmen and laborers, and slaves, should be pressed into the service of the supervisors of buildings; and it appointed twenty lay commissioners, with full powers to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to deprive ministers of their livings at pleasure.

This act gave great displeasure to the dissenters, who were deprived by it of a seat in the Assembly, and disqualified for holding office. It was a violation too of the eighteenth article of the Royal Charter granting liberty of conscience. Many churchmen disapproved of it, especially that feature of it appointing lay commissioners, as an invasion of episcopal jurisdiction, the colonies being a part of the diocese of the Bishop of London, and governed by commissaries,—officers appointed by the bishop to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction in a particular part of his diocese where he cannot attend in person.

This court the Carolinians took to be a Court of High Commission like that of James II., and regarded it with abhorrence. But the governor, intent on his purpose, would listen to no remonstrance. Rev. Mr. Marston, who succeeded Mr. Marshall as rector of St. Philip's, spoke against the proceedings of the House with unmeasured severity, "comparing them to Korah and his rebellious company," accusing them of proceeding maliciously against him for visiting Thomas Smith, the dissenter, while under the custody of their messenger: for this reason he was summoned to the bar of the House and deprived of his salary, £150, till his better behavior. Mr. Marston continued his spirited and imprudent opposition to these measures and their abettors, and in 1705 was arraigned before the Board of Lay Commissioners and deprived of his living. Of these twenty commissioners, at the head of whom was Governor Johnson, Mr. Marston, in a letter to Dean Stanhope, says, "eleven of the twenty were never known to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper." *Their* zeal, therefore, could not be prompted by any love of true religion, or by any regard to Christ the Saviour, as Lord and head of the church. It merely arose from political considerations, and from a desire to propitiate the proprietary government, and win the approbation of the authorities at home. One of Mr. Marston's objections to the whole proceedings of the Assembly, he thus expresses: "I cannot think it will be much for the credit and service of the Church of England here, that such provisions should be made for admitting the most loose and profligate persons to sit and vote in the making of our laws, who will but take the oath appointed by the late act." \*

The inhabitants of Colleton county, which was settled chiefly by dissenters, met and drew up a statement of their grievances, and Col. Joseph Morton and Edmund Bellinger, land-graves and deputies of the proprietors, with all the other members of Colleton, and several of great respectability in Berkley, prevailed on Joseph Ash, one of the most zealous in the opposition, to embark for England as agent of the aggrieved party, which embraced fully two-thirds of the colony. The governor and his friends did their utmost to prevent his obtaining his passage in any vessel from Carolina, and it was not without difficulty that he reached Virginia, whither his instructions were sent to him.†

Rev. Archibald Stobo, the Presbyterian minister of Charles-

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\* Dalcho, p. 63.

† Oldmixon, Hewatt, Rivers.

ton, warmly opposed this establishment from the beginning, and brought to the view of the colonists those severities and hardships the dissenters in England had suffered from the rigors of Episcopal government. "Several circumstances proved favorable to Stobo's opposition; he possessed those talents which render a minister conspicuous and respected, and the people that party zeal which becomes violent from ill usage and persecution." "He had a natural aversion from the Episcopal jurisdiction, and no minister of the colony had engrossed so universally the public favor and esteem. The governor and his adherents found it necessary to sow the seeds of division among his followers, and, from maxims of policy, to magnify his failings, in order to ruin his great power and influence."\* Mr. Ash, on his arrival in England, sought Lord Granville, but found him in the interests of the dominant party at home; he only promised that he would cause his secretary to write to the governor, and require of him an answer to the charges preferred. Mr. Ash immediately began to draw up a representation of the case which he intended for the press, but dying before it was finished, his papers fell into the hands of his enemies, and among them the letters of Landgrave Smith, sent to Ash while in Virginia and England, to which reference has before been made, and which rendered Mr. Smith the object of censure and imprisonment. Mr. Ash, under the excite-

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\* Hewatt, vol. i., p. 178. London, 1779. What the failings of Mr. Stobo were, we are not informed. We judge him to have been a man of most decided character, uncompromising in his assertion of what he believed to be right, and in his denunciation of what he knew to be wrong. In a subsequent page, we shall see that he was too earnest an adherent of Presbyterian government to please all parties in the church at Charleston. It will be remembered, too, what charges were brought against the Scotch ministers by the "scape-graces" of the colony of Darien, for their protracted services. The following anecdote is repeated by Mrs. Flud, in her MS. history of the Legaré Family, of a scene in church between the first emigrant, Solomon Legaré, and Mr. Stobo. "Mr. Legaré was strict in the observance of regular hours, and to his great annoyance, the Rev. Mr. Stobo, who preached at one time in the Congregational church, gave sermons of such unusual length that they often interfered with the dinner hour. At length Mr. Legaré was determined to submit no longer to such irregularity; and the next Sabbath he got up, with his family, in the midst of the discourse, and was about to leave the church, when the Rev. Scotch gentleman perceiving his intention, called out from the pulpit: 'Aye, aye, a little pitcher is soon full!' Upon which irreverent address, the Huguenot's French blood became excited, and turning himself about in the middle of the aisle, he still more irreverently, and not altogether to his credit, retorted, 'And you are an old fool!' He then quietly went home with his family, ate his dinner, returned with them to the church, and then listened to the balance of the discourse as gravely as if nothing unusual had occurred."

ment of his feelings, undoubtedly carried his charges against Gov. Johnson too far: and yet Archdale says, "Sir Nathaniel Johnson, by a chymical wit, zeal, and art, transmuted and turned this civil difference (about the expedition against St. Augustine) into a religious controversy; and so setting up a standard for those called High Church, ventured to exclude all the dissenters out of the assembly, as being those principally that were for a strict examination into the grounds and causes of the miscarriage of the *Augustine* expedition."\*

The dissenters were now greatly discouraged, and those of British origin were filled with apprehensions lest they should be involved in Carolina in the same troubles which made them leave their native country. Their counsels were various. Some were for removing to Pennsylvania, others were for addressing the House of Lords to consider their grievances and intercede with her majesty. The last measure prevailed. Joseph Boone was sent over as their agent, bearing with him their memorial to the House of Lords. The principal merchants in London, trading to Carolina, united with Mr. Boone also in a petition to the proprietors to repeal the obnoxious act. He solicited the palatine for seven long weeks before he could induce him to call the board together; and when it was done, and their cause warmly espoused, and with the most solid reasons, by Mr. Archdale, the palatine curtly answered, "Sir, you are of one opinion, and I am of another; our lives may not be long enough to end the controversy. I am for this bill, and this is the party that I will head and countenance." Mr. Boone desired to be heard by counsel. The palatine replied, "What business has counsel here? It is a prudential act in me; and I will do as I see fit. I see no harm in this bill; and I am resolved to pass it." The petition fared otherwise, however, in the House of Lords. They declared the act "contrary to the charter, not consonant to reason, contrary to the laws of the realm, and destructive to the constitution of the Church of England, an encouragement to atheism and irreligion, destructive to trade, and tending to the depopulation and ruin of the province."† They also petitioned the queen, to "deliver the province from the arbitrary oppressions under which it now lies." To this the queen gave a favorable answer. The subject was referred to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. They consulted the crown-lawyers,

\* Archdale's Description of South Carolina, in Caroll, ii., 110.

† See the Resolutions in Dalcho, p. 66, and Hewatt, i., 174.

who declared that the laws ought to be made void. On the 24th of May, 1706, the lords commissioners reported to the queen, that the lords proprietors had forfeited their charter, and recommended that it be annulled by legal process. On the 10th of June, the queen declared the enactments of the colonial assembly null and void. There had also been passed an order in council, that the queen's attorney and solicitor should inquire what course was to be pursued for recalling the charter. The Society for Propagating the Gospel also resolved to send no more missionaries to Carolina until the 16th section, about lay commissioners, be repealed.

Meanwhile, several of the colonists, who had heard nothing of the manner in which these oppressive acts were regarded in England, left the country and removed to Pennsylvania. It did, however, occur that the House of Assembly, at a meeting subsequent to that which passed the act excluding dissenters, voted its repeal, which shows on which side the true majority was, and that the former vote had been carried by management and trickery; but this vote was rejected by the governor and council. The law remained in force, the assembly was dissolved by the governor, and a new one was elected under this law. Some refused to qualify, and the next on the sheriff's lists were summoned to their seats. Thus a Commons House was secured favorable to the establishment of Episcopacy, who passed a law for continuing themselves in authority for two years, and for eighteen months after the change of government either by the present governor's death or removal, alleging as a reason their fear that by the succession of a new governor the church [of England] may be either undermined or wholly subverted. When the manner in which their acts were received in the mother country was known, the objectionable acts were repealed, and the church act (Statutes, vol. ii., p. 282) was passed, which was the law of the colony till the American Revolution. Lord Granville died at the close of 1707, and William Lord Craven was made palatine,—a man of milder temper and greater moderation than his predecessor, and more tolerant towards the religious opinions of others. Everything, however, seemed to favor the Episcopal church and discourage dissenters. The Society for the Propagation of Religion in Foreign Parts, to which at its origin some dissenters had contributed, was under Episcopal rule, and though professing to advance the gospel, by providing clergymen for the whites, and instruction for the Indians and slaves, the churches not in the Establishment found that it did not contribute to their

upbuilding. The public library, which was established by the munificence of the proprietors, of Dr. Bray, the Bishop of London's commissary in Maryland, and the inhabitants, was placed also under the care of the incumbent of the Church of England in Charleston,\* and, as was natural to expect, while it was kept in existence, by the books which it circulated it aided the church of the Establishment rather than those opposed to it. Indeed, the close of the first decade of the eighteenth century marked an era in which high-church illiberality witnessed a new revival, and the turbulence of its waves was felt even on these shores of the New World.

Oldmixon, in his History of the British Empire, published in 1708, states the population of Charleston at 3,000 souls, of Dorchester at 350; Wilton, or New London, he describes as a little town of about eighty houses.

In the same year a statement was made, signed by Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Thomas Broughton, Robert Gibbes, George Smith, and Richard Beresford, in which the population of the entire province was said to be 9,580 souls, of which the proportions were as follows: Free men, 1,360; free women, 900; white servant men, 60; white servant women, 60; white free children, 1,700; negro slaves, men, 1,800; negro slaves, women, 1,100; Indian slaves, men, 500; Indian slaves, women, 600; negro slave children, 1,200; Indian slave children, 300.

A letter from South Carolina, dated Charlestown, June 1, 1710, and reprinted in 1732, makes the following comparative statements:—p. 43. "It is not necessary to insert the exact numbers of the several inhabitants; but the proportion they bear to one another, and each to the whole, are as follows:

Whites,	{	Planters, as	$8\frac{1}{2}$	}	to 12;
		Traders,	$1\frac{1}{2}$		
		Artisans,	2		
All the whites,	}		12	}	to 100."
Indian subjects,		to the whole, as	66		
Negro slaves,			22		

P. 45. "There are eight ministers of the *Church of England*, three *French Protestant* congregations, where two of their ministers were lately proselyted to the church, five of British Presbyterians, one of Anabaptists, and a small one of Quakers. The ministers of the *Church of England* have each £100 per

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\* November, 1700.

*annum*, paid out of the public treasury, besides contributions and perquisites from their parishioners: The other ministers are maintained by voluntary subscriptions. The proportions that the several parties in religion do bear to the whole, and to each other, are at present as follows :

Episcopalians,	} to the whole as	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	} to 10."
Presbyterians, including those French who retain their own discipline,		4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Anabaptists,		1	
Quakers,		0 $\frac{1}{4}$	

*The city of Charleston was but of limited extent.*—There were but a few scattered houses beyond the line of fortification, each within a small enclosure. The spaces between were grown up in "young pyne, bushes, shrubs, and the Jamestown weed." The manners of the town were simple, and, except the wide street "out of Charlestown, for three or four miles, called the Broadway," which "is so delightful a road, and walk of a great breadth, so pleasantly green, that no prince in Europe, by all their art, can make so pleasant a sight," and which was indebted to nature more than to art—everything was exceedingly rural. The landgrave Smith's account of the manners of the people were, that "the young girls received their beaus at three o'clock, having dined at twelve, expecting them to withdraw about six o'clock, as many families retired to bed at seven in the winter, and seldom extended their sitting in summer beyond eight o'clock, some of their fathers having learned to obey the curfew toll in England. In those days, one hundred and fifty years ago, their rooms were all uncarpeted, the rough sides of the apartments remained of the natural color or complexion of whatever wood the house chanced to be built of. Rush-bottomed chairs were furnished instead of the hair seating or crimson velvet of our day, and without which, and a handsome sofa to match, many do not think it would be possible to exist."—*The Olden Time of Carolina; Charleston, 1855.*

## BOOK FIFTH.

A. D. 1710-1720.

## CHAPTER I.

HISTORY furnishes us with very few incidents appertaining to the ecclesiastical history of the second decade of the eighteenth century. Mr. Livingston continued to preach to the CHURCH IN CHARLESTON, and Mr. Stobo was exercising his ministerial gifts wherever his labors were most needed in the colony. Perhaps he had already taken up his residence at Wilton. Wherever his family were located, there can be no doubt of his faithfulness in his vocation, of his perseverance and energy. The Presbyterian church had as yet attained but a limited development in the British colonies. The presbytery of Philadelphia, the earliest of our ecclesiastical bodies, had but about eight members at the beginning of this period. When they divided themselves into three presbyteries, to form the synod of Philadelphia, in 1716, their whole number had reached seventeen; and at the close of this period (1720) the entire number was twenty-seven. The reason of the slow growth of the Presbyterian church in this earliest period has been found in the quiet and peace they enjoyed at home for a length of time after the accession of William of Orange. The French and English persecutions began earlier, continued longer, and drove them forth into other countries, while those of Scotland and Ireland were soon over.

The FRENCH PROTESTANT CHURCH IN CHARLESTON cannot be very distinctly traced through this decade. Dr. Ramsay says the Rev. Mr. Boisseau was minister in 1712. How long before or how long after that year he served this church we do not know.

On the 14th of February, 1714-15, an act was passed "Impowering Charles Franhome and Samuel Peronneau, elders of the French church in Charlestown, or their successors, elders of the s<sup>d</sup> church for the time being, to sell and alien a certain tract of land in Berkley county, devised to the poor of

said church by Mary Longuemere, alias *Aunant*, to and for the use, &c., of the persons aforesaid.”\*

The FRENCH CHURCH AT JAMESTOWN ON THE SANTEE still enjoyed the labors of Pierre Robert; and our Huguenot brethren, about this time, received an accession to their ministers in Rev. Claude Philippe de Richebourg, who removed from Trent river, in North Carolina, to Jamestown, on the Santee, in 1712. He was pastor of the colony of French refugees, driven forth from their country by the edict of Revocation, whom King William had sent to Virginia in 1690, and who were settled at Manakin Town, which occupied a fertile tract of land on James river, about twenty miles above Richmond. They were joined in 1699 by three hundred, and in 1700 by two hundred, and subsequently by one hundred more.† The provincial legislature of Virginia constituted this settlement a parish under the name of “King William’s parish in the county of Henrico.” Dissensions arose among them, and in 1708 the great body of them removed to Trent river, in North Carolina. From this settlement they were driven by a rising of the Tuscarora and Coree Indians, and a general massacre of the whites in their neighborhood,‡ and Richebourg, and probably others, found their way to the province of South Carolina.

“The character which has been transmitted to us of this persecuted minister of the gospel, exhibits as its peculiar trait a devotedness to the cause of Christ. He appears to have been a man of unobtrusive manners, of deep and fervent piety, and of a serious temper of mind. Adversities and poverty seem to have been his portion in the lot of life.” “He seems to have lived, after his removal to South Carolina, for two or three years without a spiritual charge, and without any pecu-

\* Presbyterian, Feb. 23d, 1850.

† We may suppose that a large portion of these transportations consisted of Huguenots who accompanied William from Holland. Eight hundred of them, history informs us, were in his army. They formed an entire regiment, under the command of the Duke of Schomberg, in the battle of the Boyne, in 1690. In the decisive battle of Aghrim, in the following year, these auxiliaries, commanded by Ruvigny, (Earl of Galway), contributed by their gallantry to the victory obtained over the French and Irish Papal army under the command of St. Ruth.

‡ This massacre took place on the 11th of September, 1711. One hundred and eleven persons, principally on the Roanoke and Chowan, were victims, and many died under lingering tortures. Lawson, Surveyor-General of N. C., and its earliest historian, was taken prisoner while exploring the Neuse river, and murdered by the savages—January 15th, 1718-19. Presbyterian, April 20th, 1850.

niary resources for the maintenance of his family; and, we are informed by Humphrey, contemplated a removal out of the colony, 'on account of his great want.'"

The infirmities of age creeping upon him, Pierre Robert resigned his charge, and Richebourg was called by the congregation to succeed him in 1715. He continued in the pastorate "until his death, in 1718-19. His will\* (the original manuscript in the French language) is still preserved in the public office in Charleston, and breathes the true spirit of the Christian, resigned under the dispensations of Providence, steadfast in the faith, and triumphant at his approaching death. His wife, Anne Chastain, and six children, survived him. Some of his descendants, who are not numerous, have attained to wealth; and no instance is known of any of them having been destitute of the comforts of life.

"Some misstatements have been made by writers of historical sketches of the Huguenots, in reference to Richebourg, which the private and public records have corrected. He was not the *first minister* of the Huguenot church on the Santee, as stated by some, nor was he ever its *rector*, as conjectured by others."

We quote from the Presbyterian, published at Philadelphia, (April 20th, 1850), in which the writer is at issue with Dr. Humphrey, secretary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and from Dr. Dalcho, in a number of particulars. "The parish of St. James, Santee," says Dr. Humphrey, "consists chiefly of French refugees, conforming to the Church of England. It contains upwards of one hundred French families, and sixty English, besides free Indians and negro slaves. Their minister hath only the salary of the country, and some occasional gratuities, the whole making but a very scanty support. The Rev. Mr. *Philip de Richebourg* was their first minister, and approved himself in all respects a worthy man; upon his dying, in 1717, the parish was a long time without a minister. In 1720 the Rev. Mr. *Pouderous*, a French clergyman, went over, and was fixed there by the Bishop of London; but neither he nor Mr. *Richebourg* had any constant salary from the society, though they have had several occasional gratuities. The people are religious and

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\* Dated "Quinzième jour de Janvier, l'an mill sept cens dix-huit dix-neuf," (January 15th, 1718-19.) He probably died soon after its execution. Dr. Humphrey states that he died in 1717. The exact period of his death is not known.

industrious, and very soon, in the year 1706, petitioned the Governor and General Assembly to have their settlement erected into a parish, and signified their being extream desirous of being united to the body of the Church of England, whose doctrines and discipline they did most highly esteem; and the Governor and Assembly did pass an act that year, erecting their settlement into a parish, fixing the parochial church at *Jamestown*, and setting forth its boundaries, which contained about eighteen miles in compass, but by a subsequent act they have been much enlarged: The Rev. Mr. *Pouderous* continues now (1730) their minister, very industrious in his function.\*

The first act of the Assembly constituting this a parish bears date April 9, 1706, the celebrated Church Act, before alluded to, Nov. 30, 1706.† The bounds of the parish were enlarged Dec. 18, 1708. On petition of the vestry, £100 was appropriated out of the public treasury, June 3, 1712, "towards purchasing the plantation of Alexander Chastaigner, and the houses thereon standing, for a glebe, parsonage-house, and church.‡

Against several of these declarations, the writer in "The Presbyterian" contends that not Mr. Richebourg, but *Pierre Robert*, was their first pastor, and that the Huguenots of the Santee were not united with the Episcopal church in 1706, and that the History of Humphrey is "an *ex parte* work, got up to advance the interests of the Episcopal church; that it is replete with inaccuracies and misstatements in every part which his subject required him to compare with original and authentic documents." "The preamble" of the Act of April 9, 1706, "declares the law enacted in compliance with a petition from the inhabitants of that settlement; and for the promotion of *piety and true religion!*" (as if those French Huguenots were destitute of these, and none but churchmen could possess them), "and the thorough instruction of youth in the principles and practice of the Christian religion, according to the doctrines of the Church of England." The provincial legislature seems to have acted in this instance as an auxiliary to the missionary society for propagating the gospel among a people destitute of piety and true religion. To accomplish a purpose so laudable, it declares the church in *Jamestown*, or any thereafter erected in the settlement, a parish church, which shall continue so for-

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\* Humphrey, pp. 117, 118.

† See this Act in Dalcho, Appendix, 437.

‡ Dalcho, 296.

ever; it defines the privileges and responsibilities of its rector; provides for his maintenance out of the public treasury, and enjoins the use of Dr. Darell's translation of the Book of Common Prayer—in the administration of the rites and in the public services of the church—so long as the English language shall be unintelligible to the inhabitants. The Act declares, however, that “no payment for the support of a minister shall commence before the arrival in the province of a minister sent by the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry, Lord Bishop of London, or his successor,” &c.

The reservation clause in the Act precluded the Huguenot minister, M. Robert, from the benefit of its provisions. It is evident, indeed, from the spirit and phraseology of the law, that its operation was necessarily suspended until a minister, episcopally ordained, had been commissioned by the Bishop of London to assume the duties of the cure; and that so long as the congregation remained under the pastorship of a French Protestant minister, the rectorship would be in abeyance, and the church would remain under its original and ancient constitution. It undoubtedly did retain its name and character as a Reformed church, until the arrival of M. Pouderos in 1720. Philip de Richebourg was pastor of the French church on the Santee until his death. As he was never episcopally ordained, he could not be fixed there by the Bishop of London, and was never rector of the parish.

The church in ORANGE QUARTER was still under the pastoral care of Rev. M. De la Pierre. His life extended into the next decade. And although his necessitous circumstances drew from the Assembly, Oct. 11, 1711, a gratuity of £20 currency “for his present relief and support,” and April, 1712, they added £50 to his salary, and an Act was passed June 7, 1712, increasing it to £100 per annum,—although this is true, there is evidence that they still met in their own church, which, says Dr. Humphrey, “is a pretty good church, built about the time St. Thomas's was (1708). The major part of them usually met in a church of their own, where they generally made a pretty full congregation, when they had a French minister among them.” This was published in 1730.

In St. John's parish, on the WESTERN BRANCH OF COOPER RIVER, the French minister *Trouillard* continued to offer Mr. *Maule*, the Episcopal missionary, the use of his church, the English church not being begun till 1710, though the offer of £333 currency had been extended to all the parishes for church building since 1706. The outside was not finished

till 1711, when Mr. *Maule* began to use it, and to continue those labors of proselyting, in which the church dignitaries at home, and the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and the governor and council in Carolina, were so assiduously engaged. Mr. Trouillard died in 1712. No other pastor succeeded him. No further traces of the Huguenot church can be found. It seems to have been dissolved and absorbed in the parish church of the faith established by the civil and proprietary government.

Some time during this period, 1710-1720, if not earlier, we may probably place the commencement of the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF EDISTO ISLAND. This island was permanently settled in the beginning of the century, principally by emigrants from Scotland and Wales. All the grants are dated in either the last years of the seventeenth or the first of the eighteenth century. The Presbyterian denomination has always been the most numerous here. The date of their church organization cannot be perfectly ascertained. Its records, if any existed, were destroyed during the conflicts of the Revolution; nor indeed are there any known to be extant for a period long subsequent to this. In 1705, Henry Bower obtained a grant of three hundred acres from the lords proprietors. This land he conveyed in 1717 to certain persons named, in trust, for the benefit of a Presbyterian minister on Edisto Island.\* All that this can prove is that there were Presbyterians resident there, and that the permanent residence of a Presbyterian minister among them was a matter of solicitude. Whether Edisto was one of the five churches of British Presbyterians existing in the province June 1st, 1710, we cannot decide.

The churches which Archibald Stobo is said, by Dr. Ramsay, to have founded on the Presbyterian plan, are those of WILTON, PON PON, JAMES ISLAND, and CAINHOY. He arrived in Charleston in 1700, and lived, says Dr. Ramsay, nearly half a century afterwards. Whether these, with the church in Charleston, now called the Circular Church, are the "five churches of British Presbyterians," the latter writer speaks of in 1710 (see page 163), we know not; but tradition makes Mr. Stobo to have removed from Charleston to Wilton, in 1704, and to have established that church. We do not know that this tradition rests on any certain foundation.

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\* Rev. Donald McLeod, and Dr. Auld, in Ramsay, vol. ii., Appendix, 558.

There is no documentary evidence we have met with on which to found it, but it is not improbable.

During these ten years the Episcopalians, who had aroused themselves, after a period of thirty-two years, to the promotion of religion in the colony, continued to extend themselves, with the aid of the society before referred to, and with the substantial aid of the government, who taxed all parties, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Quakers alike, for the salaries, churches, glebes, schools, and school-houses of the favored church. In the parish of Goose Creek, Dr. Le Jean, who seems to have been an active minister, died in 1717. In St. John's, on the western branch of Cooper river, Mr. Maule pursued his labors, where the French had before established the gospel. Books were distributed at the cost of the society, which are represented as having a good effect in removing prejudices. Particularly the Book of Common Prayer, with "Dr. Beveridge's sermon on the Excellency and Usefulness of the Common Prayer," was of great service. The evidence which this presents is more of a desire to promote Episcopacy than to win souls to Christ. For these books were circulated in Dissenting families, and "among the younger people of the French." In the fatal Indian war, in 1715, he was driven into garrison with the people, was incessantly engaged in his clerical offices, and contracted, through the confinement and fatigue incurred, a disease which terminated his life in 1717. Mr. Osborn was sent to St. Bartholomew's in 1713, but was driven in by the Indians in 1715 to Charlestown, and there died. Mr. Guy, assistant of Mr. Johnson of Charlestown, was sent by the society to St. Helena in 1713, but was also driven back to Charlestown by the rising of the Indians in 1715. "Anabaptist and Presbyterian teachers" had been there before him; but they were without public worship on his arrival. His labors were performed in private houses in different parts. Rev. William Tradewell Bull was appointed minister to St. Paul's in 1712, at the church which had been erected at the head of Stono river in 1708. His parsonage was burnt in the Indian war. Rev. Gilbert Jones was sent to Christ Church parish in 1713, and labored much for the instruction of the negroes as well as their masters. Mr. Taylor was appointed missionary to St. Andrew's in 1711; but disputes arising between him and the parish, he removed to North Carolina in 1717; and was succeeded by Mr. Guy, who, on being driven from St. Helena, went as missionary to Narragansett, in New England, but

now returned on account of his health to Carolina. A church edifice was commenced, in 1719, in St. George, which was separated from St. Andrew's, and erected into a parish in 1717. And in the same year (1719), Rev. Peter Tustian was appointed missionary here, who found the country so divided by party broils, that after a brief ministry he removed to Maryland. Mr. Gideon Johnston, the first commissary of the Bishop of London, continued to officiate at St. Philip's, in Charleston, till April, 1716, when, on going down in a sloop to take leave of Governor Craven, then leaving for England in a British man-of-war, the sloop was capsized and he drowned. Alexander Gardon arrived in Charlestown in 1719, and was elected Rector of St. Philip's.

It is evident from these notices that Episcopacy had awaked from its slumber of more than thirty years over the infant colony of South Carolina, and was now in earnest, and with no small success, striving to spread the *Established* religion of England over this colony, the majority of whom were dissenters from prelatical government. The emigrations of Huguenots, like those of the Independents of New England, were generally accompanied by ministers of the gospel. In the wild woods the church was erected almost as soon as their own dwellings. Episcopacy waited till the colony was increased in wealth and numbers; and then they came too much in the spirit of proselytism and of public dictation, as the national and favored church, and by parish lines put under their own clergy the entire population which did not recalcitrate at so manifest a tyranny. We cannot speak disparagingly of their clergy. But the Rev. Mr. Marston advised the recall of their first missionary, Mr. Thomas, "that he may be maintained a few years at one of the universities, where he may better learn the principles and government of the Church of England, &c., and some other useful learning,"\* and informed the bishop of Mr. Thomas's violent temper and conduct. Mr. Taylor, too, was unacceptable to the people. And the Bishop of London avowed to Dr. Doddridge that most of the men whom he had sent out to Virginia were bankrupt in fortune and character. But it were invidious to make such comparisons. No church and no ministry is perfect.†

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\* Dalcho.

† Yet Bishop Burnet says: "During my whole life, I have lamented that I saw so little true zeal among our clergy. The Dissenters have a great deal among them; but I must own that the main body of our clergy has always appeared to me dead and lifeless." "The Dissenters have a much larger

The concurrent political events of this period were not numerous, though some were of great importance. Charles Craven, secretary of the province, and brother of the palatine, was made governor at a very critical period of its history, and entered upon his office in a spirit of kindness, and won the good-will of all parties. He exhibited the "greatest tenderness towards dissenters," and promised them the uninterrupted enjoyment of their liberties.

In the fall of 1711, there was a rising of the Indians in North Carolina, to which reference has already been made. They are recorded as running from house to house, spreading slaughter among the scattered families wherever they went. One hundred and thirty-seven settlers fell a sacrifice the first night. Their cruelty was accompanied with singular freaks of savage ingenuity. The General Assembly of South Carolina was immediately assembled, and Colonel Barnwell was sent forward through the wilderness with a force of six hundred whites and three hundred and sixty Indian allies, the legislature appointing a day of humiliation and prayer on their behalf. Colonel Barnwell crossed the Neuse river in January, attacked and routed the savage foe, killing in his first engagement three hundred Indians and taking one hundred prisoners, and compelled them to sue for peace. A second massacre was commenced, and South Carolina again sent an army, principally composed of friendly Indians, under Colonel Moore, who laid siege to their fort, killing two hundred of the enemy and capturing eight hundred, who were claimed as a reward by his Indian allies. This savage attempt to exterminate the whites was thus happily defeated.

The coronation of George I. occurred October 12th, 1714. Not long after this event another attempt was made by the Indians to exterminate the colonists and regain their ancient domain. Through the reign of Queen Anne the Yamassees, a powerful tribe, whose residence lay between the Spanish settlements of Florida and Carolina, had stood aloof from the Spaniards and been devoted to the English colonists. They had taken up their residence on the Carolina side of the

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share of knowledge among them than is among those who come to our churches." "The gentry are for the most part the worst instructed, and the least knowing of any of their rank I ever went amongst." "A gentleman here," in England, "is often both ill-taught and ill-bred; this makes him hasty and insolent. They grow soon to find it a modish thing, that looks like wit and spirit, to laugh at religion and virtue, and to become crude and unpolished infidels."—*Life and Times*, vol. vi., pp. 133, 134, 195, 198.

\* Hewatt, 112; Wheeler, 37.

Savannah river, between it and Port Royal Island, which territory was for a long time after called "The Indian Land." Ere the Carolinians were aware, the Yamassees became alienated by real or imaginary injuries, and their chief warriors were observed to make frequent visits to St. Augustine, and to return loaded with presents. The Spaniards could never lay aside their hostility to the Protestant faith. They were told, probably by some Jesuit priest, that the English were wicked heretics, doomed to hell, as the Yamassees also were if they permitted them to live.

Governor Craven, hearing of some dissatisfaction among the Indians, had already despatched Captain Nairn and Mr. John Cochran to Pocotaligo to know the cause of their discontent. They saw the chief warriors, and offered immediate satisfaction for any wrong. The Indians pretended to be friendly, and treated their guests to a good supper. At night they lay down to sleep in the round-house with the king and chiefs in seeming tranquillity. But the next morning, at break of day [April 15, 1715], the round-house was beset, and the massacre begun. Captain Nairn, John Wright, and Thos. Ruffly were murdered; Mr. Cochran, his wife, and four children were seized as prisoners, and afterwards slain; and above ninety other persons residing at Pocotaligo and on neighboring plantations were put to death. The Indians divided themselves into two parties, one attacking Port Royal and the other St. Bartholomew's. The inhabitants of the former, three hundred in number, went on board a merchant vessel lying in the river, and escaped to Charlestown, among whom was Rev. Mr. Guy, the society's missionary. A few families only fell into the hands of the Indians, and were barbarously tortured. In St. Bartholomew's, one hundred Christians fell into the hands of the Indians; the rest, with Mr. Osborn, the society's missionary, escaped to Charlestown. The Indians came down as far as the Stono, burning houses and churches.\*

It was evident that an arrangement had been entered into by the Indians from Florida to Cape Fear to exterminate the whites. On the north they came upon the French on the Santee, and murdered the family of a Mr. Hearne. They then advanced upon Goose Creek. The inhabitants fled before them, except that at one plantation a party of seventy white men and forty negroes threw up a breast-work, and resolved to defend themselves to the last. But perceiving the over-

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\* See account of the breaking out of the Yamassee War, Boston News of the 13th of June, 1715.—Carroll's Collections, ii., p. 569.

powering numbers of the Indians, they listened to proposals of peace. But the perfidious savages, as soon as admitted within their fort, put the garrison to death. They were finally arrested near Charleston, and, after a protracted and obstinate engagement, driven back into the wilderness.

It was a time of exceeding distress and danger, and it appears that our Presbyterian ministers, with others, sought safety elsewhere. The following extract from a MS. letter of Cotton Mather to Mr. Rodhin, in Glasgow, dated 6<sup>d</sup>, vi<sup>m</sup>, 1715, says: "The miserable colonists of *Carolina*, as I am informed by their worthy Scottish ministers, refugees thence, now sojourning in my next neighborhood, were in a fair way to be a religious country under the influence of Presbyterian ministers." But "the people grew so wicked that ye salvages, who had been greatly injured and provoked by them, are broken in upon ym, and have destroyed multitudes of people with such barbarities as no *myrmydons* ever heard of. They have laid ye country in a manner all wast, but ye Capital Town by ye sea side, which is thought can hold out but a little while; and thus a flourishing and opulent colony is covered with a fearful desolation. But it is feared lest ye salvages have entered into a very extensive combination, which may be animated by the *French Canadians*, whereof some other colonies, which are on the worst accounts too much ripened for such things, may feel the most tremendous consequences." Who these "worthy Scottish ministers" were we do not know. Mr. Stobo, Mr. Livingston, and a Mr. Witherspoon, of James Island, are all whose names have reached us as laboring in the colony that could be thus described. Mr. Stobo had probably already gathered a church at Wiltown; and if so, this settlement was temporarily broken up and its inhabitants sought safety in flight.

Hearing of these disasters in Carolina, the Society for Propagating the Gospel wrote to their missionaries expressing their sympathy, and informing them that they had agreed to give them a half-year's salary as a gratuity for their present relief. That this bounty might be enjoyed with all speed, Colonel Rhett was requested to pay all the missionaries and schoolmasters of the society the above-mentioned gratuity; and in case the other clergy, not missionaries, should be in straits in consequence of this public calamity, he should also pay them a sum not exceeding thirty pounds sterling, which the society presented them towards their support, and authorized Colonel Rhett to draw on their treasurer for this

amount. The money was paid as desired; and Rev. Messrs. La Pierre and Richebourg, two French ministers, received thirty pounds each. They were both just preparing to quit the country on account of their great want, but were prevented by so seasonable a relief through the society's bounty. (Humphrey, pp. 101, 102.)

This assistance rendered by the society was very proper, but it was very *discriminating*. The title of the society is "The Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts." It came to be regarded in all the colonies as a society for propagating *Episcopacy* in foreign parts. The feelings with which it was viewed may be seen in the same letter of Cotton Mather from which we have quoted, the original of which is in the Antiquarian Library at Worcester, Mass.

"We are somewhat, though not in the same degree, your fellow-sufferers, in regard of Emigrants from yr Church of England imposing themselves now and then upon us. We live in all amicable correspondence with ye congregation of that way in this populous Town, which doth consist very much of strangers coming in among us. We have had two or three instances in the country; that in a Town of near two hundred Christian families, a little crew of litigious people had need govern. Previous [the words here obliterated] which knew as little of the Ch. of E. as they do of the religion of *Mahomet* or *Confucius*; yett will declare for ye Ch. of E., that so they may have the government appearing on their side. These, although they are few in number, and on all other considerations the most contemptible and scarce-regarded part of the Town, apply themselves to ye Society for Propagation; and ye Society, very little for their honour, send forth and support their missionaries, on those occasions, to maintain confusion in Towns of well-instructed Christians, while at ye same time whole plantations of the Southern Colonies, where are perfect paganism, are left wholly uncared for. To enable themselves ye better for the molestation of ye churches, the Society has sent their briefs over ye churches of ye Dissenters in *England*, to raise money for you. While it is at ye same time observable that in ye more southern Colonies their missionaries (Blades for their morals, too often, like those we have blessed withal,) unaccountably neglect the paganizing plantations, but choose to screw themselves in where a Presbyterian church is gathered; and if a Presbyterian makes a sally to do good in any of the aforesaid plantations, they will presently follow him, to persuade the people that all his ministrations are but nullities. No remonstrance will put a stop to these unaccountable proceedings, nor, perhaps, anything but the eighteenth chapter of ye Revelation."

He uses the same language, and speaks very slightly of the character of the missionaries in a letter to Mr. Walrood, dated 31 of 8th mo., 1716.

The most vigorous measures were now adopted by Governor Craven; and this was necessary, or all had been lost. The entire military force of the colony was not over twelve hundred men. The Indians could muster eight or ten thou-

sand warriors. By his exertions the Indians were driven from their haunts this side of the Savannah, and the colony was freed from this great and threatening danger.

The agents of the colony solicited assistance from the proprietors, but they declared themselves unable to furnish it, and applied for the interposition of the king, offering to repay the expense he should incur. This request was acceded to, and munitions of war were sent. The proprietors granted the Yamassee lands, which extended from the head of Combahee to Fort Moore on the Savannah, and they were appropriated by the Assembly to all Protestant emigrants. A bounty was offered for the importation of white servants. The agent in England petitioned for some of the prisoners taken in the Scotch rebellion. Five hundred men from Ireland transported themselves to Carolina to take the benefit of the acts of the legislature. But the proprietors afterwards ordered the Indian lands to be surveyed and partitioned off into large baronies. The Irish emigrants having spent what little money they had, were reduced to great straits, and either came to beggary and an untimely end, or made their way to the northern colonies, and many old settlers deserted the land they had occupied. At length the people, their patience being exhausted by the unwillingness or inability of the proprietors to aid them, and by their perverse adherence to the aristocratical and impracticable plan of the colony, displaced the governor appointed by them, and elected and proclaimed James Moore governor of South Carolina, in the name of his majesty the King of England.

This period, 1710-1720, was marked in the religious history of England with some important events. In the beginning of it High Church bigotry was greatly aroused, principally in connection with the violent railings of Dr. Sacheverell against Dissenters and Low Churchmen. He was impeached and tried, February 27th, 1710. He was found guilty by the British parliament, but protected by Queen Anne. In May, 1714, the Schism Bill, which prohibited any one from being an instructor or tutor of youth, unless he conformed to the liturgy of the Church of England, and obtained a license from the ecclesiastical authorities, passed both houses of Parliament, and on June 25th, 1714, received the royal assent, and was to go into effect on the first of August; but on that dreaded day Queen Anne was summoned to the tribunal of God; and bigotry was defeated by the accession to the English throne of George I., of the house of Brunswick, a firm

friend of liberty of conscience, who visited with his displeasure all instances of special ecclesiastical tyranny which occurred.\* Among the Dissenters were men of influence and worth, the most illustrious of whom were Dr. Isaac Watts and Matthew Henry, the one awakening and diffusing vital godliness by his heavenly muse, and the other furnishing food to piety and devotion in his celebrated commentary on the Scriptures, and, besides his indefatigable labors in his own pulpit, making annual excursions as an itinerant missionary through extensive districts of country, till his lamented death, June 22d, 1714.

Arianism first made its appearance in the Church of England. But in a few years after the publication of the writings of Clarke and Whiston, two Presbyterian ministers of that mongrel form which Presbyterianism had assumed in England, viz.: Joseph Hallet and James Pierce, of Exeter, in 1717 began to broach Arian errors. The thirteen elders of the city of Exeter called on Mr. Pierce to preach on the divinity of Christ. Not receiving any satisfaction by his discourse or otherwise, they debarred them from the pulpits of their churches.

In Scotland, early in this period, 1710-1720, semi-Arminian doctrines began to be introduced by the younger clergy; and the right of presentation by lay patrons of ministers to churches, which is a sad infringement of the independency of the church and the headship of Christ, was again enacted by Parliament, and received the sanction of the Queen. Arminian and Pelagian sentiments continued to spread, and Professor Simpson, who occupied the chair of theology in the University of Glasgow, was arraigned for his advocacy of these errors. But the Assembly of 1717, many of the members of which had been his pupils, treated him with great lenity, merely prohibiting him from using those inaccurate and incautious expressions which they acknowledged him to have uttered. Arminian notions continued to be imported both from Holland and England; the views of Baxter respecting the doctrines of grace, which bend towards the Arminian scheme, were followed by some. Others maintained that the gospel is a new law or constitution, promising salvation on a *condition*,—this condition being, in the view of some, faith; in the view of others, faith and repentance, or faith, repentance, and sincere though imperfect obedience. These were termed *Neonomians*, and their opponents *Antinomians*.

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\* Timpson's British Eccl. Hist., 371.

In Ireland the Presbyterian clergy continued to suffer more or less from the tyranny of the Established Church. "The melancholy apprehension of these things has put several of us," say they, in an address to the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, October, 1713, "upon thoughts of transplanting ourselves to America, that we may there in a wilderness enjoy, by the blessing of God, that ease and quiet to our consciences, persons, and families, which is denied us in our native country."\* The Schism Bill, before alluded to, created disturbances in Ireland. On account of their resistance to it the Presbyterian churches in the towns of Antrim, Downpatrick, and Rathfriland were nailed up. These acts of violence ceased on the death of Anne and the accession of George I. The lax doctrines which were becoming current in Scotland passed over into Ireland and were advocated by a number of the younger and most intelligent clergy. Similar opinions with those of Professor Simpson were entertained. It was held that every man's persuasion was the sole rule of faith and conduct, that there was no culpability in honest error, and that none had a right to exclude from Christian fellowship those who walk according to their own persuasions on non-essentials, and that all doctrines were non-essential on which "human reason and Christian sincerity permitted men to differ." These brethren also announced their opposition to subscribing confessions of faith as tests of orthodoxy. By their opponents they were called *New Lights*, and their views were the beginning of a controversy which reached far down in the eighteenth century, and traces of which may be found in our own history.

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\* Reid's Hist. Pres. Ch. in Ireland, iii., 173.

## BOOK SIXTH.

A. D. 1720-1730.

## CHAPTER I.

IN the period from 1720-1730, the ecclesiastical notices of the "Dissenting" churches of South Carolina are few in number. The hurricane of 1713, which beat upon the house of Rev. Mr. Livingston, at the foot of East Bay, carried away or destroyed the records of the CHURCH IN CHARLESTON. None exist of any church, except the Episcopalian, which, being a state establishment, has its history in the early periods substantially preserved in the public archives. We learn from Dr. Ramsay, that Rev. William Livingston's labors were continued in that church beyond the year 1720, some time after which he died. Of the birth, education, and other circumstances of his early life little is known. He was a respectable and useful preacher. He left one daughter and three sons. From these descended families of the name of Tunno and Stewart, the latter of whom, in Dr. Ramsay's time, were living near Dorchester. By his and Mr. Stobo's efforts there seems to have arisen a more perfect appreciation of Presbyterian polity among a part at least of that congregation. In the year 1724, forty-three persons, probably heads of families, members of the church or congregation, subscribed a call inviting the Rev. Nathan Bassett to be their minister. They call themselves the members of the Presbyterian church in Charlestown, and others resorting to this public place of worship. They state that they had previously made application to the Rev. Messrs. Colman and Cooper, ministers of the gospel in Boston, to send them "a pious, able, ordained Presbyterian minister," and that they had prevailed on him, the Rev. Nathan Bassett, to come among them. Of the persons sent to, Drs. Colman and Cooper, Colman was not a Congregational, but a Presbyterian clergyman, of the English model.\* Benjamin Colman was born in Boston, October 19th, 1673, of parents who had emigrated

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\* Wodrow of Scotland, Correspondence, vol. ii., 284. Colman, in his letter to Wodrow, Dec. 9th, 1717, says, "We are entirely upon the Presbyterian foot," p. 367.

from London. He was graduated at Harvard, in 1692. Having taken his second degree at Harvard, he embarked on the 20th of July, 1695, for England, that he might prosecute his studies further. He was present at the conferences between Howe, Bates, Mead, Mather, and others, for the reconciliation of Congregationalists and Presbyterians. Invited by Sir Henry Ashurst, then agent for the New England colonies, to his country-seat near Oxford, he made the acquaintance of Dr. Hall, Bishop of Bristol; Dr. Hough, Bishop of Oxford; and Dr. Gastrell, afterwards Bishop of Chester; who politely showed him the colleges, "with what was rare and curious in them." He was called from Oxford by the Presbyterian board at London, to take charge of a small church at Cambridge, where he preached for a short time; then at Ipswich. Then he was appointed by the board to succeed Mr. Taylor, at Bath, which some told him "was the best stirrup in England whereby to mount the best pulpits which might be vacant." Thence he was called to a new church [Brattle Street] in Boston. The persons calling him stipulated that the Holy Scriptures should be publicly read every Sabbath in the worship of God, "which was not practised in New England, and that they might lay aside the relation of experiences, which were imposed in other churches, in order to the admission of persons to the Lord's table." He arrived at London, August 1st, 1699, and on the 4th of that month was ordained by the Presbytery. He was a Presbyterian in church government, though not connected with any Presbytery in this country, and was a man of singular eloquence and influence. In 1731 he was honored with the degree of D. D. from the University of Glasgow. His correspondence with Mr. Hollis, whom he had known at Bath, resulted in the foundation of two professorships and ten scholarships at Cambridge, and in the appointment of Rev. Edward Wigglesworth, a thorough Calvinist, as the first professor of theology. He received from Isaac Hollis, nephew of Thomas, £340 for the poor of the New England churches, and large sums for the Indian missions, and some £10,432 from Mr. Holden, his widow, and her daughters, for various religious purposes.\* Rev. William Cooper was graduated at Harvard, 1712, and ordained as colleague with Dr. Colman, May 23d, 1716. He also was a man eminent for piety, talents, and usefulness. These facts, which might be much more extended, serve to show the character of the men

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\* Colman's Letter to Wodrow, Correspondence, iii., 25.

by whom Mr. Bassett was sent to Charleston, and, by inference, his own views in theology. He seems to have been a member of the Presbytery, but was regarded by Dr. Ramsay as a Congregationalist in church government. He was a graduate of Harvard University, and received the degree of A. M. in 1719. He was ordained in Boston on the 14th of April, 1724, with a view to his becoming pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Charlestown.\* Though coming with suitable introductions to the governor, General Francis Nicholson, he was rudely repulsed by him, and treated in a most ungenerous and ungentlemanly manner. A *scire facias* had been taken out by the attorney-general against the proprietors, as having forfeited their charter. In September, 1720, General Nicholson was appointed Governor, and much was expected from his experience in provincial affairs, as he had been the governor of several colonies before.† He is represented as possessed of all the honorable principles of a good soldier: as generous, bold, and resolute; as a warm friend of the king and his country. As he was the first royal governor, he was received with enthusiasm by the people, who were grateful for their deliverance from proprietary blunders and misrule, who laid aside all their animosities, and addressed themselves heartily to those efforts which were needed for the public well-being. "Though he was bred a soldier," says Hewat, "and was profane, passionate, and headstrong himself, yet he was not insensible of the great advantage of religion to society, and contributed not a little to its interest in Carolina, both by his public influence and private generosity."‡ Hewat goes on to mention the measures taken by him for the promotion of religion, all of which were directed to the more perfect

\* "On Tuesday, inst., the Rev. N. Bassett was ordained pastor of the Presbyterian Church, in Charles Town, South Carolina."—Boston News-Letter of Thursday, April 16th, 1724. Library of Mass. Hist. Soc., Boston.

† "London, Nov. 23d, 1721. Genl. Nicholson, his Majesty's Captain General and Governor-in-Chief of the Province of South Carolina, had the Honor to kiss his Majesty's hand for that Government. That gentleman is shortly to set out for that country, with an Independent Company of Soldiers, who are to embark on board the Caroline and Mary, at Portsmouth."—Boston News-Letter of April 25th, 1721. Lib. of Mass. Hist. Soc.

‡ "Francis Nicholson, now Sir Francis, busy on the colonial stage for thirty years preceding, was sent to South Carolina as provisional Royal Governor. Always arbitrary in his principles and temper, Nicholson was now old and peevish; but he was poor, and he had learned by experience the necessity of a certain accommodation to the wishes of the colonists. Having been 'falsely sworn out of Virginia, and lied out of Nova Scotia,'—at least so he represented—he resolved to make matters easy in Carolina."—Hildreth, Hist. of the U. S., ii., 289.

establishment of the Episcopal church, showing that this was the only aspect of religion he could recognize. The following extract from a letter of Mr. Bassett, intimates that the governor had first treated him with respect, but saw fit to heap upon him and those who had been instrumental in his coming, the vilest abuse. The letter is probably addressed to Drs. Colman and Cooper.

“REVD. SIRs:—The Governor \* \* \* \* \* regardless of his promises, has treated me with heat & outrage, and very liberally bestowed his curses upon our country in general; at all which, I must confess his Ex—cy has greater talent, than at better things. Upon a request from his Ex—cy, I waited upon him in his chamber, where & when I was accosted in boorish dialect, w<sup>th</sup> a ‘how dare the ministers of Boston, be such impudent dogs as to ordain you for and send you to a particular place in *my* Government.’ I reply<sup>d</sup> that ‘I did not know that they had; that the testimonials of my ordination were general and at large.’ Upon which he answered in great heat, ‘I can show you that they have done it,’ and w<sup>th</sup> all produced y<sup>e</sup> *Gazett* or *Newspaper* in which is this paragraph—‘On y<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> Instant, &c., ordained y<sup>e</sup> R<sup>d</sup> N. B. Pastor for y<sup>e</sup> Presbyterian Church in Charleston, So. Carolina,’ which when I had read I told him y<sup>t</sup> ‘not y<sup>e</sup> ministers, but scribblers of news had inserted that.’ He replied, ‘they have *done* it, & by so doing have encroached upon my prerogative, and broke in upon y<sup>e</sup> King’s orders, for he alone had power to do it, inasmuch as he was the King’s Governor here, and by him was appointed to take care of y<sup>e</sup> church. And that this was not the first time you had shewn y<sup>r</sup> selves rebellious and contrary to Government, & y<sup>r</sup> you were all a pack of impudent Dogs.’ ‘They have treated me barbarously, and intimated that they had lately printed a pamphlet’ (Ref<sup>r</sup> I suppose to that called ‘Bermudas Justice’), ‘in which were scurrilous reflections upon him and his proceedings.’ I reply<sup>d</sup> I know nothing about it, and that I was not accountable for what they had done in N. England, but should take care while in his Excellency’s government to behave myself in such a sort as to give him no just cause of offence. Then he returned to my ordination, and alleged that the ministers had ordained me for, and sent me to, this particular place in his government, and that he would send me back again. And that they had best take care how they sent any more of that country here. Then says he, ‘I demand and require you in the King’s name, to shew me by what authority you came here.’ I replied, ‘Your Ex—y knows by what authority I came and at whose request.’ Then says he, ‘I will have it under your hand—under your hand—and unless I did it he would by a warrant send me back again.’ ‘I know,’ says he, ‘no Presbyterians here, nor will I know any, the laws are not for them but against them. Indeed,’ says he, ‘the King has given indulgence to all but Papists, but that has nothing to do with the plantations, and if any one presumes to call himself Presbyter, but episcopally ordained, I will lay him neck and heels;’ with a large, &c., as little to the purpose, and as foreign to his power & commission. Then he re-demanded me, in the King’s name, to produce him under my hand, my authority for coming here, under penalty of being sent back. ‘And let your friends protect you how they can, and complain to the King if they please, I care not.’ On which I took my leave, and am daily expecting a second rally.”—Archives of General Assembly.

In a subsequent communication from Mr. Bassett, February 12th, 1724-5, he states that he had been free from threats and assaults—that the governor has prejudices against the

Dissenters, as of "factious and republican principles not worthy to be tolerated in his Majesty's dominions,"—that he, in instructions to a subordinate, "wished to recall privileges granted to Dissenters, as they aimed at independency of the State, as in New England, and it must be largely talked of, &c." These extracts reveal an unfriendly spirit towards Dissenters, which seems to have largely prevailed among the royal governors in South Carolina.

The original building used by the church in Charleston was but forty feet square and slightly built. It was much out of repair, and in 1729 they commenced the undertaking of providing themselves with a new house of worship. The Act of the Congregation begins with a formal preamble, bearing date Dec. 18th, 1729, as follows :

"SOUTH CAROLINA.

Whereas the present Publick Meeting House in Charlestown, which in the early times, or beginning of the settlement thereof, was erected for the publick worship of God, after the *Presbyterial* form and discipline, is now by long time gone to decay, and become very old and out of repair :

And whereas, by God's blessing, not only the inhabitants of the said Town are increased, but by means of the vast growth of our trade, a great number of sea-faring and transient persons come to, and frequent this port, so that the said Meeting House is also found to be too small and inconvenient to receive and contain the whole number of people which resort to it for worship," &c.

The subscription list was signed by one hundred and four persons, the subscriptions varying from one pound ten shillings to one hundred pounds each. This church was finished and the pews assigned to the subscribers in 1732. Being a wooden building and painted white, it was the occasion of a new designation, "The White Meeting," by which the church was vulgarly known. In this document the true style of the church is given as Presbyterian, and it is called "The Presbyterian Church" in its records throughout the earlier period of its existence, so far as any records remain.

The Congregational church at DORCHESTER lost the services of their first pastor, Rev. Joseph Lord, in 1720. He returned to Massachusetts, and on the 15th of June, 1720, he was installed over the church in Chatham. He was its first pastor, and at the organization the number of its male members was but seven. The church was organized on the plan of the half-way covenant, but Mr. Lord was a rigid disciplinarian, extending the watch and censure of the church to the baptized children, and this he had probably done in his ministry in Carolina. He died June 6th, 1748, after a ministry in

Chatham of twenty-eight years, during which one hundred and forty-three were admitted to full communion, thirteen to the half-way covenant, and four hundred and ninety-two were baptized. He was succeeded in the Dorchester church by the Rev. Hugh Fisher.

Another clergyman came on the stage of action at this time, who occupied a conspicuous place in Charleston afterwards. This was Josiah Smith, who was grandson of the Landgrave Thomas Smith, who was governor of the colony in 1693. He was born in Charleston in 1704, and was graduated at Harvard College, in Massachusetts, in 1725. He was ordained the next year, July 11th, 1726, as minister for Bermuda. The brother of the first Landgrave Smith had removed to Boston, and one branch of the family was settled there, which may have been one inducement with Mr. Smith to seek his education in that vicinity. Dr. Ramsay says, "he was the first native of Carolina who obtained a degree from a college." In this he was mistaken, for Dr. George Smith, second son of the first landgrave, born in Charleston in 1672, took a degree at Edinburgh in 1700. How long Mr. Smith remained on the island of Bermuda we do not know; but he became pastor of the church at CAINHOY, probably as early as 1728. Cainhoy is on the Wando river, about twelve miles from Charleston. According to the statement of Dr. Ramsay, the church was gathered by Archibald Stobo, and was a Presbyterian church, while that on Wando Neck, the WAPPETAW church, was Congregational. The date of the origin of these churches we have not been able to ascertain. Whether that at Wappetaw can in any sense, even as imperfectly organized, go back to the original settlements of the New Englanders, in Governor Archdale's time, 1695, 1696, we cannot determine. In a note to his "Description of Carolina," published in London, 1707, he says: "It is remarkable that the *French* landed at *Sewee*, where many of the *New England Men* were planted, and beat off the *French*, and killed many of them, and this was Ten Years after this Letter" (one addressed to him from Ipswich, Mass., 26th of June, 1696—see p. 119), which would seem to imply that the emigrants from Ipswich, referred to in that letter, really came into the province and settled on Sewee Bay, where there are still the remains of a frequent settlement, embraced now within the limits of certain large plantations. A religious people who were attracted to Carolina because there were "discreet men, ministers in it, who now design the spreading

of the gospel," would have some form of religious worship; private, certainly, at all times, and public as soon as their circumstances would admit. Wappetaw church is about four miles from Sewee Bay and about fourteen miles from Charleston, on the road to Georgetown. The Rev. Wm. Porter may have been their minister during this decade.

WILTON CHURCH.—The church takes its name from the fact that the first house of worship was erected at Wilton (commonly called Wiltown) Bluff, a beautiful and picturesque spot in St. Paul's Parish, Colleton District, on the east bank of the Edisto river, about four miles from the present house of worship. Standing on the Bluff, one is surrounded by wide-spreading live-oaks, and looks over the beautiful stream below him on an extensive reach of country covered by rice-fields, which in spring-time or at harvest is one of the loveliest prospects in the low country of the State. On the site formerly occupied by the church now stands an Episcopal church, built among the graves in which sleep the ashes of those who died in the Presbyterian faith. The reason for the removal of the church to another spot was, that Wilton Bluff, being situated at one extremity of the parish, was not central enough to accommodate those of the congregation who lived at a distance.\*

It is to be regretted that there are no materials from which a history of Wilton church can be collected. There are no sessional records in existence, and the "Minutes of the Board of Trustees" reach back only a few years. All the information that can be obtained consists of a few detached facts, found in some old fragments of the moneyed accounts of the church.

[1728.] The earliest notice of the church is found in a paper, containing a mutilated copy of some "articles of agreement," drawn up by the Presbyterian worshippers at Wilton Bluff. To this document the name of *Archibald Stobo* is signed in his own handwriting; and together with his are the signatures of *four elders* and *six deacons*. This paper was drafted early in the year 1728, and proves that at that time a church, regularly organized, fully officered, and considerable in numbers, existed at Wilton Bluff. This document, as well

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\* The town of Wilton, first known as New London, was settled very early. Elections were ordered to be held in it in 1683. William Livingston held a town lot in it in 1714, described as being on King's Square, and bounded westward by Westminster street. But its prosperity was interrupted by the Indian insurrection in 1715, though it afterwards revived.

as others, seems to suppose the existence of the congregation previously to that date; but unfortunately there are no records pertaining to it before that time.

The document thus signed consists of a series of articles, eight in number, which bind the church to create by free-will offerings, made at the spring sacrament, "yearly forever," or by donations and legacies, a pious fund, the principal of which is to be intrusted to the management of the minister and church session, and the interest to be expended for the support of the minister of that church, or the building and repairing of Presbyterian churches, or the relief of the poor of that church and persuasion, or of others in need. The paper is expressed in terms of much force and solemnity. "All this we do," say the parties, "in the sight of God, as witness our hands."

Archd. Stobo, Minr.,  
X. Wilkinson,  
Joseph Rusell,  
Samuel Lowle,  
Z. M. Edings,

} *Elders.*

Paul Hamilton,  
Timothy Hendrix,  
Richard Ashe,  
Wm. O'Neill,  
George Farleye,  
Wm. McMechen,

} *Deacons.*

The JAMES ISLAND church, as we have reason to believe, had the Rev. John Witherspoon (or Wotherspoon) as its pastor during these ten years, and perhaps before, while the JOHN'S ISLAND church enjoyed the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Turnbull.

The BETHEL Presbyterian church and congregation of PON PON, St. Bartholomew's parish, Colleton (now Walterborough church), was founded and organized in 1728, when the first church edifice was built. The first minister was the Rev. Archibald Stobo, who, says Dr. Ramsay, was its founder. The survivors of the early trustees in the earliest records of the congregation now extant, speak of transactions had by their predecessors of which no record had been preserved. That Mr. Joseph Didcott and Mr. George Farley collected money and built "the old meeting house, which cost near £400 currency, where the Rev. Mr. Archibald Stobo used to preach once a month, and after that once in three weeks:" That "Mr. John Andrew, sen., Mr. John Mitchell, and Mr. Thomas Buer, with Mr. George Farley, collected money and bought land for a parsonage, which cost £300."

The Presbyterian element seems to have been gaining strength in CHARLESTON during the ministry of Mr. Stobo and Mr. Livingston, and the controversies which now arose, and

which pervaded the Presbyterian church in the old world and the new, make us first cognizant of the existence of a Presbytery. These had reference to subscription to the Westminster Confession. The propriety and expediency of this was warmly debated among the English Dissenters. John Howe, of the English Presbyterian church, maintained in respect to "schemes or collections of doctrines, reduced into an order (as gold formed into a vessel, whereas truth, as it lies in the holy Scriptures, is as gold in the mass), may be of use (as they have been in use in the church in all ages), provided they be allowed to be looked upon but as a *mensura mensurata*, reserving unto the Scriptures the honor of being the only *mensura mensurans*, and so that we only own them as agreeable to the Scriptures: and again, that we declare we take them to be agreeable thereunto in the main, or for *substance*." Others insisted on a strict and literal adherence to the words of the Confession as being agreeable to the Scriptures. Others still, were opposed to requiring these tests of orthodoxy. A similar controversy arose in Ireland, and was waged between those who were zealous for the truth, and those who either themselves held latitudinarian opinions, or were the apologists of those who did so. It began to be understood in Ireland that certain ministers of the Belfast society acknowledged doubts concerning the deity of Christ, and were disposed to follow the views of Whiston, Clarke, and Hoadly, of England, and Prof. Simpson, of Scotland, and to hold, as the Presbyterian churches in Switzerland had done, that sincerity is the only thing to be regarded in religious fellowship. Under these circumstances the General Synod of the Irish church proposed the expedient, for the purpose of allaying the fears of the people, of allowing all who chose, the privilege of anew subscribing the Confession of Faith. This was opposed by the Belfast society with all their new-born arguments against subscribing any human formula. The measure was carried, and the Irish Presbyterian clergy were divided into two parties, the *Subscribers* and the *Non-subscribers*. These parties were in conflict with each other continually, until, in 1726, the non-subscribers were excluded from the synod, though not from Christian fellowship, ministerial communion, nor from the "royal bounty." The non-subscribers withdrew and formed the Antrim Presbytery.—(Reid, iii., 240, 237.)

During the period antecedent to our national independence, the church in America felt a lively and quick sympathy with the church in Great Britain. The same controversy as

to the propriety of insisting upon rigid subscription arose in the synod of Philadelphia. In 1727 the Rev. Mr. Thompson, of Lewistown, introduced an overture requiring of all candidates, and actual ministers coming into their bounds, strict subscription, or acknowledgment *coram presbyteris*, of the Confession. Mr. Dickenson opposed it, affirming that "to shut out of the ministry non-subscribers is to make the Confession, not the Bible, our standard, and is an invasion of the royalty of Christ." The synod, however, passed what is called "the Adopting Act" in 1728, adopting the Confession and Catechisms, except the clauses in the XXth and XXIst chapters, respecting the powers of the civil magistrate.—(Hodge, i., p. 150.)

We have the testimony of the church in Charleston that Mr. Bassett "sat in Presbytery." On March 1st, 1750, they addressed a letter to Drs. Guise, Doddridge, and Jennings. At this time they state that they had come to prefer the congregational form of government. They speak of the charter of the colony as granting liberty of conscience, and say that soon after the Act of Uniformity many Dissenters came into it. "Upwards of sixty years ago," say they, "a church, consisting of English and Scotch Dissenters, settled here, and had its ministers from New England." "About fifty years since a minister, who was born and educated in Scotland, happening (in his travels) to come into the province, was made pastor of the church, and being strongly attached to the Presbyterian form of government, some uneasiness arose and continued in the congregation even through the whole time of his successor, who was a minister from Ireland, and proved more moderate in respect to church government. After the death of the latter an invitation was sent to New England, whence we had our next minister, who being also a moderate man (though he associated with the ministers of, and *sat in, Presbytery*), our brethren of the Scotch nation saw fit to separate," &c. The Scotch minister here referred to was Mr. Stobo, the Irish was Mr. Livingston, the minister from New England, Mr. Bassett. There was a Presbytery then in existence in South Carolina during the ministry of Mr. Bassett. At what period it was organized we are unable to discover.

It might be argued that as the Scotch ministers sent out to New Caledonia were directed to form a Presbytery immediately in that colony, Mr. Stobo would not postpone the organization of one here longer than was necessary. Mr. Livingston joined him in 1704 or earlier. Mr. Witherspoon, of

James Island, may have entered the colony early in the century. Cotton Mather, in 1715, could speak of the worthy Scotch ministers, fugitives from Carolina, then near him. Dr. Hewat's testimony, whose arrival in Carolina was thirty-five years later, must have rested on the statements of others. Yet as Mr. Livingston's name is not mentioned by him as among its founders, and he died some time after 1720, it is not probable that this Presbytery, or Association, as he terms it, existed much earlier than 1728. It consisted of Scotch, or Scotch-Irish ministers, to whom some others of a different origin probably became united. The same differences of opinion alluded to in the preceding extract partially prevailed in it, and it was agitated with the same controversy about subscription to the Confession which pervaded the Presbyterian churches of Britain and America. "The Rev. Josiah Smith, of Cainhoy," says Mr. Webster, whose industry and research brought to notice the proofs which remain of this controversy, "and Mr. Bassett, of Charleston, appeared as *non-subscribers*. The former represented to Dr. Colman that the matter was urged in an unbrotherly and unchristian manner by the Scotch brethren. He published a sermon in 1729—"Human Impositions proved unscriptural; or, the Divine Right of Private Judgment." The Rev. Hugh Fisher, of Dorchester, South Carolina, published, on the opposite side, a sermon entitled "A Preservative against Dangerous Errors in the Unction of the Holy One." Smith's reply was headed, "No New Thing for Good Men to be Evil spoken of." Smith said they denied the right of private judgment, and insisted on his putting the Confession on the same footing with the Bible. This they of course denied, and charged him with saying that Pierce, of Exeter, had as good right to hold his heretical views of the Trinity as they had to hold the truth. He declared that he believed everything in the Westminster Confession except the clauses on the power of the civil magistrate, on the divine right of ruling elders, and on the subject of marriage with a wife's kindred. "There is but one book I prefer to it." His adherence was read in Presbytery, but the majority refused to accept it, unless he subscribed also seven articles of their framing. The probability is that Mr. Smith, if a member before, ceased to act with Presbytery from this time. The difficulty continued from March 1728-9 to 1731. The "White Meeting House" in Charleston had been occupied by Presbyterians and Independents: the Presbyterians withdrew, and the line of separation was drawn between the two

bodies, not because of their different modes of church government, but as subscribers and non-subscribers."\*

These proceedings seem to have annoyed Mr. Smith. In a letter to Dr. Colman, dated at Cainhoy, October 12th, 1730, among the MSS. of the Mass. Hist. Soc., he says :

"I am not only censured as an Heretick in General, and opposing the Doctrines of the *Westminster Confession*, but charged with the particular opinions of Arius and Arminius, though no minister of my years has preached them down more than I. For these Reasons I lately Preached the Sermon that is herewith sent to the Press." "I observe in your last Letter a Friendly Reproof for Engaging in a Controversy, which indeed has been a Wasp's Nest all over the World where it has come, and as You justly observ'd to Me, has no mercy upon Names, Families, Serviceableness, nor nothing else. But had you been here upon the Spot, and seen what our *Scotch Brethren* were aiming at, Had you heard the Sermon which Mr. Fisher Preached (in the room of which he has plainly published another), and did you know the long Consultation of my own Mind and the previous advice of some judicious Friends upon which I acted, I believe I should not appear so sudden in conduct as you are ready to think."

These extracts reveal to us the existence of that Presbytery afterwards recognized under the names Presbytery of the Province, Presbytery of South Carolina, and Presbytery of Charlestown, and which never was connected with other similar bodies in this country under any provincial or national synod or assembly. Its clerical members, as far as we can gather, were at this time, Rev. Archibald Stobo, Rev. Hugh Fisher, Rev. Nathan Bassett, Rev. Josiah Smith, Rev. John Witherspoon, whose history we are not able to ascertain, but who died as pastor of the Presbyterian church on JAMES ISLAND, whose death alone is noticed in any contemporaneous document known to us, and which occurred on the 15th of August, 1734. The Rev. William Porter, we have reason to believe, was at this time minister of the Wappetaw Independent church, on Wando Neck. His name appears in this controversy, as a non-subscriber. (Fisher's Reply, pp. 93, 97).

The Presbyterian church on JOHN'S ISLAND must have existed as early as 1720, if not before. Dr. Hewatt says, that at the formation of the Presbytery, churches had been erected "in three of the maritime islands." John's Island is needed to make up the three. It is the current tradition, as was admitted on both sides in the Chancery suit in 1840, that this church existed in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. It is possible that the Rev. Mr. Turnbull, whose name will be mentioned hereafter, was preaching here during some of the years of which we are now speaking.

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\* Webster, Hist. Pres. Ch., p. 109, and the Library of the Mass. Hist. Soc.

## CHAPTER II.

THE FRENCH CHURCHES out of Charleston began, in the period of which we now treat, to become more assimilated to the Episcopal church, and to lose their distinctive Presbyterian character. That on the western branch of Cooper river had already surrendered its independent existence. This may have arisen in part from their desire to become assimilated to the established religion of the country in which they had found refuge and protection, and so to remove those causes of national jealousy from which they had suffered; in part from the similarity of worship in both churches arising out of the use of a liturgy; in part from the difficulty of obtaining ministers of their own faith; and in part, also, from the fact that pastors were provided by the zeal of the English church, their salaries paid, and their churches, parsonages, school-houses, built and kept in repair at public expense; while all these things came as a heavy burden upon a people few in numbers and settled in a new country. Probably their greatest reason was the difficulty they encountered in their attempts to keep up the succession of their ministry. Their agents, by whom they sought to bring out other clergymen, had proved unsuccessful or unfaithful. They had been included within the parish bounds marked out as the cure of the Episcopal clergy; and they fell in, at length, with those arrangements which were furnished to their hand. Much more consistent would it have been in them to have perpetuated, as other branches of the Presbyterian church have done, their own distinctive character, or to have cordially united with their Presbyterian brethren of Scotch, Irish, and English descent, in making one common cause in favor of those principles which the ancestors of each maintained. In 1720, Rev. Albert Pouderos, a French clergyman, was sent over by the Bishop of London, and became the successor of the Rev. Claude Philippe de Richebourg, the Huguenot pastor of the French church on Santee. Dr. Dalcho has put Richebourg in the list of Episcopal clergymen. The Act of the Legislature of 1706, constituting the French settlement on the Santee a parish, at the same time declares, that "no payment for the support of a minister shall commence before the arrival in the province of a minister sent by the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry, Lord Bishop of London, or his successor."

Mr. Pouderos was the first minister so sent, and the first rector therefore of St. James, Santee. There was wisdom displayed in sending a Frenchman to gain the French. He continued rector of the parish until his death, in 1730. The Huguenot church on the western branch of Cooper river had already become merged in the parish church of St. John's, Berkley, on the death [in 1712] of their minister, Rev. Florent Philippe Trouillart. La Pierre, minister of the Huguenot settlement at Orange Quarter, died in 1728. Being in necessitous circumstances, he had received from the assembly appropriations from time to time, and additions to a scanty salary. The Rev. John James Tissot was appointed to the parish of St. Denis, in which this congregation was, in 1729, and arrived in 1730. It has however been doubted whether the Huguenot church ceased to exist so early as this, or whether it still preserved its independent organization.

We have seen that Rev. Mr. Boisseau was minister of the FRENCH CHURCH IN CHARLESTON in 1712. The duration of his ministry is unknown. There seems to have been an interval of difficulty. "In 1724, the minutes of the French Reformed church in London mention the receipt of a letter from the French Reformed church of Charleston, asking their aid in obtaining a pastor; but no notice of their action." (Burns' History of the For. Refd. Chhs. in G. B.)

"I have read," says Daniel Ravenel, Esq., of Charleston, from whose manuscript we now quote, "in the letter-book of Isaac Mazyck, the Immigrant, two letters addressed by him to Mr. Godin, a refugee to So. Carolina, then in Europe. The first was dated in 1724, the second in 1725. The first is a reply to a letter to Mr. Godin, who must have been requested to make efforts to procure a minister, and who had stated that having occasion to leave London, he had committed the matter to his brother. Mr. Mazyck complains that he transferred so important a commission to one known to favor 'the union of your church with the Episcopal.' His second letter is despondent. He says 'efforts will now be too late. The church is going over to the Church Establishment.' His apprehensions we know were not formally realized. But they show how nearly this church had then lost its distinctive character. It had no doubt been deeply agitated and divided. Their brethren in the country parishes had relinquished their original worship, by accepting incorporation under the Church Act of 1706. The same method had been adopted by the Refugees in the other colonies. Men with families were anxious to provide for them a worship less liable to interruption than their own. We recognize grounds for conflict in many minds. The building of St. Philip's church was commenced during these difficulties. The Act for building it was passed in March, 1710. It was to be built at public cost. It was to be sustained on part of the Establishment. It had the promise of permanency and prosperity. And the wisdom of an Establishment was the general sentiment of the day. The oldest book now owned by St. Philip's church is a book of the minutes of the vestry and wardens, commencing 10th of April, 1732. At that date we find the names of Samuel Prioleau and Gabriel Manigault

among the vestrymen, and soon after, of John Laurens as a warden. These were Huguenots. Pierre Manigault, another Huguenot, holds the grant for his pew (No. 20), which bears date 17 Aug., 1724, and his descendants have ever since worshipped there. But the name has always been until within a few years in the membership of the corporation of the French church. The family have an ancient vault in the cemetery, in which the dead of succeeding generations have reposed.

"While we may lament the diversion for which there were so many just reasons, and to which in process of time all had to yield, we must admire the constancy of those who under so many discouragements preserved and transmitted the original character of this church.

The church was vacant in 1725. The next minister of whom we have any knowledge was Rev. Mr. Lescot, but it cannot be ascertained in what year his ministry commenced. Dr. Ramsay dates the commencement of Rev. Francis Guichard's ministry in 1722, and its termination in 1753, but more accurate information fixes its commencement at 1734, in the next decade.

Among the descendants of the French refugees, there existed an instance of fanaticism, surpassing in some particulars those which were exhibited in the South of France at the close of the preceding century and the commencement of this, and which had been stimulated by the reveries of Pierre Jurieu, French minister of the Walloon church of Rotterdam, who had declared, in his exposition of the Apocalypse, that France was the place of the great city where the witnesses mentioned by St. John (Rev. xi.) lay dead but not buried; and who computed the time of their resurrection to life. These wild notions were taken up by some of the more ignorant and excitable of the refugees in England, to the great scandal of the more sober and intelligent, and were made matters of church discipline by the elders of the Savoy Congregation in London, in 1706, 1707. An instance of still more deplorable delusion occurred in Carolina, of which Rev. Alexander Garden, of Charleston, gave the following account:

"The family of Dutartre, consisting of four sons and four daughters, were descendants of French refugees, who came into Carolina after the revocation of the edict of Nantz. They lived in Orange-quarter, and though in low circumstances always maintained an honest character, and were esteemed by their neighbors persons of blameless and irreproachable lives. But at this time a strolling Moravian preacher happening to come to that quarter where they lived, insinuated himself into their family, and partly by conversation, and partly by the writings of Jacob Behman, which he put into their hands, filled their heads with wild and fantastic ideas. Unhappily for the poor family, those strange notions gained ground on them, insomuch that in one year they began to withdraw themselves from the ordinances of public worship, and all conversation with the world around them, and strongly to imagine they were the only family upon earth who had the knowledge of the

true God, and whom he vouchsafed to instruct, either by the immediate impulses of his Spirit, or by signs and tokens from heaven. At length it came to open visions and revelations. God raised up a prophet among them, like unto Moses, to whom he taught them to hearken. This prophet was Peter Rombert, who had married the eldest daughter of the family when a widow. To this man the Author and Governor of the world deigned to reveal, in the plainest manner, that the wickedness of man was again so great in the world, that, as in the days of Noah, he was determined to destroy all men from off the face of it, except one family whom he would save for raising up a godly seed upon earth. This revelation Peter Rombert was sure of, and felt it as plain as the wind blowing on his body, and the rest of the family, with equal confidence and presumption, firmly believed it.

"A few days after this, God was pleased to reveal himself a second time to the prophet, saying, 'Put away the woman whom thou hast for thy wife, and when I have destroyed this wicked generation, I will raise up her first husband from the dead, and they shall be man and wife as before, and go thou and take to wife her youngest sister, who is a virgin, so shall the chosen family be restored entire, and the holy seed preserved pure and undefiled in it.' At first the father, when he heard of this revelation, was staggered at so extraordinary a command from heaven; but the prophet assured him that God would give him a sign, which accordingly happened; upon which the old man took his youngest daughter by the hand, and gave her to the wise prophet immediately for his wife, who without further ceremony took the damsel and deflowered her. Thus for some time they continued in acts of incest and adultery, until that period which made the fatal discovery, and introduced the bloody scene of blind fanaticism and madness.

"Those deluded wretches were so far possessed with the false conceit of their own righteousness and holiness, and of the horrid wickedness of all others, that they refused obedience to the civil magistrate, and all laws and ordinances of men. Upon pretence that God commanded them to bear no arms, they not only refused to comply with the militia law, but also the law for repairing the highways. After long forbearance, Mr. Simmons, a worthy magistrate, and the officer of the militia in that quarter, found it necessary to issue his warrants for levying the penalty of the laws upon them. But by this time Judith Dutartre, the wife of the prophet, obtained by revelation, proving with child, another warrant was issued for bringing her before the justice to be examined and bound over to the general sessions, in consequence of a law of the province, framed for preventing bastardy. The constable having received his warrants, and being jealous of meeting with no good usage in the execution of his office, prevailed on two or three of his neighbors to go along with him. The family observing the constable coming, and being apprized of his errand, consulted their prophet, who soon told them that God commanded them to arm and defend themselves against persecution, and their substance against the robberies of ungodly men; assuring them at the same time that no weapon formed against them should prosper. Accordingly they did so, and laying hold of their arms, fired on the constable and his followers, and drove them out of their plantation. Such behaviour was not to be tolerated, and therefore Captain Simmons gathered a party of militia, and went to protect the constable in the execution of his office. When the deluded family saw the justice and his party approaching, they shut themselves up in their house, and firing from it like furies, shot Captain Simmons dead on the spot, and wounded several of his party. The militia returned the fire, killed one woman within the house, and afterward forcibly entering it took the rest prisoners, six in number, and brought them to Charlestown.

"At the court of general sessions, held in September, 1724, three of them were brought to trial, found guilty, and condemned. Alas! miserable

creatures, what amazing infatuation possessed them! They pretended they had the Spirit of God leading them to all truth, they knew it and felt it: but this Spirit, instead of influencing them to obedience, purity, and peace, commanded them to commit rebellion, incest, and murder. What is still more astonishing, the principal persons among them, I mean the prophet, the father of the family, and Michael Boneau, never were convinced of their delusion, but persisted in it until their last breath. During their trial they appeared altogether unconcerned and secure, affirming that God was on their side, and therefore they feared not what man could do unto them. They freely told the incestuous story in open court in all its circumstances and aggravations, with a good countenance, and very readily confessed the facts respecting their rebellion and murder, with which they stood charged, but plead their authority from God in vindication of themselves, and insisted they had done nothing in either case but by his express command.

"As it is commonly the duty of clergymen to visit persons under sentence of death, both to convince them of their error and danger, and prepare them for death by bringing them to a penitent disposition, Alexander Garden, the Episcopal minister of Charlestown, to whom we are indebted for this account, attended those condemned persons with great diligence and concern. What they had affirmed in the court of justice, they repeated and confessed to him in like manner in the prison. When he began to reason with them, and to explain the heinous nature of their crimes, they treated him with disdain. The motto was, Answer him not a word; who is he that should presume to teach them, who had the Spirit of God speaking inwardly to their souls? In all they had done, they said they had obeyed the voice of God, and were now about to suffer martyrdom for his religion. But God had assured them, that he would either work a deliverance for them, or raise them up from the dead on the third day. These things the three men continued confidently to believe, and notwithstanding all the means used to convince them of their mistake, persisted in the same belief until the moment they expired. At their execution they told the spectators, with seeming triumph, they should soon see them again, for they were certain they should rise from the dead on the third day.

"With respect to the other three, the daughter Judith being with child, was not tried, and the two sons, David and John Dutartre, about eighteen and twenty years of age, having been also tried and condemned, continued sullen and reserved, in hopes of seeing those that were executed rise from the dead, but being disappointed, they became, or at least seemed to become, sensible of their error, and were both pardoned. Yet not long afterward one of them relapsed into the same snare, and murdered an innocent person, without either provocation or previous quarrel, and for no other reason, as he confessed, but that God had commanded him so to do. Being a second time brought to trial, he was found guilty of murder and condemned. Mr. Garden attended him again under the second sentence, and acknowledged with great appearance of success. No man could appear more deeply sensible of his error and delusion, or could die a more sincere and hearty penitent on account of his horrid crimes. With great attention he listened to Mr. Garden, while he explained to him the terms of pardon and salvation proposed in the gospel, and seemed to die in the humble hopes of mercy, through the all-sufficient merits of a Redeemer.

"Thus ended," says Hewatt, to whom we are indebted for these particulars, "that tragical scene of fanaticism, in which seven persons lost their lives, one was killed, two were murdered, and four executed for the murders. A signal and melancholy instance of the weakness and frailty of human nature, and to what giddy heights of extravagance and madness an inflamed imagination will carry unfortunate mortals. It is hard for the wisdom of men to conceive a remedy for a distemper such as religious infatuation. Severity

and persecution commonly add strength to the contagion, and render it more furious. Indulgence and lenity might perhaps prove more efficacious, as the swellings of frenzy would in time subside, in proportion as they exceed the bounds of nature. Had they given this unhappy family time for cool thought and reflection, it is not improbable that those clouds of delusion which overspread their minds might have dispersed, and they might have returned to a sense of their frailty and error. But it belongs to the civil power to prohibit wild enthusiasts and mad visionaries from spreading doctrines among vulgar people, destructive of civil order and public peace. The majority of mankind everywhere are ignorant and credulous, and therefore are objects of compassion, and ought to be protected against the baleful influence of such men as seduce them from their duty and subjection to legal authority, by poisoning their minds with notions hurtful to themselves and others."

During this period, 1720-1730, fourteen Episcopal ministers came into the province, and eleven either died or left it. A church was built in the parish of St. Helen's on Port Royal Island. The inhabitants of St. Paul's parish, which suffered so greatly in the Yamassee war, received an appropriation from the public funds to enlarge their church. In 1722, eight Bibles were sent by Governor Nicholson, by the hands of Rev. Mr. Guy, for use of Commons House, in the pews, and in church. The parish of Prince George, Winyaw, was erected in the year 1725, and was also aided by the public funds; and foundations were created for public schools by Mr. Whitmarsh in St. Paul's, Mr. Ludlam in Goose Creek, and Richard Beresford in St. Thomas. A free school was also erected in the town of Dorchester at the public expense in 1727, the schoolmaster to be sent by the Society for Propagating the Gospel. In the middle of this period, in 1724, the white population of the country, men, women, and children, was computed at about fourteen thousand: the slaves at about thirty-two thousand, mostly negroes. The increase had been steady, but not rapid. It was hindered by the unhealthiness of the climate, and by the discouragements and troubles prevailing under the proprietary government. But the province now furnished provisions in abundance, and exported largely to the West Indies. And as, after the accession of George II., which occurred on the 11th of June, 1727, there was great pecuniary distress in the north of Ireland, it is not improbable that the population, especially the Presbyterian portion of it, experienced a considerable increase. After the revolution of 1688, the landed proprietors in the province of Ulster, anxious to settle their waste lands, had granted favorable leases, under which the Presbyterian tenantry had been induced to improve their holdings and extend their cultivation. These leases, usually made for thirty years, were now expiring; the gentry raised their rents, and the farmers became exceedingly discouraged,

and entertained thoughts of removing to Scotland or emigrating to America. An increase of tithes for the support of a clergy not of their choice galled them still more, and roused anew their conscientious scruples. Three successive harvests after 1724 had been exceedingly unfavorable, and the price of living and the stagnation of trade in 1728 exceeded what the men of that generation had ever experienced. Archbishop Boulter gives, in the latter part of 1728, a "melancholy account" of the extensive emigration taking place to the wilds of America. "It is certain," he says, "that above four thousand two hundred men, women, and children have been shipped off for the West Indies within three years; and of these above three thousand one hundred the last summer." "The whole north is in a ferment at present; the humor has spread like a contagious distemper." In March, 1729, he writes: "There are now seven ships at Belfast that are carrying off one thousand passengers thither."—(Reid, iii., pp. 339, 340, 341, and note, 343, 395.) In the year 1724 four hundred and thirty-nine slaves were imported into the country; and the statement already made shows that the increase of the servile population greatly exceeded that of the whites. Population still timidly kept itself within its former bounds. The middle and upper portions of the province were inhabited by the native tribes; and the memory of the massacre of 1715 prevented settlers from venturing beyond the assistance and support of their neighbors. The parish bounds alone were occupied, save by a few daring traders; and St. Bartholomew's and St. Helen's slowly recovered the population they had lost during the Indian troubles, although efficient measures had been taken as early as 1716 to maintain garrisons on the Santee, on the Savannah river (Fort Moore, on the Bluff below Hamburgh, at Beech Island), on Edisto, at Port Royal, and Combahee. Previous to 1730, too, there seems to have been a military and trading establishment on the Congaree, at or near the site of Granby, which is marked on Humphrey's map as "An English Corporation." There was also a fort at Palachachola, which was an Indian town on the Savannah, above Purisburg. The Congaree garrison, Fort Moore, Fort King George, the fort and town of Palachachola, are named and provided for in the acts of 1722, 1723.\*

The manners of the people were simple. "The white inhabitants lived frugally, as luxury had not yet crept in among

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\* Hewatt, i., p. 309.

them, and, except a little rum and sugar, tea and coffee, were contented with what their plantations afforded." "In those primitive times, it was customary for families [in Charlestown] to dine at twelve o'clock, and take their tea at sunset; after which the old folks sat around their street-doors; or, like good old-fashioned neighbors, exchanged kind greetings with each other from house to house: while the young people assembled in groups to walk or play about the streets. It is said that on summer moonlight evenings, the grown girls and young men amused themselves after this fashion, in playing 'Trays-Ace,' 'Blind Man's Buff,' &c.; and doubtless enjoyed these rural sports quite as much as our more refined modern belles and beaux enjoy the Battery promenade of the present day. But the fathers and mothers of that day had greater regard to regular and early hours than their descendants have; for it was considered a great breach of family discipline for a child to stay out after nine o'clock at night, when the house was closed, and all its inmates assembled around the family altar to unite in the devotions of the evening. After which, the little community were soon wrapped in slumber, and thus preparing themselves for an early start on the duties of the coming day."—(MS. History of the Legarè Family, by Mrs. Flud.)

Among the concurrent events of a political nature belonging to this period, were the return of Governor Nicholson to Great Britain in 1725, and his being succeeded in office by Arthur Middleton. Under his administration, efforts were made to settle the boundaries between the Spaniards and the English colony on the south. The grant of Charles II., in 1663, had extended to St. Simon's, on the coast of Georgia, and the Carolinians had built a fort in the forks of the Altamaha, of which the Spaniards complained. There being no final agreement with the Spaniards, the Yamassees continued to harass the settlers with scalping-parties, and the abduction of their negroes. This instigated reprisals on the part of the English. Colonel Palmer, with a force of whites and Indians, about three hundred strong, entered the Spanish territories, carried his arms as far as St. Augustine, and compelled the inhabitants to take refuge in the castle. He burned the houses and huts of the settlers, destroyed their fields, drove off their stock, killed some of their Indian allies, and captured others. The French, too, had made a settlement at Mobile, and built a fort on the Alabama river, and were intriguing with the Creeks and Cherokees, so that a constant effort was required

to counteract their policy, and Captain Fitch and Colonel Chicken were employed, the one among the Creeks, and the other among the Cherokees, to keep those tribes steady in their alliance with the English. The summer of 1728 was one of severe heat and great drought, and was rendered memorable by a dreadful hurricane late in August, which damaged or destroyed most of the shipping in the port, and compelled the inhabitants of Charleston to take refuge in the upper stories of their dwellings. It was followed by the yellow fever, which desolated many families. At the close of this period, in September, 1729, the proprietors sold their rights to the crown for twenty-two thousand five hundred pounds sterling, excepting what belonged to Lord Carteret, the pecuniary emoluments of which were continued in that family.

This period, 1720-30, was in some respects a dark day in the English church. In polite society, "Free Thinking" became the great idol to be worshipped. Collins published his discourse, "On the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion," in 1724. Woolston attacked the miracles of Christ in 1727, and Tindal strove to erect natural religion on the ruins of Revelation. Barrow, Tillotson, and Atterbury, the great preachers of the English church, were discoursing with eloquence and force on the high themes of Christian ethics, and Butler, Sherlock, Gibson, and Leland were ably defending the outworks of Christianity in their immortal productions. But it was reserved for the Dissenters, in the closing part of this period, to arouse the heart of the church with the trumpet of the gospel. Dr. Watts' Psalms, Hymns, and Divine Songs, his Guide to Prayer, his Discourses upon Death and Heaven, were all published before 1730. Mr. Soames's sermon "On the Method to be taken by Ministers for the Revival of Religion," delivered in 1729 and published, some earlier writings of Dr. Doddridge, and Matthew Henry's Commentary on the Bible, were greatly blessed in restoring among them the spirit of primitive piety; and in all these happy influences our people shared.

In Scotland, the General Assembly, misled by its committee, condemned the book we have before mentioned, "The Marrow of Modern Divinity." This led to a representation, in 1721, drawn up with great ability, and signed by James Hogg, Thomas Boston, John Bonar, John Williamson, James Kid, Gabriel Wilson, Ebenezer Erskine, Ralph Erskine, James Wardlaw, Henry Davidson, James Bathgate, and William Hunter. These men, who are known in Scottish ecclesiastical

history as "The Representatives," were censured at the bar of the Assembly, in 1722, and annoyed by the Neonomians and Moderates in the Scotch church. In 1727-28 new charges were brought against Professor Simpson of holding and teaching Arianism. Notwithstanding his skillful defence, he was suspended from preaching the gospel, and from his office of teacher of youth designed for the ministry. Boston took grounds against the decision of the Assembly, as being more mild than the case demanded of the church. And with these things, not without their bearing upon the interests of religion in the New World, the third decade of the eighteenth century terminated.

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## BOOK SEVENTH.

A. D. 1730-1740.

### CHAPTER I.

SCOTCH, or FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CHARLESTON.— During the incumbency of Mr. Bassett, in the year 1731, the Presbyterians withdrew from their fellow-worshippers, and were organized as a strictly Presbyterian church, after the model of the Church of Scotland. The members thus separating were chiefly natives of Scotland, and were then known by the name of the Scotch Church, as is the case now. The number of seceding families is said to have been twelve, who left the ministry of Mr. Bassett to establish themselves as a Presbyterian church. Their first minister was the Rev. Hugh Stewart. Their house of worship was built of wood, with a steeple and chanceler vane, in Meeting, and a little south of Tradd street, near the site of the present church edifice, which stands at the corner of Meeting and Tradd streets. The causes of this separation may easily be understood to be the difference of views entertained in reference to the subscription to the Confession of Faith, their strong predilection for a strictly Presbyterian form of government, and the strong national partialities which they have ever manifested. Their separation from the parent church seems not to have been completed until their new house was finished, and was occupied for wor-

ship, which was on June 23d, 1734.—(Memorandum in vol. 4 of MS. Records of Circular Church; Ramsay, and Yeadon's History of Circular Church.)

Progress was made during these ten years towards the establishment of Presbyterianism on Edisto Island. In 1732 certain negro slaves were conveyed by a deed of gift to the Presbyterian congregation of Edisto Island, to be employed, with their descendants, upon the tract of three hundred acres conveyed in 1717 by Henry Bower for the benefit of a Presbyterian minister on said island. The preamble of this deed, in setting forth the reasons of the gift, says, "Whereas a Presbyterian congregation is collected upon the island of Edisto." It then stipulates that the gift of the slaves is "for the perpetual maintenance, out of their yearly labor, of a Presbyterian minister who owns the holy Scriptures for his only rule of Faith and practice, and who, agreeably to the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, shall own the Westminster Confession of Faith, with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, as a test of his orthodoxy, and that before the church session for the time being, before his settlement there as the rightful minister of the aforesaid church or congregation." About the same period a valuable donation of land was made to the church by "Mr. Wails." In the next year [1733] there is notice of the death of the "Rev. Mr. Moore, minister of a congregation at Edistoe."—(MS. Records of Circular Church, Charleston.) How long he had been laboring in that congregation there are no means of determining.

WILTON: [1731.] There exists a subscription list for building a Presbyterian meeting-house at Wilton, bearing date 1731; so that either this was the first church edifice or the second. It is probable that their first meeting-house was but a rude and inconvenient building, and that this was the first suitable structure erected by the congregation. Regarding it as the second, there have been at the least four houses of worship erected at different times, including the present. Ten years later, in a paragraph of Paul Hamilton's will, proved and recorded the 7th of March, 1738, mention is made of the following elders and deacons as serving under Rev. Archibald Stobo's ministry: Timothy Hendrick, John Bee, Jr., George Farley, John Hayne, John Splatt, John Atchinson, John Andrus, Thomas Burr, John Mitchell, and Jacob Denham.

There is evidence too of progress in the more complete establishment of the Presbyterian church and congregation of

BETHEL, PON PON. We learn that "in October, 1735, several of the new congregation, with the Rev. Mr. Stobo, met at the old meeting-house, and consulted for sending for a minister." They signed a blank call for Scotland, and lodged an obligation in the hands of Mr. Stobo for the minister's salary of £400 currency per annum. They also collected money and bought a bill to pay the minister's passage out. They also subscribed money (£1410) for the purchase of eight negroes, to be employed in planting or otherwise, to raise the aforesaid salary yearly. In September, 1736, the purchase was made, and the negroes committed to Mr. George Farley, "on shares in his plantation." Rev. John McCallister came out in answer to their call, in the year 1737, and received his salary from the yearly income of these negroes, till his death in 1738-9. He was succeeded in the pastorate by Rev. Hugh Stewart, the first minister of the Scotch church in Charleston; and Mr. John Andrew, Jr., executor and successor to Mr. Farley, paid the Rev. Mr. Stewart the same salary from the proceeds of their labor from the first of August, 1739, to August 1st, 1740. The balance of near £200 was used to purchase "a negro woman called Phillis, on the same footing with those others aforementioned, for the use of said congregation." In April, 1738, a subscription of £390 was raised for building a parsonage on the glebe before purchased, and in January, 1739-40, an additional subscription of £390 was made for completing the work. While the temporalities of the church were thus provided for, there is evidence of equal care for things ecclesiastical and spiritual. The following record of the session, under date of August 27th, 1739, is preserved:—"Sederunt, the Rev. Mr. Hugh Stewart, minister; George Farley, John Mitchell, elders; Isaac Hayne, William Melvin, and John Andrew, deacons, absent.

"After prayer, Isaac Hayne, William Melvin, and John Andrew were chosen ruling elders. William Jackson, Robert Oswald, William Little, John Martin, and Joseph Mitchell, deacons. Their names were intimated to the congregation the Sabbath following, and the third Sabbath in September, for their ordination respectively. Thomas Buer is appointed ruling elder to wait on Presbytery with the minister the ensuing year." Rev. Mr. Stewart and Mr. Buer were appointed to inquire for the legacy left the congregation by John Kermicle, and other business was transacted. We thus see a Presbyterian church organized, officered, under the care of Presbytery, and providing with commendable zeal for the

ordinances and worship of God's house,—a church numerous enough to support a pastor and to furnish a full and efficient corps of elders and deacons for the service of the church.

From the records of the Circular Church, Charleston, of the death, in 1733, of Rev. William Porter, minister of the congregation at Seewee, probably the same which is known as the church of WAPPETAW, the settlement at Seewee Bay, originally made by New England colonists, seems to have been still continued and flourishing. Mr. Porter must have been followed immediately by Rev. Job Parker in the pastorate of that church.

In the same year the Rev. John Baxter appears to have commenced preaching as a licentiate. His register of texts preached from, commences in January, 1733-34. His two first sermons were delivered in Charlestown, but CAINHOY was his stated place of preaching. Three of his early sermons are marked as "Tryals to Presbytery." His register shows that he preached occasionally at "Charlestown," "Williamsburg," "Dorchester," "Wiltown," on the "Santee," "James Island," "Winyaw," "John's Island," "Black River," "Waccamah Township," on the "Pedee, at Mrs. Britton's," "Wakamaha Neck," at "Col. Lynch's." Some of these occasions were days of public fasting. Several of them were sacramental occasions. Mr. Baxter's ministry continued beyond the middle of this century. His register was among the MS. collections of Dr. Robt. W. Gibbes of Columbia, but with much else that was valuable was destroyed at the burning of Columbia by General Sherman, February 17th, 1865. The following grants of land to Rev. John Baxter are recorded in the office of the Secretary of State. In 1737, 1100 acres in the Township of Williamsburg; in 1739, 300 acres; and 400 acres on the west side of Pedee in 1758.

There are two other ministers, the duration of whose life and ministry we have no means of determining. The day of their death is all that is known to us. Mr. Baxter's register has the following entry, August 15th, 1734—"The Rev. Mr. John Witherspoon, Presbyterian minister of James Island, was buried." In the South Carolina Gazette, August 10-17, 1734, there occurs this notice—"Died, on the 14th, *Rev. Mr. John Witherspoon*, a Presbyterian minister at JAMES ISLAND." In the Gazette of December 21-28, Rev. John Witherspoon's books are advertised to be sold in Charlestown on January 1, 1734-5. This is all we know of one who may have labored long in preaching the gospel in this infant state of the Pres-

byterian church in South Carolina. If it were so, his ministry will reach back to near the beginning of this century. He may have been one of the worthy Scotch ministers of whom Cotton Mather [anno 1715] speaks. What were his labors, his anxieties, his success, his influence, we know not. He scattered the precious seed of the gospel, and proclaimed that Word of God, which is as a flint and a hammer to break the flinty rock in pieces. The same remarks are equally appropriate to those unknown ministers whose death we have also recorded. They served their generation, and that generation has passed away. How much of the virtue and prosperity of their descendants may be the result of their ministry, the All-Wise alone knows. Their record is on high. There are still pointed out beneath the church on James Island, the head-posts of the grave of a former minister of that church, whose name has faded away from the memory of the congregation. Can the cypress timber still mark the resting-place of one interred one hundred and thirty-six years ago?

DORCHESTER CHURCH.—Mr. Baxter's Register also records the death of another minister, who, though the pastor of a Congregational church, was a member of the old Presbytery of South Carolina. "October 7th, [1734], the Rev. Mr. Hugh Fisher, Presbyterian minister at Dorchester, departed this life." The records of this church, as perpetuated in Liberty Co., Georgia, names October 6th, 1734, as the day of his death. Dr. Hewat speaks of him as a minister of the Church of Scotland. Of his orthodoxy and zeal for the truth, what has already been said of the part he took on the debated point of subscription or non-subscription to the Confession of Faith, are a sufficient testimony. He sat in Presbytery with Witherspoon, probably with Moore, of Edisto, possibly with Smith [see p. ] and Bassett, with Livingston, and Stobo, and Stewart, the new minister of the Scotch church. A son of Rev. Hugh Fisher, James Fisher, was living in Charleston, in 1817. Mr. Fisher was succeeded by Rev. John Osgood, who was born in Dorchester, South Carolina, was graduated at Harvard in 1733, and ordained at Dorchester, March 24th, 1735.

But before these lamented deaths, Rev. Josiah Smith was called from the church at Cainho, May 14th, 1734, and settled in CHARLESTON, as a colleague with Rev. Mr. Bassett, in the pastorship of the "White Meeting," now the "Circular Church," both names being given by the populace—the one from the color, the other from the form of the

house of worship. The reason of this call we are left to conjecture.

The congregation was large and influential, and required much pastoral labor. Mr. Smith was of an honorable family, being a grandson of the Landgrave Thomas Smith, once governor of the colony, and was a man of active character and ardent piety. Another reason may have been the diversion which was now made in favor of the new Presbyterian church and its new pastor, which called for greater effort to repair the breach thus made upon them. In 1738, on the 26th of June, Mr. Bassett died with the small-pox, in the thirty-seventh year of his age; and in the same year the church wrote to Rev. Drs. Harris, Watts, Wright, and Mr. Chandler, ministers in London, to send out a minister for them, having "a strong, audible voice, a clear and distinct pronunciation, good elocution, decent deportment of body, an affable temper in conversation, and great moderation in principles."

The "Independent or Congregational Church at WAPPETAU, Christ Church Parish."—On "October 28th, 1735, Rev. Job Parker, Independent minister on Wando Neck, was buried."\* Of Mr. Parker, some account is given in the following letter of Rev. Josiah Smith, dated "Charles Town, South Carolina, November 7th, 1735, and addressed to the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Colman, pastor of a church in Boston, New England, via New York." The original of this is in the library of the Mass. Hist. Soc. at Boston.

"REV<sup>d</sup> S<sup>r</sup>:

"I am heartily sorry for y<sup>o</sup> mournful Occasion of my present writing: The Death of My Dear Bro' and Companion, the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Job Parker. He seem'd to be a Man of great Powers and Accomplishments for y<sup>o</sup> Ministry and stood fair for y<sup>o</sup> Character of a *Compleat Divine*; His Death was pretty Sudden and Unexpected, both to Himself and Us, As His Distemper appear'd to have no malignancy in it, but a Proper *Fever & Ague*, which Seldom, if ever, Kills. At His Internment I gave y<sup>o</sup> People a Discourse from those Words—*Knowing that I must shortly put off, &c.* With a short sketch of His Character; And the Lamentations at His Burial were of y<sup>o</sup> same Extent with y<sup>o</sup> Love and Veneration We had for Him living. There was a great intimacy subsisting betwixt Us, from the Time I was call'd to *Charles-Town*. Tho' He seem'd, in Some Points to lean to y<sup>o</sup> *Arminian Scheme*, which I am no friend to; yet He was prudent eno' Not to bring y<sup>m</sup> into y<sup>o</sup> *Pulpit*, and His Moderation and Sweetness of Temper was Such, That We could Argue upon Them w<sup>th</sup> Calmness, and y<sup>o</sup> difference never interrupt Our harmony. The People among Whom he Ministered, have now Applied to the Reverend Mr. *President* and *Professor*, for some Qualified Person to Succeed Him; and because I can't Question, I need not Ask, *Your* good offices and Concurrence in it. I hope your Candidates will Consider, That the Welfare of *two* Societies depends on Their Compliance. The encouragement, I Think, is

\* Rev. Mr. Baxter's Register.

considerable, and likely to grow, for a *Single Man*, and should He alter His condition, I am of Opinion, He might do it, as I believe Mr *Parker* would have done, to His advantage among Us : But for *Particulars*, I refer to y<sup>e</sup> above mention'd *Gentlemen*.—There is at present a Suspension of y<sup>e</sup> *Controversy* Among Us, and no *Paper-Contests* ; But doubt, My Antagonists are *privately* endeavoring to Supplant Me.—My Bro' *Bassett* is in low Circumstances, Some say in a *Consumption* : If God deprive Us of Him, it will double The Necessity of our present Application, and, I hope, have its weight and consideration.

"Mr *Osgood* is made choice of, to Succeed Mr *Fisher* in the Church of *Dorchester*, but Whom They will apply To for Ordination, is uncertain."

The Presbyterian church on JOHN'S ISLAND enjoyed at this time the ministerial services, it is believed, of the Rev. Mr. Turnbull.\* The beginning of his labors here we are unable to fix ; the date of his death has alone been preserved. The church received a valuable legacy by the will of Robert Ure, which was dated about this time. Robert Urie was among Scotland's banished ones, sent to Carolina in 1684. We know not if these names are the same or not.

By his will, dated in 1735, Robert Ure, of John's Island, supposed to have been a native of Scotland, bequeathed as follows :

"As to one moiety of my estate, unto Joseph Stanyarn, Wm. Holmes, and Thomas Upham, and their assigns, in trust, and to the intent and purpose that the said Joseph Stanyarn, William Holmes, and Thomas Upham, and their assigns, (in manner hereinafter to be appointed,) shall immediately, or as soon as conveniently may be, after the sale and division to be made as aforesaid, put out the same at interest, on good and sufficient securities, and from time to time, and at all times thereafter, shall yearly and every year, well and faithfully pay, and apply the interest therefrom arising, to the sole use and behoof, and for the maintenance of a minister of the gospel, according to the Presbyterian profession, who is, or shall be thereafter, from time to time regularly called and settled on John's Island, in Colleton county, in said province, and who shall acknowledge and subscribe the Westminster Confession of Faith as the confession of his faith, and shall firmly believe and preach the same to the people there committed, or which shall hereafter be committed to his care and pastoral inspection."

It appears from the inventory and appraisement of the estate of Robert Ure, that the entire value of the estate was estimated at £3,656 12s. It appears that the Presbyterian church, or congregation, had been in existence a considerable time before the bequest, and its origin cannot be distinctly ascertained. Rev. Mr. Turnbull was buried October 25th, 1737.

These few notices, which are all we have been able to gather of the ministers of this period, are suggestive to us of the state of those churches which were not favored by the patronage of government. They labored indeed under great grievances, yet they continued in existence ; and the word of God was

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\* Rev. Mr. Baxter's Register.

no doubt faithfully preached by those ministers who had now ceased from their labors and gone to their reward. There were occasionally the signs of a more indulgent and considerate spirit on the part of men in power towards the churches not established by law. On the 28th day of May, 1731, the Lower House of Assembly sent the following message to the governor and council :

“HONORABLE GENTLEMEN,

“This House, taking under consideration the great loyalty and affection of the Presbyterian Dissenters of this Province (of Charleston in particular) to his most sacred Majesty, as well as the great regard to the true interests of this his province, have thought it proper to give our assent to a donation of £1000, to be applied to the rebuilding and repairing the Presbyterian Meeting House in Charlestown, to be put into the ensuing year, and to which we desire the concurrence of your honorable Board.

“JOHN LLOYD, Speaker.

“May the 28th, 1731.”

The sum also of £500 was allowed for the repairing of the Baptist meeting-house, blown down by the hurricane. The following appropriations for chapels (of the Established Church) were also made the same year :

For finishing the chapel of St. Paul's, £100; Goose Creek, repairing, £200; Christ's church, repairing church, £300; St. Helena's, finishing do., £200; St. John's, repairing do., £200; St. Thomas and St. Denis, repairing do., £200; St. George's, for enlarging do., £200; Wassamaw, for repairing chapel, £100; James Island, for building chapel of ease, £300; St. Bartholomew's, for erecting church, £200. A bill was also passed to repeal an act to erect a chapel at Echaw, in St. James, Santee, and for erecting two chapels, and that the rector perform service in the *English tongue*, it having been performed in the French before. Ratified August, 1731.

The fortunes of Carolina were greatly advanced after it came into the possession of the British crown. The people pursued their employments with a more hopeful and satisfied spirit, and efficient measures were adopted for the prosperity of the colony. One of the most immediate in happy results was, the measures taken to propitiate the Indian tribes inhabiting the interior and upper portions of the State, and thus encouraging settlers to advance beyond the narrow bounds in which population had hitherto been confined. Sir Alexander Cumming arrived in the colony early in 1730, as commissioner from the king to treat with the Indian tribes, and advanced three hundred miles into the upper country, as far as Keowee, where he met Montoy, the chief of the Cher-

okees, and other subordinate chieftains, in friendly conference. He proposed that a delegation of their chiefs should visit England, and look upon the face of the British sovereign. The proposition was acceded to, and seven chiefs embarked in a British man-of-war, and while they were in England were treated with the greatest consideration. The result was a treaty of amity, which was respected for many years by the savage tribes, so that the country was laid open, even in the vicinity of these savage men, for the settlement of the whites. Large numbers of negro laborers were introduced—fifteen hundred being imported in a single year; the lands rose in value, the produce was in a few years doubled, and trade largely increased. Charles Town now consisted of from five to six hundred houses; mostly of wood, covered with clapboards; but about this time more skilful workmen found employment in the colony, and the style and comfort of dwellings was greatly improved.\* This was the era of the first settlement of Georgia. The chief design of its benevolent founders was to rescue those in the old world that were suffering under the miseries of debt and imprisonment, and to open an asylum for the victims of religious persecution. Their corporate seal exhibited on the one side silk-worms at work, with the motto, *Non sibi, sed aliis*—not for themselves, but others—expressing the disinterested motives which governed them. In November, 1732, Oglethorpe, with one hundred and sixteen settlers, embarked for these shores, and on the 13th of January, 1733, arrived off the bar at Charleston. He was received with the greatest kindness by the civil authorities, and after a few days proceeded to Port Royal, where the colonists were provided for until he should determine upon a site for the proposed settlement. His party threaded in their canoe the inlets of the Carolina coast, till, entering the broad stream of the Savannah and bending their course upward, they landed at the foot of a bold bluff, covered with pines, which commanded a view of the river above and below, and of the low-lying banks of Carolina in front. On this bluff, at the northern extremity of which was the Indian village of Yamacraw, with its friendly chief, Tomochichi, he commenced his settlement, and laid the foundation of a new colony and State, whose fortunes, both civil and ecclesiastical, have ever since been interwoven with ours.

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\* "They had," says Hewat, "no chaises (nor carriages of any kind), and all travellers were exposed in open boats or on horseback to the violent heat of the climate."

Of the generous aid received from Carolina in its foundation, grateful mention is made on the historic page.

John Peter Pury, who had been director-general of the French East Indian Company, of Neufchâtel, in Switzerland, designing to leave his native country, came to Carolina, and procured a grant (September 1st, 1731) of forty thousand acres of land for a Swiss settlement on the north side of Savannah river. A town was laid out about thirty miles from its mouth, where the Yamassees had formerly resorted, which was called Purysburg, after the name of the enterprising founder. Pury published a glowing account of the new colony of South Carolina, which was signed in Charlestown on the 23d of September, 1731, by John Peter Pury of Neufchâtel, James Richard of Geneva, Abraham Meuron of St. Sulpy, in the county of Neufchâtel, and Henry Raymond of St. Sulpy. This publication aroused the imagination of the Switzers, and one hundred and seventy accompanied him, in 1733,\* to the site which had been selected. These men were from the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, and were Presbyterians and Calvinists by education and profession. But, as was often the case with foreign Protestants, they desired to comply with the established religion of the country to which they emigrated, and their minister, Rev. Joseph Bugnion, who came with them, received Episcopal ordination from the Bishop of London.† On November 16th, 1734, Col. Pury arrived with two hundred and sixty Switzers, and their minister, Rev. Henry Chiffele, who also saw fit to receive ordination from the hand of Dr. Gibson, Bishop of London. "One hundred and odd more," says the South Carolina Gazette, "are expected every day, and among them forty Protestants from the valleys of Piedmont." "A subscription has been made for them in England, where we hear James Oglethorpe, Esq., has subscribed £40 sterling. The Duc de Montague also, and several persons of distinction, have subscribed handsomely." "Col. Pury receives pay for his expense in bringing them over, and M. Chiffele his expense out."—(S. C. Gazette of November 16th and November 23d.) April 26th, 1735: "Two hundred Swiss arrived at Purysburg. They received an allowance by

\* The first colony arrived in November and December, 1732, and consisted of one hundred and fifty-two persons.—Dalcho, p. 385; Records of Governor and Council, December, 1732; Hewat and Holmes.

† February 21st, 1732, Petition of Joseph Bugnion, minister of the Swiss Settlement, praying for a salary, is recommended to the Lower House as very reasonable.

the king, out of his own purse, of £1200. The Swiss emigrants began their labors with uncommon zeal, stimulated with the idea of possessing landed estates, so far beyond the hopes of European peasantry in their own land." In 1735 Purysburg contained nearly one hundred dwellings; and this, perhaps, was the season of its greatest prosperity. Many of the colonists were cut off by diseases; the hardships of settling a new country had not entered fully into their calculations; and suffering under the accumulated ills of indigence and distress, they sighed for the mountains, glens, and snows of Switzerland, and blamed Pury for the deceit which his glowing fancy had practised upon them. The Presbyterian cause was not much advanced by these emigrants from the land of Zuingle and Bullinger, and from the adopted country of Calvin and Beza. In December, 1736, Rev. Henry Chiffelle petitions for his salary, and prays that the town of Purysburg may be erected into a parish.—(Records of Governor and Council.) Mr. Wesley, who was at Purysburg, April 27th, 1737, says, "Mr. Bellenger sent a negro lad with me to Purysburg, or rather the poor remains of it. O, how hath God stretched over this place 'the lines of confusion and the stones of emptiness.'"—(Gillies' Collections, p. 301.)

The governor had received instructions to lay out eleven townships, in square plats, on the sides of rivers, containing each twenty thousand acres, and to divide the lands into shares of fifty acres for each man, woman, and child that should occupy them; each township to form a parish, with various other provisions. In pursuance of this, two townships had been laid out on the Altamaha, two on the Savannah, two on the Santee, one on Pedee, one on Wacamaw, one on Wateree, and one on Black river. An Irish colony was moved, by the great advantages offered, to embark for America, and so escape the exactions of landlords and the clergy of the Establishment. On November 9th, 1732, James Pringle and other Irish Protestants petitioned the council that their passage be paid. The council agreed "that if they will settle in a township according to his majesty's instructions, as the Swiss have done, they shall have the like encouragement." Colonel Parris was directed subsequently to provide for the Irish Protestants settled at Williamsburg, "8 hogsheads of corn, qt. 102 bushels; 2 hgds. of pease, qt. 24 bushels; 2 of salt, qt. 15 bls.; 18 barrels of beef, qt. 32 galls. each." On January 31st, 1733, "the Irish Protestants settled in Williamsburg" petitioned for a further supply of provisions "as is allowed by

the law of this province for new comers," and the supply was ordered.

Williamsburg was so named by its inhabitants in honor of the Presbyterian king, William III., Prince of Orange. The *township* was one of those laid out by royal authority in 1731. It included an area of twenty miles square, and "was granted to these Irish Presbyterians with the full guaranty of enjoying their own faith without intrusion. It was never an Episcopal parish, nor were any of the lands within it ever granted to any other individuals, nor for any other religious purpose, than to the Irish Presbyterians, and their faith and mode of worship."—(Wallace's *Hist. of the Williamsburg Church*, p. 17.) "The *town* itself was laid out by the settlers, and called Kingstree, the name of which was derived from a large white or short-leaved pine which grew on the bank of Black river, near the bridge, which species of trees, with all gold and silver mines, were reserved for the king in all royal grants. These Scotch-Irish were the first settlers in this district, save that two men, Finley and Rutledge, had attempted a settlement north of this place, on two bays which still bear their names; but failing in their culture of rice, they had returned to the district of Charleston, whence they came. Williamsburg constituted a Presbyterian congregation or parish, similar to those in Scotland. And the grants of bounty lands within this township seem to have been made between the years 1730 and 1745."—(Wallace, pp. 13, 18.)

The hardships which these early settlers endured in leaving their old homes and becoming domesticated in this new country, were often severe and discouraging. It is seldom that we find in these late days any authentic record of these trials. The following particulars are gathered from the "Genealogy of the Witherspoon Family," beginning as far back as 1670, and were written by Robert Witherspoon, who emigrated with his father's family in 1734—some of the family having come over in the first emigration in 1732. (The grand-parents of Robert Witherspoon had migrated from the vicinity of Glasgow, in Scotland, to the county of Down, in Ireland, in 1695.)

"We went on ship-board," says Robert, "the 14th of September, and lay wind-bound in the Lough at Belfast 14 days. The second day of our sail my grandmother died, and was interred in the raging ocean, which was an afflictive sight to her offspring. We were sorely tossed at sea with storms, which caused our ship to spring a leak; our pumps were kept incessantly at work day and night; for many days our mariners seemed many times at their wits end. But it pleased God to bring us all safe to land, which was about the 1st of December." "We landed in Charleston three weeks before Christmas. We found the inhabitants very kind. We

staid in town until after Christmas, and were put on board of an open boat, with tools and a year's provisions, and one still-mill. They allowed each hand upwards of sixteen, one axe, one broad hoe, and one narrow hoe. Our provisions were Indian corn, rice, wheaten-flour, beef, pork, rum, and salt. We were much distressed in this part of our passage. As it was the dead of winter, we were exposed to the inclemency of the weather day and night; and (which added to the grief of all pious persons on board) the atheistical and blasphemous mouths of our Patroons and the other hands. They brought us up as far as Potatoo Ferry and turned us on shore, where we lay in Samuel Commander's barn for some time, and the boat wrought her way up to 'the King's Tree,' with the goods and provisions, which is the first boat that, I believe, ever came up so high before. While we lay at Mr. Commander's, our men came up in order to get dirt houses to take their families to. They brought some few horses with them. What help they could get from the few inhabitants in order to carry children and other necessaries up they availed themselves of. As the woods were full of water, and most severe frosts, it was very severe on women and children. We set out in the morning: and some got no farther that day than Mr. McDonald's, and some as far as Mr. Plowden's; some to James Armstrong's, and some to uncle William James's." [These were emigrants who had preceded Witherspoon, in the first emigration.] "Their little cabins were as full that night as they could hold, and the next day every one made the best they could to their own place, which was the first day of February, 1735. My father had brought on ship-board four children, viz.: David, Robert, John, and Sarah. Sarah died in Charleston, and was the first buried at the Scotch Meeting House grave-yard. When we came to the Bluff, my mother and us children were still in expectation that we were coming to an agreeable place. But when we arrived and saw nothing but a wilderness, and instead of a fine timbered house, nothing but a mean dirt house, our spirits quite sank; and what added to our trouble, our pilot we had with us from uncle William James's left us when we came in sight of the place. My father gave us all the comfort he could, by telling us we would get all those trees cut down, and in a short time there would be plenty of inhabitants, so that we could see from house to house. While we were at this, our fire we brought from Bog Swamp went out. Father had heard, that up the river-swamp was 'the King's Tree,' although there was no path, neither did he know the distance. Yet he followed up the swamp until he came to the branch, and by that found Roger Gordon's. We watched him as far as the trees would let us see, and returned to our dolorous hut, expecting never to see him or any human person more. But after some time he returned and brought fire. We were some comforted, but evening coming on, the wolves began to howl on all sides. We then feared being devoured by wild beasts, having neither gun nor dog, nor any door to our house. Howbeit we set to and gathered fuel, and made on a good fire, and so passed the first night. The next day being a clear, warm morning, we began to stir about, but about mid-day there rose a cloud southwest attended with a high wind, thunder, and lightning. The rain quickly penetrated through between the poles and brought down the sand that covered them over, which seemed to threaten to bury us alive. The lightning and claps were very awful and lasted a good space of time. I do not remember to have seen a much severer gust than that was. I believe we all sincerely wished ourselves again at Belfast. But this fright was soon over and the evening cleared up comfortable and warm. The boat that brought up the goods arrived at 'the King's Tree.' People were much oppressed in bringing their things, as there was no house there. They were obliged to toil hard, and had no other way but to convey their beds, clothing, chests, provisions, tools, pots, &c., on their backs. And at that time there were few or no roads, and every family had to travel the best way they

could, which was here double distance to some, for they had to follow swamps and branches for their guides for some time. After a season some men got such a knowledge of the woods as to 'blaze' paths, so the people soon found out to follow 'blazes' from place to place. As the winter season was far advanced, the time to prepare for planting was very short. Yet people were very strong and healthy, all that could do anything wrought diligently, and continued clearing and planting as long as the season would admit, so that they made provisions for the ensuing year. As they had but few beasts, a little served them, and as the range was good, they had no need of feeding creatures for some years. I remember that among the first things my father brought from the boat was his gun, which was one of Queen Anne's muskets. He had her loaded with swan shot. One morning, when we were at breakfast, there was a travelling 'possum' on his way, passing by the door: my mother screamed out, saying, 'There is a great bear!' Mother and us children hid ourselves behind some barrels and a chest, at the other end of our hut, whilst father got his gun, and steadied her, past the fork that held up that end of the house, and shot him about the hinder parts, which caused poor possum to grin and open her mouth in a frightful manner. Father was in haste to give him a second bout, but the shot being mislaid in the hurry, could not be found. We were penned up for some time. Father at length ventured out and killed it with a pale. Another source of alarm was the Indians. When they came to hunt in the spring, they were in great numbers in all places like the Egyptian locusts, but they were not hurtful. We had a great deal of trouble and hardships in our first settling, but the few inhabitants continued still in health and strength. Yet we were oppressed with fears, on divers accounts, especially of being massacred by the Indians, or bit by snakes, or torn by wild beasts, or being lost and perishing in the woods. Of this last calamity there were three instances."

These fears were not groundless. January, 1737-8, the Welsh on the Pedee complained of their apprehensions from the Indians. The Waterees protested against the laying out of the Wateree township [Fredericksburg, around Camden], and a family on Pine-tree Creek was murdered. The Catawbas were to be inquired of respecting it. Six men were appointed to range on the Santee for the safeguard of the inhabitants. —(Journals of Council, 1737-8, pp. 73, 74.)

"About the end of August, 1736, my uncle Robert arrived here. The ship he came in was called 'New Built.' She was a ship of great burden, and brought many passengers. They chiefly came up here, and obliged to travel by land, instead of provisions they had money given them by the publick, our second crop being in the ground when they came. As it was in the warm season, they were much fatigued in coming up, and many were taken with the fever and ague, and some died with that disorder, and many, after the ague ceased, grew dropsical and died. About this time the people began to form into societies, and sent to Ireland for a minister. One came, named Robert Heron. He stayed three years, and then returned to Ireland.\*

\* Their first call was made out for Rev. John Willison, of Scotland, author of the Mother's Catechism, a Practical Treatise on the Lord's Supper, and of the Discourses on the Atonement. The following anecdote is handed down by tradition of Mr. Gavin Witherspoon. Meeting his neighbors one day, this conversation is reported to have taken place. Witherspoon—"Wull, we must have a minister." "Wull, Mister Witherspoon, wha wull ye get to be your

In the fall of 1737 my grandfather took the rose in his leg (Erisipelas), which occasioned a fever of which he died. He was the first buried at Williamsburg Meeting House. He was a man of middle stature, of firm, healthy constitution, well acquainted with the scriptures, and had a volubility of expression in prayer. A zealous adherent of the reformed protestant principles of the church of Scotland, he had a great aversion against Episcopacy. And whoever reads the history of the times of his younger years in Scotland, may see that these prejudices were not without cause, as it was his lot to be in a time of great distress to the poor persecuted church in the reign of James VII. of Scotland, and II. of England, as he was one of the sort that followed field-meetings; some of his kindred and himself were much harassed by them. Yet notwithstanding, if his younger years were attended with some trouble, he enjoyed great peace and tranquillity in his after life."

These private memoirs, though hardly entitled to a place in a formal history, are interesting, as showing the difficulties of new settlers in a strange country, and illustrate the religious earnestness of our Presbyterian ancestors, who took measures for the public worship of God as soon as they had obtained a shelter for their own households. On the 2d of July, 1736, they petitioned the lieutenant-governor and council for the tract of land which is now the parsonage, with a view of building the church and manse on the same plat of ground. William James was selected to present this petition. The petition was not granted till the 3d of July, 1741, five years afterwards. Meanwhile land was purchased, in 1738, from Roger Gordon, one of the earliest immigrants, on which the church was erected.

In reference to this Williamsburg colony, Hewat says:—

"The first colony of Irish people had lands granted them near the Santee river, and formed the settlement called Williamsburg Township. But notwithstanding the bounty of the Crown, these poor emigrants remained for several years in low and miserable circumstances. The rigors of the climate, joined to the want of precaution, so common to strangers, proved fatal to numbers of them. Having but scanty provisions in the first age of cultivation, vast numbers, by their heavy labor, being both debilitated in body and dejected in spirit, sickened and died in the woods. But as this township received frequent supplies from the same quarter, the Irish settlement, amidst every hardship, increased in number; and at length they applied to the merchants for negroes, who intrusted them with a few, by which means they were relieved from the severest part of the labor. Then, by their great diligence and industry, spots of land were gradually cleared, which in the

minister?" "Wull, wha but Mister Wulluson o' Dundee?" "But the minister must have a muckle sight o' money for his living." "An' that we must gie him," says Mr. Witherspoon. "An' how much, Mr. Wother-spoon, wull ye gie?" "Ten poonds," was the ready reply. "But, Mr. Wother-spoon, whar 'll ye git the ten poonds." "Why, if wus comes to wus, I e'en can sell my cou," says he. Mr. Willison of Dundee was accordingly sent for to preach the gospel in the wilds of Carolina. The Rev. Robert Heron, who came instead, commenced his labors with zeal, and pursued them with fidelity. The congregation was formally organized as a Presbyterian church under his ministry in August, 1736, and greatly prospered. He returned to Ireland in 1740 or 1741, where he remained, it is believed, till his death.

first place yielded them provisions, and in process of time became moderate and fruitful estates."—(Hewat, vol. ii., pp. 63, 64.)

In the journals of the council, January 26th, 1737-8, the petition of several poor Irish Protestants is mentioned, who petition for warrants for survey in either of the townships on the Pedee. A fund for the support of poor Protestants is provided for by a revival of the duty on negroes. Charleston is represented as being filled with poor Protestants from Ireland and elsewhere, begging from door to door, (p. 53). The advice of the Upper House is, that they enter into service. The Lower House objects to driving freemen "into a state of servitude," and proposes the borrowing of £4000 to be applied for the relief of such cases.

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## CHAPTER II.

THIS also was the period of the settlement of ORANGEBURG. A trader, Henry Sterling, had located himself, and obtained a grant of land on Lyon's Creek, in 1704. But it was not until 1735 that this portion of the province had any considerable number of whites. The arrival of the settlers who found their way thither is thus mentioned in the South Carolina Gazette, under date of July 26th:—"On Sunday last arrived two hundred Palatines; most of them being poor, they were obliged to sell themselves and their children for their passage (which is six pistoles in gold per head) within a fortnight of the time of their arrival, or else to pay one pistole more to be carried to Philadelphia. The most of them are farmers, and some tradesmen. About two hundred and twenty of the Switzers that have paid all their passages are now going up the Edisto to settle a township there. The government defrays them on their journey, provides them provisions for one year, and gives them fifty acres a head. The quantity of corn bought for them has made the price rise from fifteen shillings, as it was last week, to twenty shillings."

These persons became the first settlers in Orangeburg township, which had been laid out in a parallelogram of fifteen miles by five on the North Edisto, and was called Orangeburg in honor of the Prince of Orange. Germans of the [Lower] Palatinate settled in the township, but some portion of the settlers were from Switzerland, from the cantons of

Berne, Zurich, and the Grisons, and were Calvinists we suppose of the Helvetic confession, and Presbyterian in their views of church government. Their minister, John Ulrich Giessendanner, came with them, and the register of marriages, baptisms, and burials, commenced by him in the German language, was continued by his nephew and successor, John Giessendanner, down to the year 1760. John Ulrich Giessendanner died in the year 1738. His nephew John, by the request of the congregation, went to Charleston for the purpose of "obtaining orders" from Rev. Alexander Garden, the Bishop of London's commissary, but was persuaded by Major Christian Mote, whom he met, that he ought not to apply to him, but to other gentlemen to whom he would conduct him, who, if they found him qualified, would give him authority to preach. Major Mote made him acquainted with the Presbytery of South Carolina, who in 1738 gave him authority to preach the gospel among his German neighbors. This he continued to do, and thus kept up the church of their fathers unchanged for a season, though he afterwards went to London and took Episcopal ordination.—(Journal of Upper House of Assembly, vol. x., 1743-1744.) We find the arrival of other Palatines mentioned in December, 1732, who were to be settled at the head of Pon Pon, and of other Switzers settled in New Windsor, whose minister, Bartholomew Zauberbuhler, was allowed by the governor and council £250, as a present.\* And in 1737-8 the population of this township, which commenced on the Savannah above Hamburg, and extended along the river nearly to Silver Bluff, contained such a number of settlers, that the garrison of Fort Moore was reduced to a smaller number.

During this period the FRENCH CHURCHES seem to have settled quietly down, excepting the one in Charleston (and perhaps in some measure that of Orange Quarter), under Episcopal rule. The Bishop of London very sagaciously supplied

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\* Journal of Governor and Council, December, 1736. Bartholomew Zauberbuhler emigrated from St. Gall in Switzerland (where his father was a Swiss minister) to the colony at Puryburg. He received a good English and classical education at Charleston. He was not at this time under Episcopal orders, but he afterwards went over to England, and at the recommendation of Commissary Garden was ordained by the Bishop of London, and sent out by the trustees of Georgia as a missionary to Vernonsburg. He arrived at Frederica January 22d, 1746.—Stevens' Hist. of Ga., i., 359. The colony was brought out under the agency of Rev. Sebastian Zauberbuhler, assisted by himself. An order of the king in council is on record granting them forty-eight thousand acres. These people have become commingled with our population, and few of them are found in the Presbyterian church.

them with a ministry of French extraction, who were proficient in the French language, and would be less likely to bring to their notice the change which they had made. The names of Le Jau, of Tustian, of Ponderous, of Varnod, of Tissot, of Coulet, of Du Plessis, were familiar to the French Huguenots, and with the influence these men exerted, may have done much to reconcile them to leaving the customs of their fathers.

The CHURCH in CHARLESTON remained faithful. Its services were continued, though with serious interruptions. We have seen that it was vacant in 1725. From a list of the ministers made by Colonel George W. Cross, now in the possession of Daniel Ravenel, Esq., and in the handwriting of Colonel Cross (whose list may have been taken from minutes now lost, or who may have been aided by the recollections of his mother, a sister of Judge Trezevant, and a worshipper in the church in her early life), Rev. Mr. Lescot is set down as the pastor, beginning at some time after the preceding date, till the year 1734, at which date the pastorship of the Rev. François Guichard commences. The congregation was however vacant in 1731, for in that year they made application to the London Walloon church, requesting a pastor to be sent to them, who would receive £80 per annum, and £25 or more for his passage; the letter was signed Peter Fillen, Etienne Mounier, Mathurin Boigard, Jean le Breton, André de Veaux, Anthoine Bonneau, Jacob Satur, Joel Poinset, Jean Garnier, Jaque le Chantre, C. Birot.\* Ramsay (vol. ii., p. 39) dates the beginning of Mr. Guichard's pastorship in 1722. His register of baptisms, however, does not begin till 1733, and 1733 or 1734 seems to be the date at which his ministry in that church commences.†

† The Baptist church in Charleston, founded, as we have before mentioned, in 1698, after William Screven, who died October 10th, 1713, had for its minister, Rev. Mr. Peart, and Rev. Thomas Simmons, who died January 31st, 1749, and

\* Burns, Hist. of the French, Walloon, Dutch, and other Foreign Churches in England. London, 1846, p. 19, note.

† It begins thus:—"Registre de Baptemes, Mariages, et Entremens. J'ai baptisé Marie Anne née Septembre, 1732, fille de Isaac et de Marie Mazick, qui a en Parran Jacques de Saint Julien et pour Maraine Marie Anne Godin. A Charlestown, ce 6th Avril, 1733, François Guichard. J'ai baptisé l'enfant de Monsieur George Mille et de Susanne Mille. Je lui ai donné le nom de Perside Charlotte. Le Parran se nomme Jonas Bonhoste et la Maraine s'apelle Perside Mongin. A Charlestown, ce 21st Mai, 1733.—Signed, Jonas Bonhoste, Perside Mongin, François Guichard, Ministre."

whose ministry in Charleston commenced in 1729. During the period of which we now speak, a Baptist church was gathered on Ashley river, May 24th, 1736, the pastor of which was Rev. Isaac Chanler, a native of Bristol, England. While pastor on Ashley river he published a volume in small quarto on "The Doctrines of Glorious Grace, unfolded, defended, and practically improved," which probably is the earliest theological treatise written in Carolina. He also published a "Treatise on Original Sin." The church on Ashley river became extinct during the Revolution. The Baptist church of Welch Neck was founded January, 1738. Rev. Mr. Tilly was the Baptist minister on Edisto Island, and died there April 14th, 1744.—(History of Charleston Association, by Wood Furman, A. M., Charleston, 1811.)

The Episcopal church still received ministers from England, through the labors of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and under the fostering care of government many of a different faith, especially of the foreign churches, continued to unite with them. Dr. Hewat, in his history, has the following paragraphs, which occur in connection with the events of this period, but have a retrospective view extending over the whole preceding years of this century.

"By this time," says he, "the Episcopalian form of divine worship had gained ground in Carolina, and was more countenanced by the people than any other. That zeal for the right of private judgment had much abated, and those prejudices against the hierarchy, which the first emigrants carried from England with them, were now almost entirely worn off from the succeeding generation. To bring about this change, no doubt the well-timed zeal and extensive bounty of the society, incorporated for the propagation of the gospel, had greatly contributed. At this time the corporation had no less than twelve missionaries in Carolina, each of whom shared of their bounty. Indeed, a mild church-government, together with able, virtuous, and prudent teachers, in time commonly give the establishment in every country a superiority over all sectaries. Spacious churches had been erected in the province, which were pretty well supplied with clergymen, who were paid from the public treasury, and countenanced by the civil authority, all which favored the established church. The dissenters of Carolina were not only obliged to erect and uphold their churches, and maintain their clergy by private contributions, but also to contribute their share in the way of taxes, in proportion to their ability, equally with their neighbors, towards the maintenance of the poor, and the support of the establishment. This indeed many of them considered as a grievance, but having but few friends in the provincial assembly, no redress could be obtained for them. Besides, the establishment gave its adherents many advantageous privileges in point of power and authority over persons of other denominations. It gave them the best chance for being elected members of the legislature, and of course of being appointed to offices, both civil and military, in their respective districts. Over youthful minds, fond of power, pomp, and military parade, such advantages have great weight. Dissenters indeed had the free choice of their ministers, but even this is often the cause of division. When differ-

ences happen in a parish, the minority must yield, and therefore through private pique, discontent, or resentment, they often conform to the establishment. It is always difficult, and often impossible, for a minister to please all parties, especially where all claim an equal right to judge and choose for themselves, and divisions and subdivisions seldom fail to ruin the power and influence of all sectaries. This was evidently the case in Carolina: for many of the posterity of rigid dissenters were now found firm adherents to the Church of England, which had grown numerous on the ruins of the dissenting interest.

"However, the emigrants from Scotland and Ireland, most of whom were Presbyterians, still composed a considerable party of the province, and kept up the Presbyterian form of worship in it. Archibald Stobo, of whom I have formerly taken notice, by great diligence and ability still preserved a number of followers. An association had been formed in favor of this mode of religious worship, by Messrs. Stobo, Fisher, and Witherspoon, three ministers of the Church of Scotland, together with Joseph Stanyard, and Joseph Blake, men of respectable characters and considerable fortunes. The Presbyterians had already erected churches at Charlestown, Wiltown, and in three of the maritime islands, for the use of the people adhering to that form of religious worship. As the inhabitants multiplied, several more in different parts of the province afterward joined them, and built churches, particularly at Jacksonburgh, Indian Town, Port-Royal, and Williamsburgh. The first clergymen having received their ordination in the Church of Scotland, the fundamental rules of the association were framed according to the forms, doctrines, and discipline of that establishment, to which they agreed to conform as closely as their local circumstances would admit. These ministers adopted this mode of religious worship, not only from a persuasion of its conformity to the primitive apostolic form, but also from a conviction of its being, of all others, the most favorable to civil liberty, equality, and independence. Sensible that not only natural endowments, but also a competent measure of learning and acquired knowledge were necessary to qualify men for the sacred function, and enable them to discharge the duties of it with honor and success, they associated on purpose to prevent deluded mechanics, and illiterate novices, from creeping into the pulpit, to the disgrace of the character, and the injury of religion. In different parts of the province, persons of this stamp had appeared, who cried down all establishments, both civil and religious, and seduced weak minds from the duties of allegiance, and all that the presbytery could do was to prevent them from teaching under the sanction of their authority. But this association of Presbyterians having little countenance from government, and no name or authority in law, their success depended wholly on the superior knowledge, popular talents, and exemplary life of their ministers. From time to time clergymen were afterward sent out at the request of the people from Scotland and Ireland; and the colonists contributed to maintain them, till at length funds were established in trust by private legacies and donations, to be appropriated for the support of Presbyterian ministers, and the encouragement of that mode of religious worship and government."

In the last half of the period of which we have been speaking, 1730-1740, began that series of events which led to the remarkable revival of pure religion which has been called "The Great Awakening." The state of religion in England was confessedly low. Piety was called fanaticism, and formalism among those who professed religion was in the ascendant. The same condition of things which Bishop Burnet so bewails in the beginning of this century was still prevailing. "The

outward state of things," said he, "is black enough, God knows; but that which heightens my fears rises chiefly from the inward state into which we are unhappily fallen." "The much greater part of those who come to be ordained are ignorant to a degree not to be apprehended by those who are not obliged to know it. Those who have read some few books, yet never seem to have read the Scriptures." "The case is not much better in many who have got into orders." Archbishop Secker, Butler in the preface to his *Analogy*, Watts, and others, testify to the general decay in vital godliness. The right of presentation to a "living" was owned in many instances by noblemen, whose ancestors had endowed the parish churches in ancient times, or who had purchased this right as a provision for a younger son; and these young men were educated for the church irrespective of their spiritual state, as others were educated for the army or for public life. The same power of patronage existed in Scotland, and though repeatedly abolished, was as often renewed, and was attended with the same evil effects. It was under these circumstances that God was pleased in a remarkable manner to pour out the influences of his Spirit. In 1734 occurred a great revival of religion at Northampton, Mass., which extended to many other towns. The same results followed in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, a little later, under the preaching of Samuel Blair and the Tennents. Contemporaneously with these events, and for some time previous, "Methodism" was receiving its earliest beginnings in the University of Oxford. Its founder, John Wesley, was the grandson of one of the two thousand Non-conformist divines of England who were ejected from their livings in the days of Charles the Second. His mother, a woman of great energy and eminent piety and intelligence, was the daughter of Dr. Annesley, a Puritan divine of great influence and worth. He and his brother Charles, with Messrs. Morgan and Kirkham, bound themselves to pursue a methodical life of study, religious and ascetic observance, and obtained among their companions in the University, for this reason, the name of "Methodists." In 1732 they were joined by Ingham and Broughton, Clayton, and Hervey, the author of "Theron and Aspasio." In 1734 the celebrated George Whitefield, then a servitor in Pembroke College of the same University, became a member of this brotherhood, and shared with them the ridicule they encountered among their fellow-students. They took orders in the Church of England, and had no other intention, till they were compelled by the perse-

cution they met with, than to labor within its bounds. The principal members of this fraternity became connected with the Georgia colony in its earliest period. The first clergyman we read of in the infant colony of Georgia was the Rev. Henry Herbert, D. D., who offered to accompany the first colonists without fee or reward, and to assist them in their settlement. He returned after spending three months in Georgia, and died on his passage to England. General Oglethorpe remained with the colony some fifteen months. The Rev. Samuel Quincy, a kinsman of the Quincys of Massachusetts, succeeded the Rev. Dr. Herbert as missionary to Georgia. He left England in March, 1733, and continued at his post till October, 1735, when he left, disgusted at the conduct of "the insolent and tyrannical magistrate to whom the government of the colony was committed." On Oglethorpe's return to Georgia, in 1735; he was accompanied by John and Charles Wesley, who lived with him at his table, and were treated by him with deference and kindness. These men had been drawn to this new colony by the prospect it held out to them of a missionary life among the Indians of the American wilderness. There accompanied them also two of their friends, Ingham and Delamotte. In the same vessel sailed twenty-five Moravians, under their bishop, David Nitschman, and a company of Salzburger, under the charge of Philip George Frederick de Reck. This mission was fruitful in greater good to Wesley than of service to the colony itself. His life had been one of religious formalism and severe asceticism. He now learned the nature of true religion. On their passage across the Atlantic they encountered a dreadful storm, their mainsail was rent in pieces, and the sea broke violently over their frail vessel. The English on board were filled with terror, and screamed out with fear. They were in the midst of their Sabbath worship, engaged in a psalm of praise. The Germans calmly sang on as if nothing had occurred. "Were you not afraid?" said Wesley to one of them. He answered, "I thank God, no." "But were not your women and children?" "No; our women and children are not afraid to die." The beautiful simplicity of this confiding faith moved the heart of Wesley. He could but feel in his inmost soul that it was a faith he had not yet attained. When he met Spangenberg, one of their pastors, after his arrival in America, and inquired of him as to the best plans of ministerial labor—"My brother," said he, "I must first ask you one or two questions. Have you the witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit

that you are a child of God?" Perceiving Wesley's embarrassment, he again asked, "Do you know Jesus Christ?" "I know he is the Saviour of the world," replied Wesley. "True," rejoined the Moravian, "but do you know that he has saved *you*?" "I hope he has died to save me," said he. Spangenberg added, "Do you know yourself?" "I do," answered Wesley; "but," added he, "I fear they were mere words." After he had again returned to England he writes in allusion to these times, "This then have I learned in the ends of the earth—that I am fallen short of the glory of God." "I have no hope but that of being justified freely, through the redemption of Jesus Christ."

These convictions were to bear fruit in his after life. The missionaries had been visited on board their vessel by Tomochichi, the Indian chief who had visited England, and who bade him welcome. John and Charles Wesley rowed by Savannah to pay their "first visit in America to the poor Indians," but were disappointed at finding them absent, which was but a prelude to the disappointment which they met with in this their main object in coming to America. Wesley's first public exercises were well attended in Savannah, and he entered on his duties with great enthusiasm; but his ministry was attended with small success. He soon estranged the people from him by severity. He would baptize children only by immersion; he denied the sacrament to one of the most pious men of the colony, because he had not received baptism by Episcopal hands. He estranged a numerous and influential family by an unfortunate courtship, from which he retired under the advice of the elders of the Moravian church, whom he consulted. His congregation became thin, and but little interested in him. His brother Charles, who was secretary for Indian affairs, and chaplain of Oglethorpe at Frederica, wore out the people with his four public services a day; persecution was raised against him; every kind of indignity was offered him; Oglethorpe's affections were for a time withdrawn from him, and he was threatened with assassination. He left the colony, returning by the way of Boston. John Wesley, about fifteen months afterwards, followed him, leaving privately to avoid a vexatious detention.—(Journal of Wm. Stephens, Sec. of the Trustees, vol. i., p. 45.)

His place was supplied by that paragon of successful pulpit eloquence, George Whitefield, who, though disowned by his own church, had no small share in introducing that epoch which is the starting-point of our modern religious history. He had

passed through the same experience of spiritual agony with Wesley, and sought deliverance from sin and guilt in ascetic inflictions. He did penance in good earnest for the relief of his soul. "I always chose," says he, "the worst sort of food; my apparel was mean. I thought it unbecoming a penitent to have my hair powdered. I wore woollen gloves, a patched gown, and dirty shoes. I went to Christ Church walk, near our college, and continued in silent prayer nearly two hours—sometimes lying flat on my face, sometimes kneeling upon my knees." Under these self-inflicted torments his "memory failed," his power of meditating was taken from him; he "could fancy himself like nothing so much as a man locked up in iron armor." A serious illness of many weeks was the result. This illness he regarded as "a glorious visitation." As he was convalescing, he was accustomed to spend two hours over his Greek Testament, with wrestling prayer. He was delivered from his burden. "The spirit of mourning was taken from me, and I knew what it was truly to rejoice in God my Saviour. For some time I could not avoid singing psalms wherever I was." "The star which I had seen in the distance before began to appear again,—the day-star arose in my heart." He passed through the same experience with Luther, in the cloister at Erfurth, and was another illustration of the old maxim that there are three things which make the minister of Christ: *Tentatio, Meditatio, Precatio*,—Temptation, Meditation, and Prayer. At twenty-one years of age, contrary to the resolution of the diocesans, he was ordained, by Bishop Benson, to the office of deacon in the Church of England. He had often "prayed against entering into the service of the church *so soon*." He had frequently said: "Lord, I am a youth of uncircumcised lips; Lord, send me not into thy vineyard yet." Yet he yielded, fearing he should fight against God. "I can call heaven and earth to witness," said he, "that when the bishop laid his hand upon me, I gave myself up to be a martyr for Him who hung upon the cross for me." His first sermon in the church of St. Mary de Crypt, where he was baptized, gave proof of his future success. The sight of the large congregation at first awed him, but, as he proceeded, "he perceived the fire kindled." "Glorious Jesus," he writes,

"Unloose my stammering tongue, to tell  
Thy love immense, unsearchable!"

While engaged in London and Oxford he had received letters from the Wesleys and Ingham, then in Georgia, inviting him

to the infant colony. "Only Mr. Delamotte," says John Wesley, "is with me, until God shall stir up the hearts of some of his servants to come over and help us. What if thou art the man, Mr. Whitefield? Do you ask me what you shall have?—Food to eat, and raiment to put on; a house to lay your head in, such as your master had not; and a crown of glory that fadeth not away." A profitable curacy was offered him in London, but he heeded it not. "My heart leaped within me," says he, "and, as it were, echoed to the call." He was accepted by the trustees as a missionary to Georgia, Dec. 21st, 1737, when he had just completed his twenty-second year. During the interval before his embarkation, the churches were thronged where he preached. It was difficult for him to make his way through the crowds to the pulpit. At Bristol "some climbed upon the roof of the church, others hung upon the rails of the organ-loft, and the mass within made the air so hot with their breath that the steam fell from the pillars like drops of rain." "The nearer the time of my embarkation, the more affectionate and eager the people grew. Thousands and thousands of prayers were put up for me. The people would run and stop me in the alleys of the churches, hug me in their arms, and follow me with wishful looks. Such a sacrament I never saw before as at St. Dunstan's. The tears of the communicants mingled with the cup; and had not Jesus given us some of his 'new wine,' our partings would have been insupportable." At length, "having preached in a good part of the London churches, collected about a thousand pounds for the charity schools, and got upwards of three hundred pounds for the poor in Georgia, I left London on Dec. 28th, 1737, in the twenty-third year of my age, and went, in the strength of God, as a poor pilgrim, on board the Whitaker." One "dear friend," James Habersham, accompanied him, who, in opposition to the views of his friends, resolved to cast in his lot with him. They landed in Savannah in the month of May, 1738; and Whitefield, though much reduced by fever, met with a kind reception from Delamotte, the catechist who accompanied Wesley, and by the authorities of the town.

William Stephens, who afterwards showed himself an enemy to his doctrines and a severe "critick" of his conduct, testifies on all occasions, during Whitefield's first visit, to the "engaging" character of his services, to his "eloquence," to the numbers and attention of the audiences who assembled to hear him, to his "assiduity in the performance of divine offices," to "his

open and easy deportment," and to the "indefatigable exercise of his ministry through the whole week in the adjacent villages as well as in the town." Soon after his arrival he was struck with the forlorn condition of the children whom he met with, and resolved to carry into effect the project of an Orphan House, which, he says, was not an original suggestion of his own, but "was proposed by his dear friend, Rev. Charles Wesley, who, with his excellency, Governor Oglethorpe, had concerted such a scheme before he, Whitefield, had any thought of going abroad." He "settled little schools in and about Savannah to breed the rising generation in the nurture and admonition of the Lord,"—(Whitefield's Letters, vol. i., p. 44, vol. iii., p. 463,)—and employed Mr. Habersham, who entered into his schemes with warm enthusiasm, to gather around him the youth in preparation for the great enterprise. He then set out for Charlestown in South Carolina, paid his first visit to Commissary Garden, and at his entreaty preached the next Sunday morning and evening in a grand church resembling one of the new churches in London. The inhabitants seemed at his first coming up to despise his youth, but their countenances were altered before worship was over. Mr. Garden thanked him most cordially, and apprised him of the ill treatment Mr. Wesley had met with in Georgia, and assured him that were the same arbitrary proceedings to commence against him, he would defend him with his life and fortune. He also said something about the colony of Georgia that much encouraged him, as if he thought its flourishing was not far off, and that Charlestown was fifteen times bigger now, than when he (Mr. Garden) first came there.—(Gillies' Life of Whitefield, p. 29). "The Bishop of London's commissary," says he in his journal, "the Rev. Mr. G., received me very courteously, and offered me a lodging. How does God raise up friends wherever I go!"

On the 6th of September, 1738, Mr. Whitefield embarked in a ship bound from Charlestown to London.

## BOOK EIGHTH.

A. D. 1740-1750.

## CHAPTER I.

THE year 1740 is signalized in the history of South Carolina by a servile insurrection, which, though limited in its extent, is yet the only one during the one hundred and ninety-nine years since negro slaves were first introduced by Governor Yeamans till this present moment, which ever came to a head and was fairly commenced. The relations of both Carolina and Georgia towards the Spaniards of Florida were far from being easy. The garrison at St. Augustine had been largely re-enforced, and representations having been made by Governor Bull of the threatening aspect of affairs, General Oglethorpe was sent out with a regiment of soldiers, and at the same time was made major-general of all the forces of Georgia and Carolina. The Spaniards attempted to seduce the Creek Indians and turn them against the Georgians. The Spanish government demanded of the British crown that Oglethorpe should be recalled. This being indignantly refused, an attempt was set on foot for his assassination, which was frustrated. Another attempt was now made to initiate a servile insurrection. There were at this time about forty thousand negroes in the province, who had not yet lost the fierceness of their savage state. Liberty and protection had been repeatedly promised them at St. Augustine, and Spanish emissaries had more than once been found tampering with them, and persuading them too successfully to escape to that settlement. The governor of Florida had formed a regiment of these refugees, allowing them the same pay, and clothing them in the same uniform, with the Spanish soldiers. Of these things many of the negroes in Carolina were aware. Five negro servants, who were cattle-hunters, some of whom belonged to Captain McPherson, after wounding his son and killing another man, made their escape. The people of Carolina were now thoroughly alarmed. In the midst of this agitation, a number of negroes having assembled at Stono, first surprised and killed two young men in a warehouse, and then took possession of the guns and ammunition with which it was supplied. Provided thus with arms, they elected one of their

number captain, and commenced their march towards the southwest, with colors flying and drums beating, in imitation of their brethren at St. Augustine. Entering the house of Mr. Godfrey, they murdered him, his wife, and children, took all the arms he had, set fire to the house, and marched towards Jacksonborough, plundering and burning every dwelling, killing the whites, and compelling the negroes to join them. Governor Bull was on his return to Charleston when he met the band, and seeing them armed, he swiftly rode out of their reach, and crossing over to John's Island, he arrived at Charleston, spreading the alarm. Mr. Golightly also encountered the insurgents, and rode quickly on to the Presbyterian church at Wilton, where Archibald Stobo was preaching to a numerous congregation. By law, the planters were obliged to go armed to church, and in this instance the law proved to be a beneficial regulation. The women were left trembling with fear. Mr. Golightly joined the armed men, who, under the command of Captain Bee, marched in quest of the negroes, now formidable in numbers. They had advanced fifteen miles, spreading desolation in their path. Having found rum in the houses they plundered, and drank freely of it, they halted in an open field, and began to sing and dance by way of triumph. The militia came upon them while they were occupied with these rejoicings. They had just got through their repast and were about moving off, having fired the dwelling-house at a plantation since known as "the Battlefield." The militia stationed themselves around, to prevent escape, and a party advanced into the open field to attack them. The intoxication of several favored the assailants. Their black captain, Cato, was shot, after he had discharged one musket and was stooping to take up another. A few others were killed. Many ran back to their plantations, in hopes of escaping detection in the absence of their masters. The greater part were taken and tried, the leaders and first insurgents were executed, and those compelled to join were pardoned. Governor Bull advised General Oglethorpe of the insurrection, desiring him to seize all straggling Spaniards and negroes whom he might find in Georgia, and a company of rangers was employed to patrol the frontiers and to block up all passages by which they might escape to Florida.—(Hewatt, vol. ii., 72-74; Ramsay, ii., 110-112.)

In this insurrection twenty whites were murdered, and but for the Presbyterian congregation at Wiltown, matters would have been much worse.

Rev. Mr. Stobo's long and useful ministry must have ceased soon after this. In a paper, dated October 15th, 1741, found in the archives of the Wilton church, mention is made of his death as a recent occurrence. His ministry in Carolina had reached through forty years of the eventful history of its early settlement. He had been the founder of several churches, had been the most influential man in forming the first presbytery organized in the province, which was the third in priority of organization of all the presbyteries of the United States. In the same year, November 18th, 1740, the Huguenot church in Charleston was burnt, and their early records perished in the conflagration. This was one item in the many losses which the city of Charleston at that time experienced. One-half of the city was consumed, three hundred of the best houses were reduced to ashes, large quantities of produce and merchandise destroyed, and many families ruined as to their earthly prospects. The occasion was suitably improved by the ministers of the gospel in their public ministrations. The sermon of Josiah Smith, occasioned by this event, entitled "The Burning of Sodom," was printed in Boston in the same year.—(No. 362, Old South Library, Boston.) In another discourse in commemoration of the same event, he thus describes this scene of terror, and then charges home upon the people the vices which prevailed among them:—"You can none of you have forgot the *Triumphs* of that *flaming* Day. Do you not remember how the *proud Flames* laugh'd at your *Engines*, your *Art*, and your *Numbers*? Have you forgot, how with *winged* Speed the Fire flew from House to House? How it seem'd to choose out your *fairest Buildings*, and burnt them down to their Foundation? Where was then the Beauty of *Charlestown-Bay*? Where was her *Merchandize and Traffick*? How did the *Gay Gentlemen* look? How did you *confess* your Weakness? What *Confusion* sate upon your Faces, and mingled with your Cries? What *Screamings*, what *wringing of Hands* among the *pitiful Women*? Yea, how were the stout-hearted spoiled, and their Hearts ready to fail, as if the *flaming Scenes* of Nature, which are to close the World, were already set open, as if the *Elements* were indeed in a Flame?"—(Sermons by Josiah Smith, A. M., Minister of the Gospel in Charlestown, So. Car., Boston, MDCCLVII., Serm. XV.)

The Rev. Mr. Whitefield, on his return to England, which he visited for the double purpose of obtaining ordination and furthering his project of an orphan-house, found himself received with cold civility. In two days five pulpits were

closed against him. The clergy began to see that his doctrine of a new birth and of justification without works of man's righteousness worked against them, while his zeal was a constant rebuke to the sloth and worldliness of too many of them. In proportion as he lost their confidence he gained upon the hearts of the common people.

In Bristol he had the use of the churches for two or three Sundays, but they were at length denied him. The embargo occasioned by a war with Spain being removed, and more than a thousand pounds being collected for the orphan-house, he embarked for Philadelphia, where he arrived in November, 1739. Multitudes gathered around him as in England, and all denominations flocked to hear him. In New York the Bishop of London's commissary refused him his pulpit. In the afternoon he preached in the fields, and in the evening in the pulpit of Mr. Pemberton's Presbyterian church on Wall street. It was in this city that in his discourse to a large number of sailors he introduced the description of a storm and shipwreck, which so wrought upon them that in the climax of the scene they sprang to their feet, exclaiming, "Take to the long-boat!" As he returned to Georgia by land he preached throughout his route, as was estimated, often to ten thousand people. He regarded himself as sometimes in danger. Once he heard the wolves "howling like a kennel of hounds near the road." He had a narrow escape in crossing the Potomac in a storm. Once he was obliged to swim his horse in crossing the swollen streams. One night he and his companion Seward lost themselves in the woods of South Carolina, and were greatly alarmed at seeing groups of negroes dancing around great fires. On his arrival in Charleston, the commissary, so friendly before, was absent, and the curate would not open the door of St. Philip's without his leave. Josiah Smith, the pastor, threw open the Independent church, and a large and "polite" congregation assembled to hear him. There was "an affected finery and gait of dress and deportment which," he says, "I question if the Court-end of London could exceed." The next morning, in the French church, the scene was altered. A visible and almost universal concern prevailed. Many of the inhabitants desired him to give them one sermon more; he deferred his journey to do so, and his labors were not in vain. On the 11th of January, 1740, he reached Savannah. Mr. Habersham had already selected a lot of five hundred acres, about ten miles from Savannah, as a site for the orphan-house, and had begun to clear it; and between attention to this and

his numerous religious services, his time was fully occupied. The subjects of his preaching for a number of Sabbaths were the doctrine of justification and the new birth, and though his congregations were large for so small a population, there were some to whom his doctrines were exceedingly distasteful. In March, 1740, he again visited Charleston to meet his brother, captain of a ship from England. Commissary Garden, who had pledged himself "to defend him with his life and fortune," had now become his enemy. On the 17th of March he addressed a letter to Whitefield, calling in question his doctrine of justification, and calling upon him to defend his charges against the Bishop of London and his clergy. Whitefield had said in his sermon, "Observe, my dear brethren, the words of the article—[the Twelfth Article of the Church of England]; good works are the fruit of faith, and follow justification. How can they then precede, or be any way the cause of it? No, our *persons* must be justified before our performances can be accepted." Garden replied, "If good works do necessarily spring out of a true and lively faith, and a true and lively faith necessarily precedes justification, the consequence is plain, that good works must not only follow after, but precede justification also." Whitefield replied the next day, declining the controversy, and in language less respectful than was proper to his ecclesiastical superior. "I perceive," says he, "that you are angry overmuch. Was I ever so much inclined to dispute, I would stay till the cool of the day. Your letter more and more confirms me that my charge against the clergy is just and reasonable. It would be endless to enter into such a private debate as you, Reverend Sir, seem desirous of. You have read my sermon; be pleased to read it again; and if there be anything contrary to sound doctrine, or the Articles of the Church of England, be pleased to let the public know it from the press." Garden wrote and published six letters against Whitefield. Mr. Garden descends in these letters to language unworthy of him as a minister of Christ. "Your Reverence," says he, addressing Whitefield; and if "the latter had been censorious and imprudent in the language he used," Garden in these letters was ill-mannered and virulent. They were answered in a style sarcastic and severe by the Rev. Andrew Crosswell, with an appendix in the same strain by one of the Boston pastors; probably the Rev. Joshua Gee.\* Gar-

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\* The copy we have seen in the Old South Church Library, Boston. "Six Letters to Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, by Alexander Garden, M. A., Rector

den contended that good works, though not the meritorious cause, were the condition and means of our justification. Crosswell shows that there must, in this case, be a certain amount of good works needed for the justification of each individual, and the precise amount being nowhere specified, a man must be always in doubt whether he is justified or not. "A man," says he, "might attain one-half, two-thirds, three-quarters, or ninety-nine hundredths of justification." "What would become of a poor sinner that should be taken out of the world at that unhappy juncture, wherein his justification was so near being effected that there wanted but one good wish, one '*Lord, have mercy on me*' more, to complete it? Shall a man be miserable forever for this defect?" "Or shall he be doomed to *purgatory* for a while, to satisfy for what was wanting, and thereby made meet for the inheritance of the saints in light? Lastly, I would ask, what will become of those good works which are the overplus after a man is justified?"—(Answer to Rev. Mr. Garden, Boston: Kneeland and Green, 1741.) Mr. Whitefield was again befriended by Mr. Smith, in whose meeting-house he preached. At the desire of some of the inhabitants he plead the cause of his orphans, and took up the first collection made for his orphan-house in America, which amounted to seventy pounds sterling. In reference to this visit to Charleston he says, "A great work I believe is begun there. God has given me an earnest of what he will do in America, by the large collection that was made at Charles Town." This he says when speaking of his intention to journey northward to preach the gospel, and make fresh collections for his orphans. "I have been a few days returned from Charles Town, where our Lord Jesus, I trust, has begun a glorious work. Many came to me under convictions, and were made to cry out, '*What shall we do to be saved?*'"—(Letters dated Savannah, March 26; New Brunswick, April 28, 1740.) On his return to Savannah he laid the first brick of his orphan-house, and called the institution Bethesda, the House of Mercy. This occurred on March the 25th. The next day, March 26th, the Rev. Josiah Smith preached in Charleston his famous sermon on the Character, Preaching, &c., of Rev. George Whitefield, which was forwarded to Dr. Colman and Mr. Cooper of Boston, who published it in Boston, A. D. 1740, with a commendatory preface. The large extract we here give will be

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of St. Philip's, Charlestown, and Commissary in South Carolina, together with Mr. Whitefield's Answer to the first Letter." Second Edition, Boston, F. Fleet, 1740, p. 54.) See also Tracy's "Great Awakening."

forgiven, not only for its eloquent and masterly defence of Whitefield, but as a favorable specimen of a minister of Christ who once occupied a conspicuous place in the city of Charleston, and deserves to be held in remembrance. It is from a copy preserved in the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Mass.

"Job 32: 17—'I said, I will answer, also my part, I also will show mine opinion.' My design from this text is to show my impartial opinion of that *son of thunder* who has lately graced and warmed *this* desk, and would have been an ornament, I think, to the best pulpit in the province. Happy shall I think myself if I can only clinch the nails, *this great master of assemblies* has already fastened. Elihu, the gallant youth before us, says, *I am now full of matter. The spirit within me constraineth me. My belly is as wine which hath no vent, it is ready to burst like new bottles. I will speak, that I may be refreshed.* Others have freely spoken their sentiments of the wondrous man before me, and I have heard the *defaming* as well as applause of many. *I said therefore, I will answer also my part, I also will show mine opinion.* In this I design no offence, nor would I give *flattering* titles to any man, lest my Maker should take me away.

"The scheme I propose is,

"I. To give my opinion of the doctrines he insisted upon and so well established.

"II. To speak something of the manner of his preaching.

"III. To offer my sentiments upon his person and character.

"Lastly. To give you my thoughts, what Providence seems to have in its view, in raising up men of this stamp in our day, almost everywhere spoken against, yet crowded after and justly admired.

"I. I shall give you my opinion of the doctrines he insisted on amongst us." Then follow Original Sin (Imputation). "Another doctrine we have lately had in the warmest language impressed upon us is the *Pauline* one of JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH ALONE, REGENERATION.

"Yet all that vast Reverence, with wh I have rec<sup>d</sup> these Doctrines from the Mouth of our famous Preacher, c<sup>d</sup> not win my Applause or Approbation of some few *harsher* Epithets and Expressions (you know what I mean) which dropt from his lips. These, in my opinion, may be pronounced *failings*; but such as often attend a *warm zeal* for Orthodoxy, in points of the last importance; arise from a principle of *Conscience*, and are found interwoven with the brightest Characters; and he that has none, let him cast the first stone.

"II. I shall next give you my opinion of the MANNER of his preaching. And here, I need not say, nor can my Pen describe, his *Action and Gesture*, in all their Strength and Decencies. He is certainly a *finished Preacher*, a great Master of Pulpit-Oratory and Elocution, while a noble negligence ran through his stile. Yet his discourses were very extraordinary when we consider how little they were *premeditated*, and how many of them he gave us the little time he was here. Many, I trust, have felt, and will long feel the Impressions of his Zeal and Fire, the Passion and Flame of his Expressions.

"He appeared to me, in all his Discourses, very deeply affected and impressed in his own Heart. How did that burn and boil within him when he spake of the things he had made, touching *the King!* How was his Tongue like the pen of a ready writer, touched as with a coal from the Altar! With what a Flow of words, what a ready profusion of language, did he speak to us upon the great concerns of our souls. In what a flaming light did he set our eternity before us! How earnestly did he press Christ upon us! How did he move our passions, with the constraining love of such a Redeemer!

*The Awe, the Silence, the Attention*, which sat upon the face of so great an audience, was an Argument how he could reign over all their powers. Many thought he spake as never man spake before him. So charmed were people with his manner of address, that they shut up their shops and forgot their secular business, and laid aside their schemes for the world; and the oftener he preached the keener edge he seemed to put on their desires of hearing him again. How awfully, with what thunder and sound, did he discharge the Artillery of Heaven upon us? And yet how could he soften and melt, even a *soldier of Ulysses*, with the love and mercy of God? How close, strong, and pungent were his Applications to the Conscience; mingling light and heat, pointing the Arrows of the Almighty at the Hearts of Sinners, while he poured the Balm upon the wounds of the Contrite, and made broken bones rejoice? Eternal Themes, the tremendous Solemnities of our religion, were all alive on his tongue! So methinks (if you will forgive the figure) Saint Paul would *look and speak* in a pulpit, and in some such manner, I have been tempted to conceive of a Seraph were he sent down to preach among us, and to tell what things he had seen and heard *above!* How bold and courageous did he look? He was no Flatterer, and would not allow men to settle upon their Lees; did not prophesy smooth things nor sew Pillows. He taught the way of God in Truth, and regarded not the person of men. The politest, the most modish of our vices he struck at; the most fashionable Entertainments, regardless of every one's presence, but His in whose name he spoke, with this Authority. And I dare warrant, if none should go to these diversions, till they have answered the solemn questions he put to their consciences, our Theatre would soon sink and perish. \* \* \*

"III. I now proceed to show my opinion of our Preacher, in his PERSONAL CHARACTER and behaviour. \* \* \* 'Tis indispensable with me that he affects no party in religion nor sets himself at the Head of any. Had this been his aim no man living has had fairer occasions offered; but he abhors the Spirit, he endeavors to suppress it. He is always careful to time his Sabbath discourses so as not to interfere with the stated hours of worship in that church, of which he is a professed member and minister, and, in the opinion of many people a very bright ornament, because, as he told us, he would not tempt away hearers from their proper and respective Pastors. And is not this a *noble and generous, a catholick and Christian Spirit?* He is not bigoted to the Modalities and lesser rites and Forms of religion, while zealous enough and very warm and jealous in all its essentials, especially in the divine Honours and Godhead of the Saviour. And now behold! God seems to have revived the ancient Spirit and Doctrines. He is raising up of our young men with zeal and courage to stem the Torrent. They have been in *labours more abundant*. They have preached with such *Fire, Assiduity, and success*; such a solemn awe have they struck upon their hearers; so unaccountably have they conquered the prejudices of many persons; such deep convictions have their sermons produced; so much have they roused and kindled the zeal of *ministers and people*; so *intrepidly* do they push through all opposition, that my soul overflows with Joy, and my heart is too full to express my Hopes. It looks as if some happy period were opening, to bless the world with another Reformation."

Mr. Whitefield visited Charleston again, the 30th of June, 1744, and preached in that city, at Dorchester, Ashley Ferry, Pon Pon, and John's Island. On Sabbath, July 6th, he attended church at St. Philip's. "I heard the commissary," said he, "preach as virulent, unorthodox, and inconsistent a discourse as ever I heard in my life. His heart seemed full

of choler and resentment. Out of the abundance thereof he poured so many bitter words against the Methodists (as he called them) in general, and me in particular, that several who intended to receive the sacrament at his hands withdrew. Never, I believe, was such a preparation sermon preached before. After sermon, he sent his clerk to desire me not to come to the sacrament till he had spoken with me. I immediately retired to my lodgings, rejoicing that I was accounted worthy to suffer this further degree of contempt for my dear Lord's sake." On the following day the commissary issued a writ against Whitefield, citing him to appear before his ecclesiastical court. It was couched in the following terms:—

"Alexander Garden, lawfully constituted Commissary of the Right Reverend Father in Christ, Edmund, by Divine permission Lord Bishop of London, supported by the royal authority underwritten.—

"Alexander Garden.

"To all and singular clerks and literate persons whomsoever, in and throughout the whole province of South Carolina, wheresoever appointed, Greeting.

"To you conjunctly and severally, we commit, and strictly enjoining, command, that you do cite, or cause to be cited, peremptorily, George Whitefield, clerk and presbyter of the Church of England, that he lawfully appear before us in the parish church of St. Philip, Charlestown, and in the judicial place of the same, on Tuesday, the 15th day of the instant July, 'twixt the hours of nine and ten in the forenoon, then and there in justice to answer to certain articles, heads or interrogatories which will be objected and ministered unto him concerning the mere health of his soul, and the reformation and correction of his manners and excesses, and chiefly for omitting to use the form of prayers prescribed in the Communion Book: and further, to do and receive what shall be just on that behalf, on pain of law and contempt. And what you shall do in the premises, you shall duly certify us, together with these presents.

"Given under our hands and seals of our office, at Charlestown, this seventh day of July, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and forty."

This citation appeared to give Mr. Whitefield little alarm. On the same day this writ was issued he preached for Mr. Chanler, "a gracious Baptist minister about fourteen miles from Charlestown," and on the next day twice "to a large audience in Mr. Osgood's meeting-house, a young Independent minister" at Dorchester; the next day at Dorchester in the morning and at Charleston in the evening; on the next day, the 10th, he preached and read prayers in Christ's church, and twice at Charleston on the next day. On the 11th the citation was served upon him; on the 12th he preached and read prayers twice on John's Island. On Sabbath, the 13th, he heard the commissary again. A man is not a very candid hearer who sits and hears himself preached

against. Whitefield thus describes the sermon:—"Had some infernal spirit been sent to draw my picture, I think it scarcely possible that he could paint me in more horrid colors. I think, if ever, then was the time that all manner of evil was spake against me falsely for Christ's sake. The commissary seemed to have ransacked church history for instances of enthusiasm and abused grace. He drew a parallel between me and all the Oliverians, Ranters, Quakers, French Prophets, till he came down to a family of Dutartes, who lived not many years ago in South Carolina, and were guilty of the most notorious incests and murders."—(See back, p. .) From the antecedents and theological views of Commissary Garden we are not surprised at the analogy he traced. Whitefield himself had not yet wholly defined the limits between true spiritual emotion, the direct work of the Holy Spirit, and that fanaticism which arises out of nervous excitement and is of the earth earthy. On the next day, Monday, July 14th, he again preached twice; and on Tuesday, the 15th, he appeared before the commissary and his court, consisting, besides himself, of the Rev. Messrs. William Guy, Timothy Mellichamp, Stephen Roe, and William Orr,\* assisting. "This is said to have been the first court of the kind ever attempted in the colonies."† Whitefield protested against the admission of any articles against him, doubted the authority of the court to proceed in the cause, and asked for time to offer his objections. The court adjourned till nine o'clock the next day for this purpose. He preached twice that same day. The court having assembled according to adjournment, Mr. Graham appeared as prosecuting attorney, and Mr. Andrew Rutledge as counsel for the respondent. He now made exceptions in writing "in recusation of the judge," and proposed to refer them to six indifferent arbitrators, three to be chosen by Commissary Garden. A reply was made to these exceptions by William Smith, their relevancy was argued in behalf of Mr. Whitefield by Mr. Rutledge, and the contrary by James Graham. On the adjournment of the court, he went to James Island, read prayers and preached. On the following day he appeared in court, found that the exceptions were repelled, that arbitrators would not be appointed, and took his

\* William Orr had been a Presbyterian minister, and was a fugitive from the discipline of his own church.—Webster's Hist. of the Pres. Ch., pp. 410, 411.

† Tracy, Great Awakening, p. 80.

appeal to the lords commissioners appointed by the king for hearing appeals in spiritual causes from the plantations in America.—(Dalcho, p. 130.) The following day, the 18th of July, he appeared before the commissary's court, and bound himself in a penalty of ten pounds to prosecute his appeal in London within twelve months. These things gave him no great uneasiness. Under the same date he writes, joyfully, "Praise the Lord, O my soul! Our glorious Emanuel seems to have girt his sword upon his thigh, and to be riding on from conquering to conquer. He gets himself the victory in Philadelphia. He is getting himself the victory in Charlestown also. Indeed a glorious work is begun and carried on here. Many souls are awakened to a sense of the divine life. The alteration in the people since I came here at first is surprising. I preach twice a day, generally, either in town or in the villages around. The commissary shoots out his arrows, even bitter words. He hath denied me the sacrament, and cited me to appear before him and his court; I was obliged to appeal home." "The Lord is bringing mighty things to pass. I am surprisingly strengthened to bear the heat and burden of every day. My dear Lord never leaves nor forsakes me, but works by my ministry more and more. O that I was humble! O that I was a little, little child. The inhabitants here are wondrous kind. They attend morning and evening most cheerfully on my preaching." The appeal referred to was never tried. Either Whitefield himself thought it not advisable to prosecute it, or the dignitaries at home shrunk from it as unfruitful in good.

"The court being ended, the commissary," says Whitefield, "desired to speak with me. I asked him to my lodgings. He chose to walk in a green, near the church. His spirit was somewhat calmer than usual; but after an hour's conversation we were as far from agreeing as before." "All his discourse was so inconsistent and contrary to the gospel of our Lord, that I was obliged to tell him that I believed him to be an unconverted man, an enemy to God, and of a like spirit with the persecutor Saul. At this he smiled; and, after we had walked a long while, we parted; and God gave me great satisfaction that I had delivered my soul in my private conversation with the commissary." This was one of the many instances in which he expressed his judgment of the religious state of ministers of the gospel that were opposed to him, more to his own injury than to theirs, and of which, as well as

many other imprudent things, he expressed his regret in after life. Commissary Garden had satisfied his own conscience, and he could be calm now as well as Whitefield.

On July 20th, being the Sabbath, Garden preached in his wonted style, and Whitefield pronounced his farewell discourse to the people of Charleston. He "advised the people, as the gospel was not preached in the church, to go and hear it in the meeting-house." He speaks of a great change having taken place in that city since his coming. "What makes the change more remarkable in Charlestown people is, that they seemed to me, at my first coming, to be a people wholly devoted to pleasure. One well acquainted with their manners and circumstances told me more had been spent on polite entertainments than the poor's rate came to; but now the jewellers and dancing-masters began to cry out that their craft is in danger. A vast alteration is discernible in ladies' dresses; and some, while I have been speaking, have been so convinced of the sin of wearing jewels, that I have seen them with blushes put their hands to their ears, and cover them with their fans. But I hope the reformation has gone further than externals. Many moral, good sort of men, who were before settled on their lees, have been gloriously awakened to seek after Jesus Christ; and many a Lydia's heart has been opened to receive the things that were spoken. Indeed, the word came like a hammer and a fire. And a door, I believe, will be opened for teaching the poor negroes. Several of them have done their work in less time, that they might come to hear me. Many of their owners, who have been awakened, resolve to teach them Christianity. Had I time, and proper schoolmasters, I might immediately erect a negro school in South Carolina, as well as in Pennsylvania. Many would willingly contribute both money and land."

He left Charleston on the 21st of July, preaching as he had opportunity on his way to Savannah. On the 23d he arrived at Hugh Bryan's, at Good Hope; the next day went in Hugh Bryan's boat to Beaufort; the next evening he arrived at Savannah, and supposing it to be the lesson for the day, he expounded the passage respecting "Alexander the copper-smith," which, says Tracy, "evidently reminded him of Alexander the commissary."—(Great Awakening, p. 82.) "The commissary felt himself called upon," says Dr. Dalcho, "by a sense of duty to his congregation, to counteract the opinions of Mr. Whitefield from the pulpit. He preached and afterwards published a sermon from Acts, xvii. 6: *These that have*

turned the world upside down are come hither also. This was replied to by Mr. Whitefield in a sermon from 2 Tim. iv. 14: *Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil; the Lord reward him according to his works.*—(Dalcho, Hist., p. 140.) On Sabbath, July 27th, several of his friends from Carolina were present who came to see the orphan-house; he was unable to preach in the forenoon. In the evening service, which he was persuaded to attempt, he received assistance from on high. "I soon found power communicated to me from above. I felt sweet melting in my soul, and, ere I had prayed long, Mr. Bull dropped down as though shot with a gun. He soon got up and sat attentively to hear the sermon. The power soon began to spread abroad; the greatest part of the congregation were under concern." The next day he was sent for to see Mr. Jonathan Bryan, whom he found "under great concern and strong convictions of sin." "On July 31st," says Mr. Stephens, who had no friendship for Mr. Whitefield or his doctrines, "Mr. Whitefield's sloop came in from Carolina, by which several of his disciples in those parts came," "one of them being an Anabaptist teacher." "Sunday, August 3d, divers of the Carolina strangers, who came last week, continuing with their wives, &c., among whom Mr. Jones, minister at Port Royal, was one; Mr. Whitefield had two divines with him on the bench this day, when Mr. Jones read the prayers of the church, who is a man of very good character and orthodox principles; Mr. Tilly, the Anabaptist teacher, sat as auditor only, and preaching was the part which Mr. Whitefield took to himself, the like before noon and after; when he seemed to exert himself in a particular manner, laboring to make good the doctrine which more especially he had taught hitherto." Mr. Jones preached the following Sabbath. Tuesday, August 12th—"Some of our Carolina strangers, who found themselves pretty well replenished with the Spirit, which they thought abounded from the doctrines they had learnt here, now left us; and Mr. Jones, the minister of Port Royal, also; but Mr. Tilly, being found useful during Mr. Whitefield's weakness, continued yet as a helper and fellow-laborer." So wrote the not very friendly pen of Mr. Stephens.—(Journal, vol. ii.) We learn from Mr. Whitefield himself that Messrs. Bull and Bryan returned home, rejoicing in hope. On the 15th he writes from Savannah: "The word runs like lightning in Charles Town. A serious, lively Baptist minister named Tilly is here also; he has preached often for me, and last Sunday received the sacrament in our way. O bigotry, thou art tumbling down

apace! Blessed be God." He had induced two or three dissenting ministers in and about Charleston to set up a weekly lecture. The first of these lectures was preached by Mr. Isaac Chanler, Baptist minister on Ashley river, and was published in Boston this same year.\*

Whitefield left Savannah on the 18th of August for Charleston, on his way to Boston. Mr. Bull and J. Bryan resorted to him in Charleston to be "more established" in the right way. "Mr. Hugh Bryan they left at home drinking deeply of the cup of God's consolations. His wife came with them to Charleston, a gracious woman. By my advice they returned home, with a resolution to begin a negro school for their slaves. A young stage-player, convinced when I was last at New York, and who providentially came to Georgia when Mr. Bryan was there, is to be their first teacher."

Whitefield touched at Charleston on his return from his northern tour, made a short visit to Savannah to adjust the affairs of the orphan-house, and on January 1st, 1741, was at Jonathan Bryan's at Good Hope, on his way to Charleston to embark for England. Here he preached in the evening. "The Lord made it a Bethel." He again speaks of the young man, "lately a player in New York." "The latter," he says, "I intend for the ministry. Mr. H[ugh] B[ryan]'s wife died not long since, rejoicing in God her Saviour. Several others in these parts are growing in grace, and Mr. C——'s ministry hath been much blessed."—(Letter ccxli., Jan. 1, 1741.) The S. C. Gazette of Jan. 8th, chronicles the arrival of Mr. Whitefield in the city of Charleston, and mentions the fact that he had preached twice every day. He was here brought into a new difficulty. Hugh Bryan had written a letter which he had submitted to Whitefield, who had made some "corrections and alterations" in it. Among other things "it *hin ed* that the clergy *break* their canons." This was published November 20th, 1740. Whitefield being now in town, he, Bryan, and the printer were arrested, and Whitefield was held accountable for the hand he had in the matter. In the writ it is charged that Whitefield "had made and composed a false, malicious, and

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\* New Converts exhorted to cleave to the Lord. A sermon on Acts xi. 23, preached July 30, 1740, at a Wednesday evening weekly lecture in Charles-Town, set up at the motion and at the desire of Mr. Whitefield. With a brief introduction relating to the character of that excellent man. By Isaac Chanler, minister of the Gospel on Ashley River, in the Province of South Carolina. With a preface by the Rev. Mr. Cooper of Boston, N. E. Acts, xi. 21—*And the hand of the Lord was with them.* Boston: printed by D. Fowle, 1740.

infamous libel against the clergy of this province, in contempt of his majesty." The parties were admitted to bail, Whitefield giving security in £100 proclamation money to appear by his attorney at the next quarter sessions. "Blessed be God," he says, "for this further honor." In writing to a friend in Boston, he says: "I am bound to appear next sessions, as well as Mr. B——. He, I believe, for libelling the king, and I for libelling the clergy, in saying they break the canons daily. I think, dear sir, these are earnest of what I may be expected to meet with in my own native country." The next morning he preached upon Herod's stratagem to kill Christ: in the afternoon, on the murder of Naboth. He did not spare his persecutors. "My hearers," he says, "as well as myself, made the application. It was pretty close." He embarked for England, Friday, January 15th. "He preached here," says the *S. C. Gazette*, "twenty-two times, and likewise exhorted great numbers of people every night at his lodgings." "I never received," he says, "such generous tokens of love, I think, from any people before, as from some in Charlestown. They so loaded me with sea-stores that I sent much of them to Savannah."

Such was the opposition on the one part, and the admiring devotion on the other, which this "burning and shining light" was destined to meet with wherever he should go. There was in him a fervid, glowing piety; he was a man of unequalled eloquence, bent on the salvation of souls. This won to him the hearts of a large portion of God's people of every name. And there was, on the other hand, enough of rashness, imprudence, and hasty judgment, especially of men's spiritual state, to give his enemies a handle for their assaults, and to make a large portion of the calm and judicious to stand aloof, and finally to be driven also into the ranks of opposition to him. Yet he was the most conspicuous instrument, in the hands of God, among all he used in the eighteenth century, of rousing the slumbering spirit of piety, and disenchanting the church, in our own and other denominations, from the spell of formalism and worldly conformity which rested upon her.

Hugh Bryan and his wife, Tracy thinks,—(Great Awakening, p. 113,)—though very pious persons, were, perhaps, rather weak-minded, and not very well informed, and that Whitefield immensely overrated them. Bryan was impulsive, ready for every good work, and was sometimes carried far beyond the bounds of prudence, and his piety must have predominated over his wisdom. He was, however, greatly esteemed by the most experienced and spiritual Christians. Mr. Hutson

speaks of him as a gentleman of character in civil life, having been honored with commissions both in the magistracy and militia of the province. He was born in 1699, and died the last day of December, 1753. He was taken captive in the beginning of the Indian war of 1715, so memorable in the early history of the province, and disposed of as a slave to a half-breed by the king or chief. His master was killed in an engagement with the whites, and his own personal liberty was by that means somewhat enlarged. As often as the whites gained an advantage over them, the Indians clamored for his life. But he was always protected by the Indian chief, for the kindness which his father had shown the savages in former years. He met with the Bible during his captivity. His Indian mistress gave him one, and a copy of Beveridge's *Private Thoughts*, taken from some white family they had killed. In the providence of God, he was brought by his captors to St. Augustine, where he was given up by the Indian chief who had always befriended him; from which place he regained the house of his father, to the great joy of all. He was, at the time of his first acquaintance with Whitefield, a man of handsome fortune, and had been attentive to the duties of outward religion. His visit to Whitefield at his house in Georgia, and the expositions of the gospel plan of salvation, and especially his doctrine of the new birth, was blessed to his conversion. His wife had been a religious woman, retired seven times a day for prayer, and observed frequent fasts. But she rested not on the true foundation. "It was owing," she says, "to a false notion she had learned from the books she read, and the doctrines she heard preached, that our works were a means of our justification, and that Christ's merits were to make up their deficiency." "That we were to be saved by faith alone, without any regard to works, past, present, or to come, was what I never heard any of our clergy preach." She found, however, the way of peace before she had read or heard Mr. Whitefield's views on the new birth and justification. "I would not have you think," she says, "that I was led away by him with his enthusiastic notions, as the world is pleased to call them." This family became, if not his wise, yet his devoted friends. Mrs. Bryan died, in the triumphs of faith, towards the close of 1740.\*

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\* See, for the above, "Living Christianity, delineated in the Diaries and Letters of two eminently pious persons, lately deceased, viz., Mr. Hugh Bryan and Mrs. Mary Hutson, both of South Carolina. With a preface by the Reverend Mr. John Conder and the Rev. Mr. Thomas Gibbons." Date

In the close of 1740, Rev. James Parker—born in Leicester, England, ordained to the ministry in London, and for seven years pastor at Gravesend—arrived in Charleston, being sent out by Dr. Watts and others, agreeably to the request of the church now known as the CIRCULAR Church. “Jan. 1st, 1741, he was elected pastor by this people, with a salary of £100 sterling and the parsonage,” which office he accepted for the term of four years. His ministry was a short one. He died on the 6th of July, 1742. In the record of his election the church is called the *Brick Presbyterian Church* in Charleston.\* Nov. 21st, 1742, Rev. Josiah Smith was elected pastor, with a salary of £800 currency for the first year, and the use of the parsonage, and the servant man, Boston, and £100 sterling thereafter.

During these years, and for some time after, the *South Carolina Gazette* is filled with attacks upon Mr. Whitefield, and rejoinders in his defence. They were generally under fictitious signatures. Probably many of them on the one side were by the commissary and his intimate friends, and on the other by Josiah Smith, the devoted friend of Whitefield and a champion in his favor. A year and a day had been allowed by Commissary Garden for Whitefield to prosecute his appeal. He had addressed the Bishop of London on the subject, especially to know whether the commissary “had any judicial authority against him, or any other clergyman, who did not belong to his province.” The bishop appears to have paid no attention to the inquiry. Garden was resolved to proceed as if no appeal had been made, he having received no orders from the superior court whatever. He pronounced his final decree, after reciting the circumstances, in the words following:—

“Therefore We, Alexander Garden, the Judge aforesaid, having invoked the name of Christ, and setting and having God himself alone before our eyes, and by and with the advice of the Rev. persons, William Guy, Timothy Mellichamp, Stephen Roe, and William Orr, with whom in part we have advised and maturely deliberated, Do Pronounce, Decree, and Declare the

of preface, Feb. 11, 1760. Part II., relating to Mrs. Hutson, is prefaced by J. J. Zubly and J. Edwards, and dated Jan. 31, 1759. The former part was collected, and forwarded to Dennis de Berdt, merchant in London, by Rev. William Hutson; American reprint: Boston, 1809, pp. 165, 12mo.

See Whitefield's Journal, where a letter from Hugh Bryan, giving an account of her death, is copied.

\* MS. Records of the Circular Church.

In Mr. Peronneau's will, who bequeathed to the church £1500, in 1740, it is called the Independent Church; in 1742, the Brick Presbyterian Church; in 1745, in the will of James Matthews, who bequeathed £200, it is called “the Congregation of Christian Dissenters, to whom the Northernmost Brick Meeting-house belongs.”

aforesaid George Whitefield to have been, at the times articted, and now, to be a Priest of the Church of England, and at the times and days in that part articted, to have officiated as a Minister in diverse Meeting-houses in Charles-Town, in the Province of South Carolina, by praying and preaching to public congregations, and at such times to have omitted the form of prayer prescribed in the Communion Book, or Book of Common Prayer; or at least, according to the laws, canons, and constitutions ecclesiastical in that part made, provided, and promulged, not to have used the same according to the lawful proofs before us in that part judicially had and made.

"We therefore pronounce, decree, and declare, that the said George Whitefield, for his excesses and faults, ought duly and canonically, and according to the exigency of the law in that part of the premises, to be corrected and punished, and also to be suspended from his Office; and accordingly by These Presents, we do suspend him, the said George Whitefield; and for so suspended, we also Pronounce, Decree, and Declare him to be Denounced, Declared, and Published openly and publickly in the face of the Church."

This suspension from the ministry was based upon his omitting to use the Common Prayer, which he did use whenever he could obtain admission to Episcopal churches. It was "for not reading the Common Prayer," says he, in his letter to the Bishop of London, "in the meeting-house, which I was obliged to preach in at Charlestown (unless I would be silent), because the commissary would not let me have the use of his church." For Whitefield to have used the Common Prayer in congregations where they were unused to it and where there were no books, would have been simply ridiculous, and would have prejudiced the people against him and his message.—(Ramsay, ii. 12, 13, 14; Dalcho, 120 et seq.; S. C. Gazette, Jan. 22, 1742.)

A circumstance occurred about this time which was much circulated at the north, when Davenport in Connecticut was giving way to the wildest fanaticism. Mr. Hugh Bryan had enlisted earnestly, at the suggestion of Whitefield, in the religious instruction of the negroes, and, as we have seen, "the young stage-player was to be their first teacher." His zeal carried him at last beyond all bounds. His imagination became greatly excited and diseased. He is reported to have sent twenty closely-written sheets of his journal, containing predictions and the like, to the speaker of the Commons House of the province. (The journals published by Mr. Hutson contain no such things, but only the exercises of a soul under the stirrings of divine grace.) It was said that he was encamped in the woods, gathering multitudes of people around him, especially negroes; and that he had procured fire-arms to be sent from Charleston for some dangerous purpose. This matter was brought to the notice of the public by a presentment of the grand jury, charging him with uttering enthu-

siastic prophecies of the "destruction of Charles-Town, and of assembling great bodies of negroes under pretence of religious worship, contrary to law," and detrimental to the public peace.—(MS. Journal of Commons House, 1742-1743, p. 174.) A warrant was issued for his apprehension. Before it could be served he had discovered his delusion. He addressed a letter to the speaker, Mr. Bull, and to the members of the Commons House, confessing his errors, and asking pardon. This letter bears date March 1st, 1742. "It is with shame," he says, "intermixed with joy, that I write you this. I find that I have presumed, in my zeal for God's glory, beyond his will, and that he has suffered me to fall into a delusion of Satan,—particularly in adhering to the impressions on my mind, though not to my knowledge, in my reflections and other occurrences of my journal. This delusion I did not discover till three days past, when, after many days' converse with an invisible spirit, whose precepts seemed to me to be wise, and tending to the advancement of religion in general, and of my own spiritual welfare in particular, I found my teacher to be a liar, and the father of lies; which brought me to a sense of my error, and has much abased my soul with bitter reflections on the dishonor I have done to God, as well as the disquiet which I may have occasioned my country. Satan till then appeared to me as an angel of light in his spiritual conversation; but since I have discovered his wiles, he has appeared a devil indeed, showing his rage." He denies that he had furnished arms, or was engaged in anything treasonable. He adds the following postscript:—"May we all keep close to the law and to the testimony of our God, and hearken to no other revelation of divine truth, and watch and pray, that we enter not into temptation, is a further prayer of your most unworthy servant, H. Bryan." This was published by order of the Commons House of Assembly, passed March 3d, 1742.—(S. C. Gazette, March, 1742, Charleston Library.) It is republished in the Boston Post-Boy with additional statements, on the authority of his brother, as to the way by which he was undeceived. "The invisible spirit bade him go, by a direct course, and without looking on the ground, to a certain tree, and take thence a rod, with which he must smite the waters of the river, and they should be divided, so that he should go over on dry ground. He started to obey; and after several falls from not looking on the ground, found the tree and procured the rod." With this he began to smite the river, and press forward towards the further bank, till he was up to his chin in water; and his

brother, who had followed him as fast as he could, but just saved him from drowning. His brother then urged him to go home, but the spirit assured him that if he should go home that night he would be a dead man before morning. However, the sharp weather and his wet jacket at length prevailed. He went home, and finding himself alive in the morning, concluded that the spirit, which had lied to him twice, must be the "father of lies."—(New England Postboy, No. cccviii., Mond., May 3, 1742, Mass. Hist. Soc. Liby.; a Letter from a gentleman in N. Eng. to his friend in Glasgow, on "The State of Religion in N. England since the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield's arrival there," Old South Ch. Liby. The same is found in Tracy's "Great Awakening," pp. 240, 241, from which the preceding facts are directly taken, although the original authorities have been examined.)

This conduct of Hugh Bryan exhibits a singular mixture of religious zeal, and either mental infirmity or temporary insanity. It may be that he was right in ascribing it all to the access to his mind of an evil spirit, whose mysterious agency is real, but was never yet defined by the Scriptures, human experience, or philosophy. It is very like the extravagances of Davenport in Connecticut about the same time, whose progress the legislature of that province put forth its power to arrest. It must have acted as a caution to the extravagances to which the human mind was then prone, and been a triumph to the enemies of Whitefield, and of evangelical religion. Yet Mr. Bryan seems not to have lost the confidence of men of judgment and piety. He saw his error, and almost madness, quickly, and his subsequent life showed him to be a true servant of God, and probably this "catastrophe" was serviceable to him as well as to others.

Great attention seemed at this time to have been awakened in behalf of the religious instruction of the negroes. A letter was published in England addressed to the converted negroes of Jonathan Bryan in South Carolina.\* April 17th, Rev.

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\* A Letter to the Negroes lately converted in America, and particularly those, lately called out of darkness into God's marvellous light, at Mr. Jonathan Bryan's in South Carolina. A welcome to the believing negroes into the household of God. By a friend and servant of theirs in England. Eph. ii. 9, "Not of works, lest any man should boast." Col. iii. 11, "Where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all and in all."—London, J. Hart, 1743, pp. 32, 8vo. This warm and fervent appeal is in the Old South Library, Boston, No. 530. Whitefield probably gave the information. "I

James Parker and Josiah Smith publish and enforce the Bishop of London's recommendation as to the instruction of negroes, and although it was excepted to by a writer, April 24th, it seems not to have been without effect. In 1743 the Society for Propagating Religion in Foreign Parts fell upon the plan of purchasing young negroes, instructing them, and sending them forth to teach other negroes and Indian slaves. Two had been purchased some fifteen months since, and preparations for their being put under a course of instruction were nearly completed. Alexander Garden proposed to erect a school-house on the glebe land in Charleston, near the parsonage, for the negro school of Charleston. £400 was the sum he thought necessary for this, which he invites the citizens to contribute. The commissary intended to employ both the negro youths to teach in this school, until their services should be needed in the country parishes. In consequence of this information, the society sent out a large quantity of Bibles, Testaments, Prayer-books, and Spelling-books. In 1744 upwards of sixty children were instructed in it daily; eighteen of whom read in the Testament well, twenty in the Psalter, and the rest were in the Spelling-book.—(S. C. Gazette, March 14th, 1743; Dalcho, pp. 156, 157.)

The philanthropists of that day differed in some of their opinions from those of ours. Whitefield plead strenuously with the trustees of Georgia for the introduction of rum and negro slaves. Rum was granted first; slaves were not introduced by authority before 1749. Whitefield purchased a plantation and negroes in Carolina in 1747. Through his exertions and those of Mr. Habersham chiefly, the trustees were induced to allow of their introduction into Georgia.

The Spaniards invaded Georgia with a fleet of thirty-seven sail of vessels and galleys. South Carolina sympathized with her sister colony and observed a fast, July 25th, 1742, in deprecation of the threatened danger. Mr. Habersham, in Whitefield's absence in England, moved the family at Bethesda, then consisting of eighty-five or eighty-six persons, to Mr. Bull's and Jonathan Bryan's plantations in South Carolina, where they remained till the Spaniards retired.

The next year brings us to the organization of THE INDEPENDENT PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH of STONEY CREEK in PRINCE WILLIAM'S PARISH.

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am informed that twelve negroes belonging to a planter converted at the Orphan House, are savingly brought home to Christ."—Letters of Feb. 23d and March 4th, 1742.

The "young stage-player convinced when Whitefield was in New York," p. 240, who was to be "the first teacher" of Mr. Bryan's negroes, whom he afterwards said "he designed for the ministry," was Mr. William Hutson, then a young man of twenty-one years of age. "He was born in England August 14th, 1720, and entered on the study of law at the Inns of Court, London. To this profession he had a great repugnance, but his father remaining firm to the purpose he had throughout his education, he deserted the parental roof and came to America. He soon expended what little means he had, for he brought little with him but his mother's picture. As a means of supporting himself he joined a strolling company of players. The statement of Whitefield makes the scene of this engagement to be New York, but the traditions of one branch of the family represent it as being in Charleston, and still another in London itself." It was publicly announced that he would appear on the stage on an appointed night, as a member of this company, in a character which had been assigned him. Mr. Whitefield was to preach on the evening preceding Mr. Hutson's debüt on the stage. Mr. Hutson went to hear him an unconverted man with an inclination to *scoff*, rather than to profit, but remained to pray! Anxious and perplexed in relation to his engagement with the players, he called the next morning on Whitefield, told him of the change that had been wrought in him, informed him of the obligation he was under to appear on the stage, declared his great reluctance to do so, and asked his advice and counsel. Mr. Whitefield advised that as he had entered into an engagement with the company, which had been announced to the public, he should comply with it, perform his part, and afterwards leave the stage. He accordingly appeared at the appointed time, but his feelings were so painfully excited that he utterly failed in the performance of his part. Relinquishing his connection with the company, he became destitute of the means of support. In this state of destitution, whilst he was strolling about the bay of Charleston, he attracted the observation of Mr. Hugh Bryan, who was just then leaving the city on his way home. Mr. Bryan remarking that Mr. Hutson was attired in the faded garb of a gentleman, and conjecturing that he was a stranger and in need, accosted him and inquired into his condition and circumstances. Having ascertained that he was of respectable condition, in distress, without employment, and well educated, he proposed to Mr. Hutson to accompany him to his resi-

dence, and to assume the office of tutor in his family. Mr. Hutson agreed to do so, and became an inmate of the family of Mr. Bryan.

How long Mr. Hutson continued in Mr. Bryan's family cannot be ascertained; nor is it known when and where he pursued the study of theology; but it appears that he commenced to exercise the ministerial office in the year 1743, when he was about twenty-three years old, and continued to discharge its duties during eighteen years, until his death. "He first preached," says Ramsay, "as a licentiate at the orphan-house in Georgia, where his first sermon was delivered."—(MS. Letter of Henry W. Perroneau, Esq., Apr. 8, 1853.)

The record of the ordination of Mr. Hutson, which to the writer of the preceding extract was unknown, is found in the Book of the Stoney Creek Church, established in what was then called "The Indian Land," in the vicinity of Pocotaligo. We are indebted chiefly to the labors of Mr. Whitefield, under Christ, for the existence of this church. A call was extended to Mr. Hutson to become their pastor, which is signed by Hugh Bryan, Jonathan Bryan, Stephen Bull, Jr., William Gillbart, Robert Ogle, James Rowland, and Jos. Bryan, bearing date May 20th, 1743.

The record proceeds to state that, "in obedience to this call Mr. William Hutson was ordained by the Rev. Mr. Josiah Smith and Mr. John Osgood, after a sermon preached by Mr. John Osgood from Hebrews the 13th chapter and 17th verse." On the 8th of June, 1743, "a day set apart by the church for fasting and prayer, to settle matters about and to organize the church," a solemn covenant and articles of faith, "which is the nerve and substance of the faith of the church," were adopted. The covenant was signed by William Hutson as pastor, by Hugh and Jonathan Bryan as deacons, and the same names as before, with the addition of William Kennedy. The church is entitled "The Stoney Creek Independent Presbyterian Church." The Confession of Faith is well drawn up, and clearly and consistently on the doctrinal basis of the Westminster Confession. It varies from it on the subject of the church as to the independence of particular churches, maintaining this independence, "and that no one church hath any priority or superintendency above or over another, and that every church ought to be organical; that an elder or elders, a deacon or deacons, ought to be elected in every congregation, according to those holy qualifications laid down in the word of God, and that the said elders and deacons so

chosen ought solemnly to be ordained with prayer and laying on the hand of the eldership. That such churches as have not officers so ordained are disorderly ; there being something yet wanting." It declares their belief that "a true church is not national or parochial."—(MS. Confession, Art. 24.) The church at Stoney Creek seems to have been formed, as to government, upon the scheme advocated by John Owen. These documents probably proceeded from the pen of Mr. Hutson ; and if so, though we differ in principle from the form of government, they do him great credit as a man of ability and judgment.

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## CHAPTER II.

IN the same year 1743, the German and Swiss settlers of Orangeburg were interfered with in their religious worship by an attempt made by Rev. Bartholomew Zauberbuhler to oust their pastor, John Giessendanner. Mr. Zauberbuhler was himself a native of the canton of either St. Gall or Appenzel, one of the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, and was therefore in his own country an adherent of the Helvetic Confession, setting forth the doctrines of the Reformation as proclaimed by Zuingle, Bullinger, and Calvin. He had been engaged in the settlement of a colony of Swiss Protestants in the newly-constituted township of New Windsor, opposite Augusta. He had resolved to seek Episcopal ordination, and had petitioned council that he might be sent to preach to the Germans in Orangeburg and on the Santee, and that he might receive a competent salary till such time as he could be consecrated by the Bishop of London, after which he proposed to visit Germany and to bring over others of his countrymen, "it being a great encouragement to them to know that they may have the gospel not only on their passage, but after their arrival." Council grants him £500 out of the township fund, provided he could obtain Commissary Garden's certificate of his qualifications for ordination. Armed now with a supposed authority from Governor Bull and Commissary Garden, he came into the pastoral charge of Giessendanner, and sought to expel him and occupy his place. A petition signed by about fourscore of the inhabitants of Orangeburg is spread out on the journals of the governor and council, detailing the facts,

and praying for redress. Mr. Zauberbuhler was summoned by the governor, reprimanded for his interference, and curtailed of half the salary allowed him, unless he should bring over the foreign Protestants as he had stipulated. The petition is an interesting historic document, apologetic that their pastor is not *rectus in ecclesia*, according to the established religion of the province. It states that Mr. Giessendanner had been introduced in Charleston "to an Assembly of Presbytery, who, upon examination, furnished him with orders to preach;" that he hath done this in Dutch (German) constantly for the space of five years, to the inexpressible satisfaction of the congregation at Orangeburg; that "two years ago, the petitioners being full sixty miles from any other place of worship, some of whom had not been favored with a sermon for seven years, observing said Mr. John Giessendanner to be a man of learning, piety, and knowledge in the Holy Scriptures, prevailed on him to officiate in English every fortnight, which he hath since performed very articulate and intelligible, to the entire satisfaction of the English petitioners, and always behaves himself with sobriety, honesty, and justice, encouraging virtue and reproving vice." —(MS. Records of Gov. and Council, March 6th, 1743, State Archives, Columbia.) This document reveals to us the existence and action of the Presbytery in Charleston in 1738, and is of interest otherwise. Mr. Giessendanner continued his ministry some time longer, until, to meet the state of things in this new country, he went to London in 1749, received Episcopal ordination, and returned in 1750 as a minister of the Episcopal church. His labors, both before and after this period, seem to have been assiduous, and his record of baptisms, marriages, and burials, yet preserved, shows that they extended over a wide tract in the central portion of South Carolina. It is one among numerous other proofs of the absorbing nature of an ecclesiastical system established by law over a people the majority of whom are dissenters from it. Most of these settlers were probably Lutherans, but a portion must have been brought up under the Helvetic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism, and in their own land professed the Reformed or Calvinistic faith.

Of the churches strictly Presbyterian we are able to say but little during the period of which we speak. The church in Charleston, commonly called "the Scotch Church," which had been served by Hugh Stewart, seems to have obtained another minister early in this period. The Rev. Mr. Grant may have been Mr. Stewart's immediate successor. His name

occurs in the South Carolina Gazette in connection with a notice of his marriage. "Aug. 26, 1745—Rev. Mr. Grant of the Scots Kirk in this town, was married to Miss Elizabeth Martin, a handsome young lady with a pretty fortune." The Gazette seems to have dealt in personal notices more than is usual in our own day. In the Gazette of Nov. 11 of the same year, we have the following: "Last Friday night, Rev. Mr. Whitefield, and madam his spouse, arrived in town from the northward. On Sunday he preached twice in Mr. Smith's meeting, and early on Monday morning set out for the orphan-house in Georgia."

Another name follows that of Mr. Grant very closely in the public Gazette, our only source of information. In the year 1747 mention is made of the death of Rev. Thomas Kennedy, of the Scots meeting, and certain lines occasioned by that event are found under date of Aug. 31, 1747.

The Presbyterian Church at WILTON was supplied by Mr. Stobo, as we have seen, till his death, which probably occurred early in 1741. The town was then at the height of its prosperity, containing about eighty houses, and was sometimes called New London. On the 6th of April, 1746, a blank call was drawn up and subscribed, "to be forwarded through the Presbytery of South Carolina to Philadelphia." The result is unknown. Previous to the year 1747 the Rev. Mr. Ross seems to have been the pastor for some time, and to have died while serving the church. In that year an arrearage, or a donation, was paid to his widow, amounting to £193 15s. The church was next supplied by Rev. Mr. McLeod to the 15th of June, 1748, for which he was paid £200. In July, 1749, £25 was paid to Rev. Mr. Rae, of Williamsburg, "for coming and preaching two sermons." The Rev. Mr. Stewart, the pastor of Bethel, Pon Pon, must also have served this church as a supply for some time before his death, since his widow was paid £200 on Nov. 1, 1749, "for his supplying Wiltown congregation."

The Presbyterian church on EDISTO ISLAND had for its pastor, from 1741, the Rev. John McLeod. Mr. McLeod's first engagement in the ministry was at Darien, Georgia. The trustees of Georgia being desirous of introducing into their colony a more thrifty class of people than the first emigrants were, invited one hundred Germans, under Baron von Reck, from the city of Ratisbon, and, through Lieut. Hugh McKay, agreed with one hundred and ten freemen and servants, to whom were allowed fifty women and children, from Scotland, as colonists.

These last were collected in the vicinity of Inverness, were men of good character, and selected for their military qualities. They were picked men from the glen of Strathlean, and were commanded by officers of high standing in the Highlands of Scotland, some of whose descendants still hold offices of honor and trust under the British government. In their political sympathies they leaned towards the claims of the Pretender, and had become committed in the rising of 1715. They were quite willing to expatriate themselves, and seek their fortunes in the wilds of America. The McKays, the Dunbars, the Bailies, and the Cuthberts applied also for large tracts of land to people with their own retainers, most of them going over to Georgia and settling there themselves. They reached our sister colony in January, 1736, and built a village on the north side of the Altamaha, which they called New Inverness, and gave the name of Darien to the district around, in commemoration of the attempt made by the Scotch to found a colony on the Isthmus of Darien in the close of the preceding century. They were hardy, adventurous men, inured to fatigue and labor, and accustomed to martial discipline. These people desired to have the privileges of the gospel in their new home, to have a Presbyterian minister who should preach to them in the Gaelic, and teach and catechise the children in English. The Scotch Society for Propagating Religious Knowledge being applied to, sent out Mr. John McLeod of the Isle of Skye, who was ordained with a stipulated salary of £50 sterling. He was of the Dunnegan family (McLeod of McLeod), and highly recommended by his brother-clergymen. He was "to officiate as minister of the gospel to the Highland families and others, and to use his utmost endeavors also for propagating Christian knowledge among Indian natives in the colony." Oglethorpe showed him much kindness, and promised to build him a plain house of worship until he could put up one more substantial. In his letter to the society, November 25th, 1741, he describes the deplorable condition of New Inverness by the loss of so large a number of the inhabitants at the massacre of Fort Moosa, those "who remain being so situated that the enemy can come upon them to their bedside." Discouraged by these events, Mr. McLeod left the colony of Georgia and became pastor of the church of Edisto Island.—(Brown's Missions, ii., 480; Stevens' History of Georgia, i., 128, 342.)

Of the Presbyterian church on JAMES ISLAND we have no information pertaining to this period. In the absence of any

records of the church or the presbytery, we are not able to discover the succession of its ministry. The Presbyterian church on JOHN'S ISLAND is involved in the same obscurity, though it is supposed that its pastor was the Rev. Thomas Murray. Whitefield preached and read prayers there at the time he was arraigned by Commissary Garden.

Of the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH of WILLIAMSBURG there is a fragment of a MS. record of twenty-two pages folio, and four of a more modern date, purporting to be "A Register of the Proceedings of the Church Session of the Presbyterian Church of Williamsburg, So. Car., commencing Anno 1743." "A Register of Baptisms and Marriages" accompanies it, the baptisms commencing in 1729, the marriages in 1743, of 36 pp. fol. The first baptism recorded is in March, 1729. "George Nelson w<sup>t</sup> his wife Helen had a son baptized named Matthew." This we take to be an *ex post facto* record made simply to perpetuate family history, otherwise we must give an earlier date to the Williamsburg church than we have supposed. Its first pastor, Robert Heron, returned to Ireland in 1740 or 1741. It received its second pastor, the Rev. John Rae, in March, 1743. He had been ordained minister of the gospel by the presbytery of Dundee, to take charge of this church in consequence of a blank call sent by the representatives of the congregation with recommendatory letters from the presbytery of South Carolina to said presbytery of Dundee, to be filled up by the name of one they should choose. Mr. Rae arrived in the province about the latter end of April, 1743, and having made application to some members of presbytery to whom he submitted his credentials, they advised him to take charge of the congregation until the presbytery of South Carolina should meet at their ordinary time in November. This he did. At the meeting of presbytery in the city of Charleston, in November, they received his credentials and appointed his installation on the first Thursday of March, 1743-44. Mr. Rae commenced his ministry in strict accordance with the usage of the Church of Scotland. The next record is on Sabbath, November 3d, 1743. "The minister appointed dyets of visitation of families and examination agreeable to the Constitution and Discipline of the Church of Scotland, and intimated from the pulpit his desire to the several heads of families that they would look out for some persons among them that might be fit to be ordained Elders, and give him notice of them against the first Sabbath of February next ensuing." The register proceeds: "The heads of families in the Cong"

having consulted, did nominate the following persons as fit according to y<sup>r</sup> apprehension to be chosen Elders. David Allan, Wm. James, David Wilson, and Rodger Gibson. And John James, having been an elder in Ireland in a Presbyterian Cong<sup>n</sup>, to be continued." "The s<sup>d</sup> day he did appoint dyets of Examination for Communicants." On the 19th of February, 1744, "the Rev<sup>d</sup> Samuel Hunter, min<sup>r</sup> of the Gospel at Black River preached here and serv<sup>d</sup> the Rev<sup>d</sup> John Rae's Edict for Instal<sup>n</sup> according to appointment of presbytery." "March 1st, Thursday, the Rev<sup>d</sup> Messrs. Samuel Hunter and John Baxter, members of Pby., having met here according to appointm<sup>t</sup>; the Rev<sup>d</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Baxter preached from Heb. xiii. 17, and y<sup>n</sup> after install<sup>d</sup> the Rev<sup>d</sup> John Rae w<sup>t</sup> the unanimous consent of the whole congregation." July 18th, 1744, was observed as a day of humiliation and fasting on account of the war with Spain. The entire records of this period show that everything in this church was transacted with all the regularity and strictness which belongs to the Scotch discipline in its purest form.

During the winter of 1749-50, a fatal epidemic ravaged the country, called the "Great Mortality," the exact character of which is not known; but it is supposed to have been a violent type of influenza. By it eighty persons of the township died, not a few of whom were heads of families and prominent men of the colony. Three of these were original elders of the church: John Fleming, William James, and David Witherspoon.—(MS. Hist. of the Williamsburg Ch., by John R. Witherspoon, M. D.,

**BLACK MINGO.**—It is evident from the preceding extract that Rev. Samuel Hunter was both a member of the presbytery in 1744, and minister on Black River. Mr. Baxter had also preached one Sabbath on Black River previous to that time. Mr. Hunter came into the province about the year 1734 or 1735. Mr. McPherson says his church was near what is now known as Brown's Upper Rope Ferry, on Black River. Other local traditions say the place of his preaching was on Black Mingo Creek, where the foundations of an old Presbyterian church are still to be seen. The site is marked on Mill's Atlas of 1825. Both traditions coincide, as the site is but a few miles above the junction of Black Mingo Creek with Black River.

The PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AT CAINHOY was served by Rev. John Baxter as its pastor. His register of texts shows that from 1733 to 1744, the date of Mr. Rae's installment at Williamsburg, he had been constantly officiating at Cainho, with

a few occasional absences. It is most probable that this is the church which Ramsay (Hist., ii., 25) calls "the congregation of St. Thomas," which he says was formerly connected with the presbytery. Mr. Baxter was succeeded at Cainhoy by Rev. John Joachim Zubly, a native of St. Gall in Switzerland, who is believed to have taken charge of this church in 1748.

The church of Bethel, Pon Pon, prospered during this period. The "sederunts" of the session were numerous. On the 31st of March, 1740, Moses Martin and William Crole were chosen ruling elders, and Thomas Andrew, William Oswald, and James Donnum, deacons. On the 10th of December, John Mitchell was appointed "ruling elder to attend with the minister on presbytery for the ensuing year," vice Thomas Buer, deceased. Their faithfulness in official duty may be judged of by the following minute:—"April 7th, 1742. Sederunt, Ministers and Ruling Elders. The Congregation they divide into five parts to the more particular inspection of the Elders and Deacons; viz., From Moses Martin's to the Widow Singleton's to be inspected by Isaac Hayne, Elder, Robert Oswald, Deacon; From Thomas Melvin's to Hugh Campbell's, by William Melvin, Elder, and Thomas Andrew, Deacon; From Mr. Stewart's to the Horse Shoe, by John Mitchell, Elder, and Joseph Mitchell, Deacon; From Pon Pon Bridge" (where Jacksonborough Ferry now is) "to Ashepoo, by John Andrew, Elder, and William Oswald, Deacon." On the 3d of December measures were taken to procure land to build a new meeting-house, and Mr. Robert Oswald was directed "to enquire for the distressed in Charles Town and apply the contribution of this congregation accordingly."

During the same year £1,207 were subscribed for increasing the number of slaves belonging to the congregation. These slaves were hired out, and the proceeds of their labor or hire applied to the payment of the pastor's salary, which, from 1743, was £600 currency. From 1746 to 1748 the Rev. Mr. Stewart, the pastor, proposed to receive the labor of these slaves upon his own plantation, with the interest of £500 (Kermicle's legacy), in lieu of the £600, which was assented to. The new meeting-house was finished and occupied as early as March 31st, 1746. The subscriptions amounted to £2,228, and were made by one hundred different persons, all of whom, with but two exceptions, were males. The sound of the church bell, which was but a small one, and is the same which is now (1846) at the church in Walterborough, could be heard by upwards of sixty families, so populous at that time

was a region which in the year 1846 contained but a dozen families within the circuit of three miles, including the once populous town of Jacksonborough. On the second Sabbath of February, 1746, Mr. James Donnam was chosen ruling elder, and William Gwin deacon, who were ordained to these offices on the 15th of March, 1747; Mr. Donnam was appointed ruling elder to attend presbytery with the minister for the ensuing year. In [exact date not known] Rev. Mr. Stewart departed this life, deeply regretted. On July 30th, 1748, the session appropriated £350 to his widow for the last six months of his life. A letter too was addressed to Rev. Mr. Rae, moderator of the presbytery of South Carolina, requesting supplies or an early meeting of presbytery, to give them an opportunity of forwarding a call. This letter, written by Isaac Hayne, earnestly deplores the evils which must come upon them if left destitute of a preached gospel, and bears date August 8th, 1748. On the 8th of September, 1748, the congregation made out a blank call for a minister, which was to be forwarded through the presbytery of South Carolina to the presbytery of Edinburgh, and was signed by John Mitchell, Junior, and others, sixty in number.

“November 23d, 1748. Sederunt Elders and Deacons—They voted a Salary of Seven hundred pounds cur<sup>v</sup> per Annum, including the interest of Kernicle's Legacy, to a Minister who shall come and take upon him the charge of this Congregation and be their Minister. He is also to have the use of the Parsonage House, land, etc. Mr. Rob<sup>t</sup> Oswald hires the Congregation's Slaves for 40 Bbls. Merchantable Rice, 500 N<sup>o</sup> W<sup>o</sup>, to be delivered at Pon Pon Bridge clear of all charges whatsoever, with the bbl. included, he to be at all the charge of s<sup>d</sup> Negroes (viz., July, Phillis, Charity, Cyrus, Quarterman, Chloe, June, and Prime, with six children), to continue three years from the first of July next.”

The services of the HUGUENOT CHURCH in CHARLESTON were still kept up under the ministry of the Rev<sup>d</sup> Francis Guichard. Their house of worship had been destroyed at the beginning of this decade, but this did not destroy their organization, and probably only temporarily interrupted their worship.

Such are the few notices which we have been able to collect of the strictly Presbyterian churches in South Carolina during this period. In what way they stood affected to the great event of the time, the awakening of the churches out of their religious torpor, in which Whitefield and the Wesleys, Jonathan

Edwards and the Tennents, took so conspicuous a part, we are unable to say. Probably their views were for the most part represented by the Old Side Presbyterian party in America, and by those who in Scotland stood aloof from Whitefield and his measures. We have no right to say this with certainty, but it is in some degree significant that none of the Presbyterian ministers of this period are named in connection with Whitefield. Not all the Presbyterians received him kindly. Writing from Maryland, November 24th, 1740, he says, "Here is close opposition from some of the Presbyterian clergy." In England the Episcopal clergy shunned him. "In my zeal, during my journey through America, I had written two well-meant, though injudicious letters, against England's two great favorites, *The Whole Duty of Man*, and Archbishop Tillotson, who I said knew no more of religion than Mahomet." "They are so embittered by my injudicious and too severe expressions, that they fly from me as from a viper." In New England he was opposed by many. Several associations and the faculty of Harvard College bore their testimony against him. He had said of Yale College and Harvard—"As for the universities, I believe it may be said their light is now become darkness, darkness that may be felt," and this could not be forgiven. In Scotland he was received as he everywhere was, in a different spirit by different persons. Mr. Willison of Dundee, whom the Williamsburg people in South Carolina sought as their first minister, testifies to his worth and labors. "It is a truly rare thing, to see so much of God in any one man." "This worthy youth is singularly fitted to do the work of an Evangelist; and I have been long of opinion that it would be for the advantage of the world were this still to be a standing office in the churches." Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine had repeatedly invited him to Scotland, and he preached his first sermon in Scotland in Ralph Erskine's pulpit at Dunfermline, to the great delight of the people. His brethren of the Associate Presbytery, however, were not satisfied. "I met most of them, according to appointment," says Whitefield to his friend Noble of New York, "on Wednesday last. A set of grave, venerable men! They soon proposed to form themselves into a presbytery, and were proceeding to choose a moderator. I asked them for what purpose? They answered to discourse and set me right about the matter of church government, and the solemn league and covenant. I replied, they might save themselves the trouble, for I had no scruples about it; and that settling church government and preaching about the solemn league and cove-

nant was not my plan." "I told them I had never made the solemn league and covenant the object of my study, being busy about matters, as I judged, of greater importance. Several replied that every pin of the tabernacle was precious. I said that in every building there were outside and inside workmen: that the latter at present was my province." "I then asked them seriously, what they would have me do; the answer was, that I was not desired to subscribe immediately to the solemn league and covenant, but to preach only for them till I had further light. I asked, why only for them? Mr. Ralph Erskine said, 'they were the Lord's people.' I then asked whether there were no other Lord's people but themselves, and supposing all the others were the devil's people, they certainly had more need to be preached to, and therefore I was more and more determined to go out into the highways and hedges; and that if the Pope himself would lend me his pulpit, I would gladly proclaim the righteousness of Jesus Christ therein."—(Letter cccxxxix.)

This playful letter of Whitefield has often been quoted to the disparagement of the seceders, yet he wrote it with sorrow in his heart, as other contemporary letters show. On Whitefield's return to Scotland, Adam Gib, a prominent seceding minister, signalized himself by publishing a bitter pamphlet, "A warning against countenancing his ministrations." This, however, did not prevent his great success in Scotland. At Cambuslang he preached to twenty thousand and to thirty thousand people, with the most wonderful results. Still some prejudiced ones were perpetually exclaiming against the work, affirming that "the wark at Cambuslang was the wark of the devil." The seceders went so far as to proclaim a fast on account of his doings. "Mr. Erskine's people have kept a fast for me, and give out that all the work now in Scotland is only delusion, and by the agency of the devil."—(Letter cccxlvi.) "The dear Messrs. Erskine have dressed me in very black colors. Dear me; I pity them."—(Letter cccclxi.)

These things were spread out in the Gazette in Charleston, beginning with the year 1741 and extending to the year 1747, so that it would have been almost a miracle if different opinions had not prevailed as to the man and his labors. There were examples too of great censoriousness and intemperance among Whitefield's friends in this country. In 1741 the celebrated "Nottingham Sermon" of Gilbert Tennent was preached, affirmed by Dr. Alexander to be "one of the most severely abusive sermons that was ever penned," the subject

being "The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry;" and the schism which divided the American Presbyterian church, and which continued for seventeen years, took place. Whitefield favored the measures of the Tennents. In the letter to Noble, above quoted, he says, "I rejoice to hear that the work of the Lord prospers in the hands of Messrs. Tennents, &c., am glad they intend to meet in a synod by themselves. Their catholic spirit will do good." Then follows what he said of the Associate Presbytery of Scotland. This schism commenced in 1741, when nine ministers were excluded from the synod of Philadelphia, and was consummated in 1745, when the synod of New York was formed, which represented "the New Side," while the synod of Philadelphia represented "the Old Side."

The friend of Whitefield, the Rev. Josiah Smith, met with a severe affliction in the year 1749, from a stroke of the palsy, from which he never recovered so as to articulate distinctly. He still delighted in the work of the ministry. He continued to compose and print sermons; and so great did he regard the privilege of preaching the gospel, that he begged that he might be permitted to deliver a sermon once a month in the church of which he had been the pastor. This was granted, and he was listened to patiently, though his organs of speech were so affected that his hearers understood but little of what he strove to utter. It was probably during this year that the celebrated John Newton, then engaged in the slave-trade, arrived in Charleston, with a cargo, probably of slaves from Africa, he being at that time mate of the vessel, and having encountered many perils in securing them in a land where he had once himself been a captive and a servant.

The letter which details the facts was written long subsequently, January 22d, 1763; but the circumstances occurred in 1748-9. "Dear Sir: A few days after I was thus delivered from an unseen danger, we sailed for Antigua, and from thence to Charlestown, South Carolina. In this place there are many serious people, but I knew not where to find them out; indeed, I was not aware of a difference, but supposed that all who attended public worship were good Christians. I was as much in the dark about preaching, not doubting but whatever came from the pulpit must be very good. I had two or three opportunities of hearing a dissenting minister, named Smith, who, by what I have known since, I believe to have been an excellent and powerful preacher of the gospel; and there was something in his manner that struck me, but I did not rightly understand him. The best words that

men can speak are ineffectual till explained and applied by the Spirit of God, who alone can open the heart. It pleased the Lord for some time, that I should learn no more than what he enabled me to collect from my own experience and reflection. My conduct was now very inconsistent. Almost every day, when business would permit, I used to retire into the woods and fields (for these, when at hand, have always been my favorite oratories), and I trust I began to taste the sweets of communion," &c.

Those who are familiar with John Newton's life, will remember how these prayers, offered in the woods of South Carolina, did their part towards preparing this wild and reckless sea captain to become a minister of the blessed gospel in London, one of our Lord's chosen ones, whose hymns we so often sing in our social worship, and who contributed so much to the advancement of experimental religion, in the century which is past.

Mr. Samuel Fayerweather, a licentiate from New England, had been employed in 1748 for a year to assist Mr. Smith, and had been re-engaged for the ensuing year. On the 9th of April, 1749, he was elected co-pastor by a majority of the voters of Mr. Smith's congregation, and he signified his acceptance on the 22d day of October. But a majority of the members of the church in full communion objected to the settlement. He therefore left the province at the end of the year, but in 1757, which was marked throughout with unpleasant dissensions, returned as a clergyman of the Episcopal church, and missionary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, having been ordained in England, and received the degree of A. M. from the University of Oxford. He remained in charge of the church of Prince George, Winyaw, till 1760, when he was removed by the society to Narragansett.—(Dalcho, 307.)

## BOOK NINTH.

1750-1760.

## CHAPTER I.

THE settlement of the central and upper portions of the province had now commenced and was rapidly advancing.

Richland began to be occupied by herdsmen in 1740, and soon after by German emigrants, at the junction of Little river and Cane and Kinsler's creeks with Broad river; Fairfield and Lancaster by Presbyterians, from Pennsylvania and Virginia, in 1745. Sumter had been occupied by herdsmen. The Nelsons, near the ferry of that name, marked eight or ten hundred calves every spring. The Conyers, Mellets, and Canters were in the eastern part of the district, on the headwaters of Black river and Lynche's creek. The Williamsburg Presbyterians overflowed into this district, following the course of Black river on either side, and in 1750 Samuel and James Bradley settled in the eastern part, in what is now called Salem. The high hills of Santee were reserved for the Scotch, who were exiled after the battle of Culloden in 1745; but they were driven into the Cape Fear by contrary winds, and these lands were granted to Virginians, among whom were Generals Sumter and Richardson. Kershaw was first settled by a colony of Quakers from Ireland, who sat down in 1750 on the spot now occupied by Camden; Darlington from Virginia in 1750; Marion about 1750; Spartanburg between 1750 and 1760, from Virginia, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina; Newbury in 1752; Pendleton in 1755; Marlboro in 1755-6; Laurens in 1755; and Abbeville in 1756. The entire population of South Carolina in 1750 amounted to sixty-four thousand, of whom something less than thirty thousand were whites. In 1751 upwards of sixteen hundred foreign Protestants arrived in the province.—(Holmes, *Annals Univ. Hist.*, XL., 483.) New homes were thus formed here and there, and in great part by a Presbyterian people.

In pursuance of our plan, we will first present what we have been able to gather concerning the older churches in the Low Country.

We have hitherto found it difficult to separate those which were Independent or Congregational in order, from those

which were more strictly Presbyterian. The churches of both organizations were few and their history is greatly interwoven.

Beginning with the INDEPENDENT CHURCH in CHARLESTON, we find that its engagement with Mr. Fayerweather had ceased in the manner before mentioned. Mr. Fayerweather was in South Carolina on the 15th of June, 1750, the South Carolina Gazette containing a correspondence between him and Mr. Jonathan Bryan. On the 4th of April the name of the Rev. Mr. Zubly occurs as having been invited to deliver the Wednesday lecture, and as having declined. The congregation gave Mr. Smith leave of absence a year, continuing his salary, and as his health required some careful attendant, giving him the use of the boy Boston, with leave to take him out of the province. They further request the assistance of Rev. Messrs. Osgood, Zubly, and Hutson in the supply of their pulpit, voting £15 per Sabbath as compensation. On the 1st of March they apply to the Rev. Doctors John Guise, Philip Doddridge, and David Jennings for a minister, having first consulted with their pastor, Rev. Josiah Smith. This letter rehearses the main points of their history, and has been quoted by us on p. 122. In it they allude to the secession from them of their brethren of the Scotch nation some eighteen years before, and add their conviction that "the Presbyterian form of government as exercised in the Church of Scotland is neither practicable in England nor Carolina, where Episcopacy is the only church government established by law."—(MS. Records, i., fol. 96, 97.) Their clear preference for Congregationalism is thus expressed, although experience has shown that Presbyterianism flourishes best in America, and independent of the State. The American Presbyterian church far exceeds in its numbers the mother church of Scotland and Ireland, and is greatly in the ascendant, while Congregationalism is comparatively restricted.

The revered gentlemen to whom they wrote seem never to have answered their letter, and on the 6th of April, 1752, they applied to Mr. Whitefield to send them a minister. He was in Charleston at the time the application was made to him, and sailed from that port to England at that time. He had preached for them on the 27th of March, Mr. Hutson having preached on the 8th (their services now being three weeks apart), and continued to do so daily to crowded audiences until his departure. Mr. Whitefield could not aid them. He seems to have written in their behalf to some one

abroad as early as November 20th, 1751, "and had some close talk with Mr. L——, [Legare? Lamboll?] and several of Mr. S[mith]'s congregation concerning him." "All," says he, "seemed unanimous to give you a call. I need only observe that if God should direct your course to them, you will find a generous, loving people, who will study to make your labors profitable and delightful to you. I doubt not but in the congregation there are many dear children of God. And there will be such an harmony between you and Mr. L——, I hope you will be an happy instrument of promoting peace between all parties, and adding to the church such as shall be saved. Very near you are several pious ministers of other denominations, who will be glad to keep up a Christian correspondence with you, and strengthen your hands."

On December 9th, 1754, Thomas Lamboll informs the society that some of the members had engaged Mr. James Edmonds, then officiating near Cainhoj, as a lecturer for six months. This term was extended to another six months. On the 15th of December, 1754, Mr. Edmonds is continued as their supply, but is requested to apply to the neighboring ministers for ordination. They resolved to elect him as their pastor. The ordination referred to took place late in February, 1755. Mr. Whitefield, writing from Charleston, March 3d, of that year, says, "Through divine goodness we arrived here last Wednesday afternoon; on Thursday Mr. E[dmonds] was solemnly ordained."—(Letter MLXXV.)

By whom Mr. Edmonds was ordained is unknown to us. But in the records of the church, February 13th, 1757, he is called the Presbyterian minister of the Congregational church. It appears also that Rev. Mr. Hutson had served them most of his time during the year preceding that date in faithful labors, for which they agreed to give him seven hundred pounds currency. His Register of Marriages and Baptisms is continued, in connection with the Stoney Creek church, to the 18th of January, 1756; then from the 7th of July, 1756, the date of its next entry, in connection with the church in Charleston. From a diary of his, kept while he was pastor of this church, beginning February 27th, 1757, and terminating March 8th, 1761, we learn his occupations from day to day, the texts on which he and Mr. Edmonds preached, his trials and sorrows as a believer, in this season of imperfect sanctification, his meek and lowly spirit, his devotedness to the work of the ministry, of pastoral visitation, and of catechising; his unambitious temper, and his generous and cordial love for

his colleague, Mr. Edmonds. From this diary we learn that there was a Thursday evening lecture, that the first Friday in the month was observed as a day of public prayer, in concert with a number of other churches, and that their habit was to celebrate the Lord's supper once in every two months. The colleague pastorship of Mr. Edmonds and Mr. Hutson admitted of their occasional preaching elsewhere, and though we know nothing of Mr. Edmonds' engagements of this kind, we learn from Mr. Hutson's diary that he preached frequently at Wando Neck, Dorchester, Indian Land (Stoney Creek), his former charge, (near which, on the Combahee, he owned possessions,) and still more rarely at Pon Pon, Beaufort, James Island, Beech Hill, and at Rev. Mr. Pelot's, a minister of the Baptist church. Mr. Hutson lost his first wife on the 21st of November, 1757. Her maiden name was Mary Woodward. When he married her she was the widow of Mr. Isaac Chardon. She was a woman of singular discretion and piety, and her death-bed illustrated the power of the gospel. Extracts from her diary and letters were published in Charleston by Mr. Hutson in 1759, and republished, as we have before mentioned, in England, by Revs. John Conder and Thomas Gibbons, February 11th, 1760, and in Boston in 1809. Mr. Hutson married again on the 10th of October, 1758.

Rev. James Edmonds was born in the city of London about the year 1720. With what denomination of Dissenters he was there connected is to us unknown. Equally unknown is the year of his emigration to South Carolina. He was officiating, as we have seen, as a licentiate, at Cainhoy, twelve or fifteen miles from Charleston, on the Wando river, December 9th, 1753. He had two children, one of whom died in earliest infancy. His daughter, Mary, was living in 1815, when Dr. Ramsay published the history of this church, and was for many years a pensioner upon the funds of the Clergy Society. Mr. Edmonds was probably not a man of highly finished education, nor fine elocution. He is described by one who knew him (Dr. J. Witherspoon of Alabama) as portly in person, and polite, affable, and dignified in manners. His manner of preaching was plain, solemn, and unostentatious. His sermons were short, practical, and altogether extemporaneous.

The congregation increased so considerably under the labors of these faithful pastors, that the enlargement of the house of worship was resolved on, August 26th, 1759, and was accomplished at an expense of £2579 17s. 11d. Mr. Smith was still active as a minister. Two sermons of Josiah Smith,

V. D.'M., from Ps. cxxvii. 1, and xxxviii. 2, are advertised in the South Carolina Gazette, April 7th, 1759.

The Independent church at WAPPETAU, in Christ's Church Parish, called also in Mr. Hutson's diary the church at Wando, and the church on Wando Neck, may have been vacant in the commencement of this period. On the 19th of March, 1757, Mr. Hutson speaks of preaching "at Brother Zubly's place, on Wando Neck," so that Mr. Zubly must have been officiating there at that time. The Rev. John Joachim Zubly was born at St. Gall, in Switzerland, August 27th, 1724, and was educated at the Gymnasium of that place, and ordained in the German church in London, August 19th, 1744.—(Letter to Dr. Stiles, Dec. 10th, 1768, Stiles' MSS., Yale College Library.)

As early as February, 1743, the inhabitants of Vernonsburg and the villages adjacent, in the neighborhood of Savannah, addressed a petition to the trustees of Georgia, "desiring a minister of Calvinistical principles to be sent to them," and recommended Mr. Zubly as the person of their choice. The trustees and Mr. Zubly could not agree upon terms, and they sent instead Rev. Bartholomew Zauberbuhler (see p. 217,) who was then in London, where he was ordained as deacon and priest by the Bishop of London. Mr. Zubly seems to have come to Georgia some two years after, and to have ministered to the Germans of Vernonsburg and Acton, "where he continued about three years, preaching the kingdom of God with success, and without any stated salary." "Afterwards the trustees" (of Georgia) "offered him £10 a year, which, with the improvements these poor Germans were to make on the glebe land, was to support him." Mr. Zubly looking upon this offer as a genteel way of dismissing him, or rather obliging him to leave the colony for want of a support, especially as he was then just married, was prevailed on, by many entreaties, to accept of a dissenting congregation in South Carolina, "where," says Mr. Habersham, from whom we quote, "he now resides, but twice or thrice a year makes a journey of one hundred miles here, to visit and preach to the first fruits of his labors, to whom he is greatly attached, and they to him." Mr. Habersham proceeds to say, "Mr. Zubly is a person of no mean parts and education; yea, I may say his talents are extraordinary; but, what is more, he is a faithful, zealous, and laborious minister of the gospel, and would to God our colony, or rather the whole world, was filled with such." So writes Mr. Habersham of Savannah, to his correspondent (Lloyd) in London,

under date of August 3d, 1751. If Mr. Zubly went directly from Georgia to the Wappetaw church, his ministry commenced there in 1748. But it appears that he preached for some time to the congregation at St. Matthew's, in Orangeburg district, previous to his connection with the church at Wappetaw.—(Hazelius's Hist. of the Lutheran Church, pp. 101, 102.) "After the Spanish and French war began he removed to Orangeburg."—(White.) On the 25th of April, 1758, Mr. Hutson assisted at a meeting at the church on Wando Neck (Wappetaw), to take into consideration a very pressing call from both the German and English congregations of Savannah for Mr. Zubly's services. After sermon a church meeting was held "with great solemnity, and everything carried on in a very decent and becoming manner; and upon the whole the voice of the church was, That whereas Mr. Z—— was plainly convinced it was a providential call, and they were not able to make the contrary appear, they submitted to the removal." On the 28th of January, 1759, Mr. Zubly occupied the pulpit in the Independent church in Charleston, and "preached his farewell sermon in a lively, powerful and satisfactory manner, from Acts xx. 32."—(Hutson's Diary.) In the South Carolina Gazette is an advertisement of "The Real Christian's Hope in Death, published by J. J. Zubly, lately minister of the Gospel in South Carolina," February 17th, 1759, which may be the discourse alluded to. He seems to have been succeeded by Rev. John Martin almost immediately. July 1st, 1759, Mr. Hutson went to Wando to preach for Mr. Martin in his absence, and again on the 15th of the same month. Mr. Martin had prepared for the ministry under the celebrated Samuel Davies of Virginia, was taken on trial by Hanover Presbytery, March 18th, 1756, and licensed August 25th. He was employed in supplying vacancies, and was called to Albemarle, Virginia, April 27th, 1757. The New England Society for Propagating the Gospel resolved to support a missionary to the Cherokee upper towns, if the Scotch society would do the same. Mr. Martin was ordained June 9th, 1757, being the first Presbyterian minister ordained in Virginia, Davies preaching the sermon from 1 Tim. iii. 1. He engaged in the Indian mission, January 25th, 1758. Was at Pon Pon on his way to his missionary field on the first of March in the same year, and is spoken of in high terms by Rev. Archibald Simpson, who went to Pon Pon to see him. Mr. Martin's prospects were for a short time encouraging, but

the Cherokees took up arms against the colonists on the breaking out of the French war, and the mission was abandoned.— (Webster, p. 674.)

The church at DORCHESTER and BEECH HILL, finding their situation on Ashley river unhealthy, and being confined to a tract of land too small for their purposes, in the year 1752 projected a settlement in Georgia. Their records after their transplantation date from this time.

“Our Ancestors,” say they, “having a greater regard to a compact settlement and religious society than future temporal advantages, took up but small tracts of land; many of which also, after their decease, being divided amongst their children, reduced them still to smaller. In consequence of which our lands were generally soon worn out. Few had sufficient for the convenient support and maintenance of their families, and some had none at all. Young people, as they grew up and settled for themselves, were obliged to move out from us for want of lands. For these reasons several persons among us seemed very much inclined to move out from us, and had several times searched for some other place in Carolina, proper for the settlement of a Society, but could find none capacious and convenient enough for that purpose; notwithstanding which, the same disposition to remove continuing with several, occasioned some serious reflections on the state and circumstances of this church; and it was thought probable that unless some tract of land, suitable for the convenient and compact settlement and support of a congregation could be found, to which we might move and settle in a body, the Society would, in a few years at most, be dispersed, so as not to be capable of supporting the Gospel among us. Especially if we should lose our present Pastor; and, which in that case seems not unlikely, be any considerable time without the administration of Gospel ordinances among us; the only circumstance which at present detains many, otherwise quite inclined to remove from us.

“Upon these considerations a removal of the whole Society seemed advisable; and having heard a good character of the lands in Georgia, ’twas thought proper that some should take a journey to that Colony, and search out some place there, convenient for our purpose, which was accordingly performed, at several inquisitions, and issued, at length, in tolerable satisfaction as to the capacity of the place, and a remove, hereupon, more generally concluded on.

“On Monday, the 11th of May, Anno 1752, three persons of our Society set off from Beech Hill for Georgia, to view the lands there. On the 16th they arrived at Midway (so called on account of its supposed equal distance from the rivers Ogechee and Altamaha), the place proposed. After a few days’ stay, having viewed Midway swamp, and approving of it, and heard of large quantities of good lands adjoining, they returned home with an account of what they had seen and heard. The people were differently affected with the relation of what they had discovered. Several used their endeavors to frustrate the scheme; notwithstanding which, an inclination to remove seemed considerably to get the ascendant.

“About this time (1752) a petition was preferred to the council of Georgia, and a grant of thirty-one thousand nine hundred and fifty acres of land was obtained.

“In the beginning of August six persons set off by land, and seven more by water, to survey the lands and make settlements. Those by land being disappointed in the coming of the Schooner, on board of which were their provisions and negroes, were obliged to return without accomplishing all they

intended. Such as were on board the Schooner, meeting with contrary winds, were so long in their passage, that they spent most of their provisions before their arrival, and were obliged to return. On the 15th, while the Schooner lay in the harbor (near St. Catherine's Island,) there arose a hurricane, which was in Carolina the most violent that ever was known since the settlement of the English there, which in many places left not one tree in twenty standing. On the 16th they attempted to put out to sea, and could not, and therefore went within land to Tibi, where meeting with head winds they sailed up to Savana, where several leaving the vessel went home by land. The rest who remained in her had a tedious long passage and were met by a second hurricane before they got home, but were then also in a safe harbour. In their passage to Georgia, one negro fell overboard and was drowned, and those who went up by land had two of their horses drowned in their return. These adverse providences were very discouraging to most, and brought the affair of our removing to a very considerable stand.

"On the 6th of December, 1752, Mr. Benjamin Baker\* and family, and Mr. Samuel Bacon and family, arrived at Midway and proceeded to form a settlement. Mrs. Baker died on the day after their arrival. Soon after, Messrs. Parmenus Way, William Baker, John Elliott, John Winn, Edward Sumner, and John Quarterman, arrived and began to settle. Finding a general disposition in the people to remove, the Rev. Mr. Osgood went into the new settlement in March, 1754, and the whole church and society gradually collected and settled there."

They soon erected a temporary house of worship, of logs, and the first sermon was delivered in it on the 7th of June, 1754, the congregation having worshipped on the four preceding Sabbaths in private houses. That they might leave their "children after them compactly settled together," and perpetuate the religious character of their community, they agreed that no one of them should "sell his settlement or tract of land, or any part thereof, to any stranger out of the society, without giving the refusal of its purchase to the society." The attention paid by the congregation of Dorchester to their own intellectual improvement, while yet they remained in Carolina, is evident from the fact that they had instituted a library society, called the Dorchester and Beech Hill Alphabet Society, which is still perpetuated (1859), in the Midway congregation, under the name of the "Midway and Newport Library Society," and continues its regular meetings.—(Mallard's Hist. of Midway Church, Savannah, 1841.)

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\* Benjamin Baker was born in Dorchester, S. C., in 1717. At the age of twenty-three he accompanied Gen. Oglethorpe in his expedition against St. Augustine. In 1776 Mr. Baker's house, furniture, and books, with the records he had been making, were consumed by fire. He suffered much during the war of the Revolution, having espoused the Whig cause. His house was rifled and he and his son John imprisoned. He was more than twenty-seven years the clerk of Midway congregation. He died in 1785, leaving several volumes of manuscripts. It has commonly been supposed that the old records of the Dorchester congregation were in the possession of Mr. Baker, and were consumed in his dwelling.

Mr. Osgood must have returned to Carolina shortly for some temporary purpose. Mr. Simpson, in his diary, Lord's-day, May 5th, 1754, says: "I rode sixteen miles to Beech Hill and heard Mr. Osgood, the Independent minister, have a great day of the gospel." But the absence of the congregation from Dorchester and its neighborhood was much felt in that community. A correspondent of the *South Carolina Gazette*, under date of March 12th, 1754, presents the following query:—"Whether some eligible method cannot be fallen upon to prevent the dispeopling of *Beech Hill*; and to encourage the better settling of poor DORCHESTER, Shemtown, Childsbury, Jacksonborough, and Radnor, and even some new towns at convenient places?" Worship had been conducted alternately at Dorchester and Beech Hill; and the brick church, still standing and in use, had been built on a tract of ninety-five acres belonging to the church, in or about the year 1700. The house at Beech Hill was of wood, and stood on a like tract of ninety-five acres. Lot 13, on which a fort and magazine were built, and lots 33, 44, and 112, in the town of Dorchester, and one-twenty-sixth of undivided lands around Dorchester, was given in trust forever to said church.—(Petition, in 1793, for Incorporation.) The Episcopal church in the town of Dorchester was first built in 1719-20. This was repaired and enlarged in 1734. It is now all destroyed—except the tower, the most beautiful ruin in South Carolina, which was erected by the congregation and furnished with a ring of bells in 1751. Religious services seemed to have been still kept up to some extent in the church edifices vacated by the Independent congregation which had migrated to Georgia, as the frequent entries in Mr. Hutson's diary show.

The Independent church of Indian Land, now STONEY CREEK, in the neighborhood of Pocotaligo, flourished under the faithful labors of Rev. William Hutson until his removal to Charleston in the early part of 1756. A letter from him to a Mr. Forfitt is found in Gillies' *Historical Collections*, appendix, p. 506, speaking of the efforts made for the religious instruction of the negroes by Hugh Bryan, by a minister in his own vicinity, and by a young man engaged for this purpose on two large estates, and of the circulation of books among them. Archibald Simpson, by permission of the presbytery, took charge of the church, June 16th, 1756. "My good friend, Jonathan Bryan," he writes, "who lives mostly in Georgia, has promised to live here if I will settle." He speaks of "the great change in the congregation since he was there three

years before, so many dead or moved ;" alludes to the fatal disease of a twelvemonth before, " so many empty seats, so many graves, and the people few." He represents the congregation as smaller than at Wiltown, where he had been engaged in preaching.

We deeply regret that we lack the means of presenting in any fullness the history of the strictly Presbyterian churches, and more especially that of the central church of this order, the First Presbyterian church of Charleston. We are given to understand that there are no documents in existence, except some few accounts in reference to its pecuniary affairs, from which its history could be drawn. From a record in the papers of the Wilton church we learn that Charles Lorimer, its pastor, was a member of presbytery sitting at Charles-Town, anno 1751. He was member of a committee appointed by the presbytery at its last meeting, which committee assembled at Wiltown (properly Wilton) on the 2d of June, 1752. He is named in the records of the Independent church of Charleston as "minister of the Presbyterian church in this town," in 1750. On the second Wednesday in March, 1754, Mr Simpson says, "Mr. Lorimer gave in" (to presbytery) "a demission of his charge in Charles-Town, which was sustained, and the relation dissolved." It appears, too, that he had not retained the popularity which first attended him as pastor of this church. "Mr. Lorimer, about three years ago, was most cried up and esteemed, but is not able now to continue his ministry with any comfort and satisfaction." The church for some two years was probably without a settled pastor, and dependent on occasional supplies. Mr. Simpson attended a *pro re nata* meeting of presbytery in Charleston, on Wednesday, the 30th of July, 1755, and on "Lord's-day, August 3d, preached in the Scots church to a numerous auditory." Again, "Lord's-day, January 11th, 1756, preached on Exodus xxxiii. 18, all day." Again on the 1st of February. On the 6th, Friday, the presbytery met in that town, and Mr. Simpson was made moderator. Their next stated pastor was Rev. Philip Morrison. Mr. Simpson notes his arrival and settlement, March 16th, 1757. To Charleston, "Thursday, 17th. Spent the evening with Rev. Mr. Lorimer and Rev. Mr. Morrison, who has lately come in for Charlestown. Hope the Lord may make him a great and lasting blessing to that congregation." Again he went to Charleston on Wednesday, the 18th of April, to presbytery ; on the 19th, preached before presby-

tery by appointment. There were ministers of other denominations present, and Rev. Philip Morrison "was installed as minister of Charlestown." Though not the oldest Presbyterian church, this was for long years the central church of the Presbyterian order, and the seat of most of the regular meetings of presbytery.

The HUGUENOT CHURCH in Charleston still had the Rev. Francis Guichard as its pastor. The South Carolina Gazette, December to January, 1751, represents him as proposing to sell his plantation and other property at Goose Creek, with the view of leaving the colony. He continued to serve the church until 1753. His last entry in the church register is as follows:—"J'ai joint dans le saint état de mariage Daniel Trezvant, fils de Isaac et de Susanne Trezvant, et Elizabethte Miller; À Charlestown, ce 5th Avril, 1753.—François Guichard." He was succeeded in 1753 by Jean Pierre Têtard. His baptismal register commences, on the 6th of July, in these words: "Ici commence le Registre de Jean Pierre Têtard, successeur de Mr. François Guichard au ministère de l'Église François de Charlestown, 6ve Juillet, 1753." He was succeeded by Barthelmi Henri Hiemeli in 1759, whose register begins on the 10th of January that year.

The Presbyterian church of WILTON [Wiltown] in the early part of this period, was destitute of a pastor. There is in existence among the papers of this church an obligation attached to a blank call to be forwarded to the presbytery of Edinburgh, through "Rev. Thomas Bell, moderator of the presbytery of South Carolina." On the 2d of June, 1752, there was a meeting of a committee of this presbytery, appointed to settle some difficulty which had occurred in the congregation. From the record containing a notice of this meeting, it appears that at that time there was no pastor in connection with the church. The document commences, "The Committee appointed by the last Presbytery at Charles-Town, met, and—Post Preces sederunt, The Reverend the Moderator, Mr. Thomas Murray, Messrs. John McLeod, Thomas Bell, Charles Lorimer, Ministers, and Samuel Davidson, Ruling Elder." It is signed "Thomas Bell, Cl. p. t." This record, and the wills and testaments of Henry Sheriff, bequeathing £200 for the support of a Presbyterian minister who shall subscribe the Westminster Confession, and preach agreeably thereto, and adhere to the discipline, government, and worship of the Church of Scotland, and of George Mitchell, Purchase Hen-

drick, Royal Sprey, William Ferguson, and William Sheriff, expressed in similar terms, establish the full Presbyterian character of this church.

This brings us to the introductory history of Mr. ARCHIBALD SIMPSON, a man of uncommon piety and industry in his ministerial work, who labored for many years in the country between Charleston and Savannah—first, for a brief period, in connection with the Wilton church, and then, through the most of his ministerial life, in connection with the Stoney Creek church, as the successor of Mr. Hutson, after his removal to Charleston. Mr. Simpson was born in the city of Glasgow, March 1st, 1734 or 5, and was the son of Mr. William Simpson, a merchant of Perth, and Susannah Gardner of Glasgow. He was piously educated, but from eleven years of age became delicate in health. From very early life he was the subject of religious impressions, and sat under the ministry of Mr. Stirling. In 1744 he entered a printing-house in some capacity which he does not mention. In November of the same year, a teacher of the grammar school, perceiving his great desire after learning, spoke to his mother and obtained her consent that he should join his class. Soon after this he lost his much-loved brother, John, who was washed overboard at sea. His religious impressions deepened, and he sought relief in constant attendance on the means of grace. He heard with interest at this time Mr. Fisher, and Mr. Bell of Cambuslang, and partook of the sacrament first under the ministry of Mr. Stirling of the Utter [Outer] High Church of Glasgow. His diary commences in the fourteenth year of his age, anno 1748. It is filled with his own religious exercises given at great length, and notices of the preachers he heard and the services he attended. Among them, besides those already mentioned, were Hamilton of Douglas, Scott, McCulloch, Adams of Glasgow, Gillies, Wodrow, Miller of Paisley, Ralph and Henry Erskine, Dick, Carr, Henderson, Webster of Edinburgh, Maxwell, Gray, and Connell. Even at that early age he has discriminating views of divine truth. "Hears a moral sermon, beautiful but Christless," at Boston, and "a gospel sermon, but a weak one," at Greenock. He is present at the sacrament at Cambuslang, and becomes a hearer of George Whitefield, whom he greatly admires. He now is admitted to the College at Glasgow, and soon after devotes himself solemnly to the ministry of reconciliation. He still continues to hear these eminent Scotch divines, whose names have been had in reverence ever since. Among them,

besides those already mentioned, occur the names of Wither-  
spoon and others. His acts of solemn covenanting with God  
were very numerous, indicating the sincerest piety. His  
Saturdays were spent in the fields, or some other place of  
retirement, usually with his beloved "comrade W. R."—des-  
tined afterwards to be a laborer also in the province of South  
Carolina, in religious exercises, reading, prayer, praise, self-  
examination, and renewing of covenant vows. It was during a  
season of revival in religion, parallel with "the Great Awaken-  
ing" in America, which took deep hold on many hearts in  
Scotland. He sometimes speaks of "great concern, weeping  
and groaning in the congregation," under the preaching of  
Mr. Gillies. He was married to Jane Muir, daughter of Mr.  
William Muir, in August, 1752, and sailed for South Carolina  
on the 6th of March, 1753, leaving his wife behind, who fol-  
lowed him, arriving in Charleston on December 12th, 1755.  
He came out under an engagement to Mr. Whitefield to be  
employed at his orphan-house. For some reason Mr. Simp-  
son did not remain long at Bethesda, and when he met Mr.  
Whitefield in the vicinity of Wilton, the interview between  
them was extremely unpleasant. Mr. Whitefield upbraided  
him with his non-fulfilment of his contract with him, with the  
imprudence of his marriage, probably from his circumstances  
and his youth, for otherwise his marriage seems to have  
been eminently happy. Mr. Whitefield appears to have been  
ungraciously severe, compelling him to refund the money  
advanced for his passage out, which he did in September of  
the same year, 1754, paying over to Mr. Whitefield's attorney  
£7 8s. sterling, which, in his circumstances, he speaks of as  
a great burden. These circumstances in some measure  
estranged him from Whitefield, though in his youthful diary he  
had expressed himself in the highest terms of him, had can-  
vassed his merits and answered the objections of his enemies.  
His fervor, piety, and matchless eloquence had deeply im-  
pressed him, as well as the wonderful effects which resulted,  
though he thought him less instructive than many of their own  
divines in the Church of Scotland. Such was Mr. Simpson's  
introduction into South Carolina. Henceforth for a consid-  
erable season his diaries, which exist in ten volumes, and  
extend from some time in the year 1748 to March 24th, 1784,  
with some interruptions, must be our chief source of informa-  
tion in respect to many things occurring in the neighboring  
churches.

His journal in Carolina commences in May, 1754, when he

was residing within the limits of the Pon Pon congregation, within four miles of the church of which Rev. James Rymer was the pastor. We are immediately introduced to the presbytery then in existence, of whose proceedings we know so little. "Monday, May 13th, went to Charlestown to attend Presbytery." Wednesday, 15th, "Four of the ministers are come to town, all that will be here." The ministers present were Rev. Samuel Hunter of Williamsburg, moderator; Rev. Charles Lorimer, of the Scotch Presbyterian church, Charlestown; Rev. Thomas Bell of James Island, and Rev. John Baxter. Of the two absent, Rev. James Rymer was one, detained by ill health; and most probably the Rev. John McLeod, late of Edisto Island, was the other. On Thursday, May 15th, 1754, Mr. Simpson delivered his presbyterial sermon from Eph. ii. 12, and after singing a part of a psalm, his "Exercise and Addition from Eph. ii. 8, explained," he says, "the Greek Testament, defended my Theses and signed the Confession of Faith and the Formula, was set apart by Mr. Hunter, the moderator. I was appointed to preach at Wiltown, till we see what comes of their call from Scotland, and every fourth Sabbath at Edisto, which is now vacant." Mr. Simpson thus began his ministry as a probationer at Wilton.

In his first communion sermon, June 15th, 1764, Mr. Rymer preached the action sermon. In his second, on December 22d, Mr. Lorimer and Mr. Bell assisted and administered the communion, and ten persons were admitted. January 1st, 1755, "Preached in my own kirk." On the 2d of April, 1755, he was ordained *sine titulo*, Charles Lorimer preaching the ordination sermon, from 2 Tim. ii. 15. In his journal a full account is given of the ordination services. "Thus," says he, "was I ordained and set apart as minister at large." He could not be ordained as pastor of Wilton church, as an application, which had not been revoked, had been made to the presbytery of Edinburgh for a minister. He was given to understand by the trustees that he was to all intents and purposes settled among these people on condition that the call sent forward should not be accepted in Scotland. On Lord's-day, October 18th, being the sacramental season, eight were admitted to the church. "One was son to a worthy old minister of this place, and is himself old." The minister was evidently Mr. Stobo, and the person alluded to was his son. Over the conversion of this gentleman Mr. Simpson rejoices; but seeking to carry out his Scotch ideas of discipline upon him,

in reference to matters lying in the past, Mr. Stobo becomes hostile to Mr. Simpson, and being a man of influence, the young minister, whose zeal may have carried him beyond the bounds of discretion, is soon in circumstances not altogether pleasant. The congregation becomes divided also in reference to the site of their church. A chapel of ease had been built in the upper part of the congregation. It was now proposed to erect a new church in the centre. The matter could not easily be adjusted, and presbytery appointed a committee to meet at Wilton to settle it. The committee accordingly met on the 26th of November. Mr. Simpson preached on the occasion from Philipp. ii. 1, 2. The people of the south district were willing to have a church built in the centre, and would throw up the chapel when this was built. Till then they must have one-half of the minister's time at the chapel. The north district refused, and the meeting broke up in confusion. The south district declared that they would have nothing to do with Wilton as their parish church. In the midst of these troubles his wife joins him, after a separation of two years, nine months, and six days, and after a passage of nine weeks and three days from Leith, in Scotland. The presbytery, at its meeting in Charleston in February, 1756, "considering that they have sent frequent letters to Edinburgh to stop the call from this parish, &c., appointed Mr. Bell to come and give this people an opportunity to call me or any other. Thursday, 19th, a committee of ministers met over the river for that people to sign a call for me. The people called me, though some had before signed for Mr. Banantine. But the presbytery have other designs." When presbytery met, Mr. Simpson found a strong party against him. A party from Wilton presented a call, which he refused on account of their divisions. The people of PON PON, whose pulpit he had been supplying, then sent in a call for his labors. He complains of the bitterness of many who had professed friendship: "The warm friends of yesterday are my bitterest enemies to-day." On Lord's-day, April the 4th, the church was shut against him, and he was publicly abused. He made an appointment to preach in the woods, but was invited by a gentleman to occupy his house. The congregation, with the exception of nine or ten, followed him, and he preached under the trees, about two miles from the meeting-house, the great body of the people sustaining him. In the midst of these troubles he receives, on the 12th of July, 1756, a call from Indian Land (Stoney Creek church), made vacant by the removal of

Mr. Hutson to Charleston. "Most of them," says he, "are Independents." On the 20th of May, presbytery sits in Charleston, Mr. Simpson himself being moderator. Presbytery will not allow him to accept the call to Pon Pon without accepting that to Wilton, because most of the Wilton congregation would follow him thither. He at length produces the call to Indian Land, which presbytery allows him to accept, assuring the church that they would not interfere with their government, but that it might remain as before. A letter from Mr. Simpson to Ezekiel Branford, one of the trustees, dated at Indian Land, October 12th, 1765, shows that Mr. Simpson ministered to the Wilton church from January 8th, 1754, to April 4th, 1756; and that on the 21st day of May of the same year, he accepted a call to "Indian Land." There is no further notice of the affairs of Wilton church till Mr. Simpson's account of the meeting of presbytery in Charleston on Wednesday, the 16th of May, 1759, when "a call was presented from Wilton, or rather a corner of it, to Rev. Mr. Al—n" [Alison], "a young man licensed and ordained to the Northward, but who has been preaching to our vacant congregations above twelve months. The call was by Mr. St[o]bo and a few in that corner. The Pon Pon call was offered to me, but opposed by some people. The presbytery agreed to Mr. Al"[iso]"n's settlement, but deferred mine at Pon Pon."

This Mr. Alison's name was John. He and a Mr. Hugh Knox were waiting on the synod of Philadelphia to be examined according to their rules, May 24th, 1751. They were directed to attend the presbytery of Newcastle, at Elk river, on the first Tuesday in August, for examination. On the 27th of May, 1756, John Alison was ordered to supply the vacancies in Virginia and North Carolina the next fall and winter. Hugh Knox's name appears on the minutes of the United Synod of New York and Philadelphia, in 1758; that of John Alison, who was licensed with Knox, appears no more. Webster says (Hist., 245) "he returned to Ireland in 1756." How this could be when, as he further says, "he spent much time" among "the vacancies between Yadkin and the Catawba," we do not see. We suppose he was the same John Alison who was installed at Wilton on Saturday, May 1st, 1759.

Ministers present were Mr. McLeod, Mr. Lorimer, Mr. Morrison, Mr. Simpson, and Mr. Alison himself. Mr. Morrison presided, and preached from Mark xvi. 15, and the rest gave the right-hand of fellowship. "I never saw," says Mr.

Simpson, "anything like it, except the violent settlements at home." Only six held up their hands to receive him as their minister. All the rest of this once flourishing congregation having either absented themselves or refused to acquiesce. It is not improbable that Mr. Simpson's own feelings have given a coloring to all these transactions. Thus closed Mr. Simpson's connection with Wilton church. At the time of his leaving them they were in arrears to him to the amount of £60 sterling, which they did not pay for some years.

During this period of time Mr. Thomas Bell was pastor of the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF JAMES ISLAND. Mr. Simpson often visited him on his way to Charleston. "Saturday, August 23d, 1755, to James Island. Kindly received by Mr. Bell. Lord's-day, 24th, preached, and baptized Mr. Bell's child. One of the hottest of days. November 7th, Friday, got safely to James Island, about thirty-four miles. Preached the preparation sermon from Song iii. 11. Endeavored to put the crown on the Mediator's head. Lord's-day, November 9th, Mr. Bell preached his action sermon from John v. 14. Monday, preached from John iii. 2. Had an opportunity to be a witness for the divinity of my glorious Lord, Jesus Christ, against a young man who denied it, and yet sat down yesterday at the Lord's table." Mr. Bell was moderator of the presbytery in 1750, as we have seen in what has before been written. On Saturday, 10th of February, we find the following entry in Mr. Simpson's diary:—"Rode to James Island to visit and preach for the minister there, who is very much advanced in years and greatly afflicted with sickness in his person and family. In the evening got safe to the Rev. Mr. Ker's. Lord's-day, 11th, preached to the congregation on James Island." He was then on his way to a *pro re nata* meeting of presbytery in Charleston. We meet with the name of Mr. Bell no more in Mr. Simpson's diary.

The Presbyterian church and congregation of JOHN'S ISLAND was served by the Rev. Thomas Murray at the beginning of this decade. His name is mentioned as moderator of a committee of presbytery that sat at Wilton, June 2d, 1752, and his death is recorded in the South Carolina Gazette of August 15th, 1753: "Died, Rev<sup>d</sup> Thos. Murray, minister on John's Island, universally lamented. As his ministerial habits, cheerful conversation, steady friendship, and unaffected piety commanded the respect and engaged the affections of all that knew him, his death is not only a particular but a public loss." He was succeeded by Rev. Charles Lorimer from the time of

his leaving the "Scots meeting" in Charleston, which was in October, 1754. He was installed pastor of John's Island on the 18th of April, 1755. On the 11th of April Mr. Simpson visits Mr. Lorimer on John's Island; on Friday, the 25th, being the last before the communion, he preached there. On Sabbath, Mr. Bell preached the action sermon, then three tables were served. On Monday, Mr. Lorimer preached. On August 20th, 1755, he sets out for John's Island, is kindly received by Mr. Lorimer and his newly-married wife, also by Rev. Mr. Ashton, or Ashmun, then there, an old Presbyterian minister on his way from the West Indies.

Mr. McLeod appears to have retired from the ministry on EDISTO ISLAND at the time of Mr. Simpson's licensure in 1754, since he is directed to preach every fourth Sabbath at Edisto, which is vacant. On his first visit to Edisto, Friday, June 7th, 1754, he was lost in the woods, but got over the next day. On another occasion he speaks of being driven back by the winds, and reaching the island late in the night. Lord's-day, July 27th, 1755: "Came to Edisto yesterday. Prevented preaching by violent rain in the forenoon. At 12 o'clock, preached to about thirty people. Spent the evening with Rev. Mr. McLeod." Thursday, March 11th, 1756: "Captain Edings died suddenly. A great loss. Went by land to Edisto, the corpse sent by water. Crossed over and rode several miles to the place of interment." The notices of Edisto cease after this, and it is probable he did not preach there regularly after his settlement at Stoney Creek.

We learn from Mr. Simpson's diary, too, of the remains of a PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AT BEAUFORT. July 23d, 1756: "This afternoon went over to Port Royal Island, to preach at Beaufort next Sabbath to the remains of a Presbyterian church. Lord's-day, 25th: was much pleased with the solid appearance of the congregation, which was pretty numerous, as there was no preaching in the church [Episcopal]. Monday, 1757, at Port Royal Island, he admitted two young women, converted by his labors; and Tuesday, 15th February, admitted their father, a wonderful conversion!" Lord's-day, 20th: "a sweet communion season." Lord's-day, March 26th, 1758: "After sermon, went with my wife and child to Port Royal by water, along with some of my dear people who live there." May 6th, 1759: "My comrade, W[illiam] R[ichardson] at Port Royal."

The Bethel PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH and congregation of PON PON had for its pastor, in the year 1750, Rev. George Anderson. Application had been made to the presbytery of Edin-

burgh for a pastor, and Mr. Anderson was sent out in pursuance of that application. He arrived December 25th, 1750, and was installed in March 1751, Rev. Charles Lorimer presiding. He served the church but for one twelvemonth, his death occurring about the 20th of November, 1751. From this to the year 1754 the congregation was dependent on temporary supplies, among which occur the names of Messrs. Osgood, Hunter, Bell, and Hutson. On the 23d of December the congregation met with a great loss in the death of their elder, Isaac Hayne, father of the revolutionary martyr of the same name. He left Mrs. Anderson £200, and her daughter £400.

On the 20th of January, 1752, the following record is made in reference to the recent loss of their pastor and elder:—"The loss of these two valuable men occasioned the call of a special presbytery, who met at Bethel meeting-house, Pon Pon, at which time our whole church and congregation met and gave thanks to God for such an enlarged spirit of love and unity and good will as appeared among them." The business affairs of the congregation becoming entangled, they were advised by presbytery, at a *pro re nata* meeting at Pon Pon, January 14th, 1752, to appoint trustees, five in number, for their management. William Little, Thomas Clifford, James Dunnom, Anthony Lambright, and Joseph Gibbons were accordingly appointed, and empowered to hire out the slaves belonging to the congregation, to rent the pews, and pay the salary of the minister, who shall be a Presbyterian, subscribing the Westminster Confession, and subject to the presbytery of South Carolina. The congregation sent on a call through the presbytery for Rev. Mr. John Trotter. Mr. Trotter having other engagements, and the presbytery being thus empowered, filled the call with the name of Rev. James Rymer, who arrived in Charleston January 24th, 1753, and was installed by the presbytery on the 14th of February following. Mr. Rymer's ministry was hardly longer than Mr. Anderson's.

On the 8th of July, 1755, Mr. Simpson hears of Mr. Rymer's indisposition, goes to visit him, and learns of his death on the way. From the notice of his death in the South Carolina Gazette of July 10th, 1755, we learn that Mr. Rymer was born in St. Andrew's, in Scotland, bred and educated in the university there, licensed and ordained in the Church of Scotland; and that upon a call from the Presbyterian church at Pon Pon he was transported thither in the year 1752." On the 5th of February, 1756, the following record appears transcribed in the session book of the church, relative to the affairs of the congregation, which were laid before presbytery, viz. "We,

the members of the Presbytery now met at Charles Town, do declare our satisfaction with the within Report [this report is too long for insertion here], and hereby give and grant, as far as in us lies, unto the Trustees for the Church and Congregation of Bethel, Pon Pon, a full quietus. This done and certified in open Presbytery, this 5th day of February, 1756. Signed, Archibald Simpson, Moderator ; Jonathan S. Porter, minister ; Thomas Bell, minister ; Wm. Donaldson, minister ; James Sandiford, Elder ; Wm. Edings, Elder."

We have spoken on a preceding page of the difficulties interposed to the settlement of Mr. Simpson over this church. After his settlement at Stoney Creek, Bethel renewed its application for half his time. This was agreed to by the other church and approved of by presbytery. The Pon Pon people very generously agreed to give £50 sterling to the Indian Land congregation towards a parsonage, they having no such convenience, and Mr. Hutson, their former pastor, "having a very good estate of his own." But on Lord's-day, September 11th, 1757, he writes—"Took my leave of Pon Pon, the Presbytery having forbid the engagement to be renewed without their special allowance." From this onward his ministry at Pon Pon was only occasional. On the 8th of July, 1759, his journal mentions the arrival of Mr. Charles Gordon, a young Scotch minister, with his family. "Above three years ago Presbytery had thought of maintaining an itinerant minister in the back settlements. They sent to Scotland for one. Finding themselves scanted in means, they determined, if one came on that invitation, to settle him in some vacancy. This invitation Mr. Gordon accepted two years ago. He arrived about two weeks since, and is recommended by Presbytery to Pon Pon." On Wednesday, the 31st of October, at a *pro re nata* meeting of presbytery at the Pon Pon church, at which Mr. Alison presided, Mr. Gordon was installed over that church and congregation.

We find another minister besides Mr. Alison, who by a similar course of events was transferred from Pennsylvania to the province of South Carolina. In answer to supplications from Virginia and North Carolina, the synod of Philadelphia, on the 24th of May, 1753, appointed Mr. McMordie to supply the vacancies in those parts for ten weeks or longer, beginning with the first of July ; and Mr. Donaldson in like manner to supply ten weeks or longer, beginning with the first of October. They are recommended to show "a special regard to the vacancies of North Carolina, between the Atkin [Yadkin] and Catoba [Catawba] rivers." On the 29th of May, 1755, Mr. [William] Donaldson is directed to supply the back parts of

Virginia and North Carolina, "at least three months next fall." Mr. Donaldson appears to have extended his missionary labors still further southward, and to have remained longer in the field. In Mr. Simpson's diary we find the following entries: Saturday, January 31st, 1756, "Rode 35 miles to Charlestown; rode about 100 miles this week, chiefly on horseback. Lord's-day, February 1st, Preached in Charlestown. Friday, 6th, Presbytery constituted, poor I Moderator. Saturday, 7th, Rev. Mr. William Donaldson, who was last year ordained a minister at large for Pennsylvania, was received a member of our Presbytery, and accepted a call to Waccama, within our bounds." A petition had been sent from WACCAMAW to this intent. We have found Wakamah, or Wakamaha, and Wakamaha Neck, mentioned as among his places of occasional preaching, in the register of Mr. Baxter. This was probably at Kingston, in the bounds of Horry District, which was settled by the Scotch-Irish about the same time with Williamsburg. The earliest lots in the township of Williamsburg were granted in 1735, in Kingston, now Conwaysboro, Horry, in 1735, 1736. Mr. Donaldson was moderator of presbytery, November 19th, 1756. Mr. Donaldson must have visited these parts soon after his appointment by the synod of Philadelphia. Mr. Simpson, on the 16th of February, 1755, tells how much he was "refreshed with the heavenly discourse of a very worthy Presbyterian minister, who had some months ago been sent out by the synod of Philadelphia to preach through the back parts of Virginia and Carolina."

The Presbyterian church on the BLACK MINGO, near its junction with the Black river, lost its minister, the Rev. Samuel Hunter, in June, 1754. "He was," says Mr. Simpson, "a worthy and judicious minister of Christ, of middle age, having been in the province about twenty years, which is very extraordinary, few ministers living half that time in this country, which is so sickly and fatal to people in our way." Of this church Dr. J. R. Witherspoon, of Alabama, who was raised in the Williamsburg congregation, and was a descendant of John Witherspoon the emigrant, says, "there was also a church below Black Mingo, usually called 'the brick church,' erected several years anterior to the church near Kingtree, which has sometimes been called through mistake the original church of Williamsburg. It was not built by any of my ancestors."—(MS. letter to Dr. Thornwell, October 2d, 1848.)\*

\* Was there a Presbyterian community and congregation so early as this in the district or county of Georgetown? The ancient register of marriages

The Presbyterian church of WILLIAMSBURG still enjoyed the faithful labors of the Rev. John Rae. Everything in the church was conducted with vigor and punctuality, in accordance with the discipline of the Church of Scotland during the period of which we now treat. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was duly administered, when "dyets of examination were appointed for communicants. Saturday was observed as a day of fasting and humiliation, and Monday as a day of thanksgiving." Offenders were subjected to discipline, and however scandalous their offence, they were compelled to confess it and be rebuked for it in the presence of the congregation. Not only did the days of religious observance appointed by the public authorities receive attention, but occasionally we find them setting apart days of their own accord. Thus, on May 3d, 1752, session "considering that the conduct of Providence seemed very threatening in the present long drought in the time of planting and sowing, unanimously agreed to appoint a meeting of the society for prayer and supplication on Monday, May 4th." There had previously, April 5th, been a nomination of additional elders. The edict of their nomination was served on the 19th, being Lord's-day, and their installment appointed on Thursday following, which was to be observed as a day of fasting and humiliation. On that day "the minister represented (to the session) the expediency of signing the formula of the Confession of Faith by all elders of the Presbyterian persuasion, that hereby they might not only satisfy all concerned with respect to the articles of their faith, but also be entitled to sit and vote in our Presbyteries; to which the session unanimously agreed." When, therefore, the ceremony of their ordination and installation took place, they signed the following paper, which is inscribed upon the records of their church:

"We, the subscribers, members of the Session of the Congregation of Williamsburg, Do hereby declare that we sincerely own and believe the whole

in the Williamsburg church has the following entries: May 27th, 1753, "Joseph Roper, in the neighboring congregation of Wyneau, with Mary Macantz, were proclaimed I<sup>o</sup> and married November 1." Again, January 19th, 1755, "John Durant, in Wyneau congregation, and Hannah Caples, were proclaimed in order to marriage I<sup>o</sup>, &c. Married February 6th." Mr. Baxter's register, beginning January 7th, 1733-34, and terminating in 1765, shows that on five different occasions he preached at Winyaw, the first time preaching twice and administering the Lord's supper; the second time and the fifth preaching twice, and the third and fourth once. March 15th, 1805, a call was received from the congregation of Black River, Winyaw, Georgetown District, for the ministerial labors of Murdoch Murphy, by the "First Presbytery of South Carolina," which accordingly held an intermediate session at that church, and ordained and installed him on the 18th of May in that year. (See page 589.)

Doctrine contained in the Confession of Faith approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and ratified by Law in the year sixteen hundred and ninety, and frequently confirmed by divers Acts of Parliament since that time, to be agreeable to the Scriptures of Truth; and we do own the same as the confession of our Faith. And likewise, We do own the purity of Worship presently authorized and practiced in that Church, and also the Presbyterian Government and Discipline now so happily established therein, which Doctrine, Worship, and Church Government we are persuaded are founded upon the Word of God; and we promise, through the Grace of God, that we shall constantly and finally adhere to the same, and to the utmost of our power shall in our station assert, maintain, and defend the s<sup>d</sup> Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, by Church Sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assemblies, and submit to the s<sup>d</sup> Discipline and Government, and never shall endeavor, directly, nor indirectly, the prejudice and subversion of the same. And we promise that we shall follow no divisive course from the present establishment of that Church, renouncing all Doctrines, Tenets, and Opinions whatsoever contrary to or inconsistent with the s<sup>d</sup> Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government of that Church. Jo. Rae, Min<sup>r</sup>; John James, James McClelland, James Witherspoon, John Liviston, Robert Witherspoon, Samuel Fulton, Robert Wilson, Robert Paisley, Gavin Witherspoon, William Dobien, Elders."

After this follows, under date of June 8th, a full account of the legacy of Henry Sheriff of James Island, with an extract from his will, which he ordered to be registered in the session books of the several churches to whom his legacies were left. The legacy to the Williamsburg church was the sum of £200, the interest of which was to be applied to the support of a Presbyterian minister who shall be of the profession and principles already named. It appears from this record that Mr. Sheriff had left legacies in like manner to several different congregations. The solicitude for soundness in the faith and in the principles of church order which these several proceedings manifest, are worthy of all praise. This legacy was duly received and applied to the designated use.

The ministry of Mr. Rae seems to have been pursued with the most exemplary diligence and faithfulness. Mr. Simpson bears his testimony to his great worth, and the ancient records of the church, kept through his pastorate with extraordinary particularity and care, attest his regard for sound doctrine and holy living. The church register informs us that he was married to Mrs. Rachel Baird, of Prince George parish, July 10th, 1750.

The Rev. John Baxter was still active as a member of presbytery. At the meeting in Charleston, November 20th, 1754, he introduced a young man to presbytery, Mr. Banantine, who was taken under its care as a candidate for the ministry. He was a native of Scotland, and his father a clergyman there, who had been some years dead. Mr. Bauan-

tine had been a teacher in Mr. Baxter's family for some two years and a half. At a subsequent meeting, in March, his trials were completed, and he received license on Friday, the 14th of that month. Mr. Simpson notices his subsequent preaching in Charleston twice during a meeting of presbytery in November, 1755. " Thursday, 20th, Mr. Banantine preached an excellent sermon on 'Love to one another.'" Some of the Wilton people, he also notices, preferred him as a pastor at the time Mr. Simpson himself was a candidate before them. Where Mr. Baxter's labors were now bestowed we are less able to say. From his register of texts, and places of preaching, Santee and Black river were his most constant places of preaching in the latter part of his ministry. His landed possessions were in Williamsburg district. Eleven hundred acres were granted to him in the township of Williamsburg in 1737, three hundred in 1739.—(Grant books, Secretary of State's office.) Within this period too we must date the origin of the SALEM CHURCH, of BLACK RIVER, of which further particulars will be given in the next decade.

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## CHAPTER II.

THE OLD WAXHAW CHURCH.—The church and congregation whose name stands at the head of this article is one of the oldest in the up-country of South Carolina. Some six or seven families settled in the country known as "the Waxhaws," in Lancaster district, in May, 1751. In the fall of the same year a few more joined them, and a considerable number in 1752, chiefly from Augusta county, Virginia, and the back parts of Pennsylvania. The first grant of land in the settlement was made to Robert McElhenny, in the year 1751, and is known now as "the old Blair place," adjoining the plantation of Dr. Thornwell, called then "the garden of Waxhaw." Many other grants were taken out in 1752. These first settlers were known as "the Pennsylvania Irish," having first settled in that State in their migrations from the north of Ireland. "Those from Pennsylvania," says Mr. Stinson, from whom we now quote, "had resided there sufficiently long to be judges of good land." They settled along the river and creek. The "Scotch-Irish," who came by the way of Charleston, not being judges, settled out on thinner land, and towards the heads of creeks and water-courses. All, however, were of the Pres-

byterian persuasion. Many were in possession of considerable wealth. Many were aged, with children grown up. Their families were often intermarried. The Whites, Fosters, Simpsons, were so connected. There were several families of the name of Dunlap. There were the names of McClanahan, Crocket, Barnett, Miller, Stephenson, the McKees, McIlhennys, Thompsons, Ramsays, and Lattas. Several of the more aged men were probably elders in the churches of Pennsylvania and Virginia, from which they removed. As members of the church they emigrated in search of new homes, and were prepared to organize as a congregation wherever God in his providence might direct their footsteps. Their spirit was that of the ancient patriarch, who, wherever he went, first built an altar unto the Lord. We are not informed when they were first organized as a church. Rev. J. B. Davies says in 1755 or 6, but perhaps it was earlier than this. They were sparsely settled in the wilderness over a considerable area, along the river and creeks, and must have had quite early some common place of assemblage and of worship. They did have a common place of burial. The first tenants have not left a stone standing to tell their names, and the date and exact spot of their interment. It is said that some graves formerly bore the date of 1754, and others of 1758. The first emigrants did not allow themselves to be forgotten. Their spiritual desolations were made known in letters to friends they had left behind in Pennsylvania and Ireland. And it was the custom of presbyteries and synods at the north to send their young licentiates on missionary tours to the new settlements of the south. "The first sermon was preached to us," says Mr. Davis, "by Mr. John Brown, then a probationer from Pennsylvania, in February, 1753. In 1754, we were favored with a visit from Mr. Ray of Williamsburg, South Carolina, and Mr. Tate of Pennsylvania. In 1755, we heard the gospel preached by Messrs. Hogg (or Hoge), McAden, and others from the northward." The McAden here referred to is the Rev. Hugh McAden, who was graduated at Nassau Hall in 1753, and studied with John Blair of Newcastle presbytery. He was sent out by that body immediately after his licensure in 1755, on a mission to the new settlements in the south. We quote from Dr. Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, who has had access to his journal. From Sugar Creek in North Carolina, on Monday, the 20th of October, "he took his journey for Broad river, 'sixty miles to the southward, in company with two young

men, who came thus far to conduct me thither—a place where never any of our missionaries have been.

"On this journey, he passed through the lands of the Catawba Indians. On the first night they prepared to encamp in the woods, about three miles south of the Catawba, 'there being no white man's house on all the road.' This was his first night 'out of doors.' On the next day they passed one of their hunting camps unmolested; but when they stopped to get their breakfast, they were surrounded by a large number of Indians, shouting, and hallooing, and frightening their horses, and rifling their baggage. Accordingly they moved off as fast as possible, without staying to parley; and to their great annoyance, in a little time they passed a second camp of hunters, who prepared to give them a similar reception, calling them to stop from each side of the path. Passing on rapidly, they escaped without harm; and after a ride of twenty-five miles, were permitted to get their breakfast in peace.

"On Sabbath, the 2d of November, he preached 'to a number of those poor baptized infidels, many of whom I was told had never heard a sermon in all their lives before, and yet several of them had families!' This," says Dr. Foote, "seems hardly credible. But he relates an anecdote told him here by an old gentleman, who said to the governor of South Carolina, when he was in those parts, in treaty with the Cherokee Indians, that he 'had never seen a shirt, been in a fair, heard a sermon, or seen a minister in all his life.' Upon which the governor promised to send him up a minister that he might hear one sermon before he died. The minister came and preached; and this was all the preaching that had been heard in the upper part of South Carolina before Mr. McAden's visit.

"How far he penetrated into the State is not known, on account of the loss of a few leaves of the journal. It is very unlikely that he was the first minister the people heard in those neighborhoods; but those who had never heard a sermon were comparatively few, as the mass of the early settlers were of a parentage that taught their children the way to church. There were, however, some settlers from the older parts of the State who had not been much accustomed to any religious forms.

"Friday, the 14th, took my leave of these parts, and set out for the Waxhaws, forty-five miles, good; that night reached Thomas Farrel's, where I lodged till Sabbath-day;

then rode to James Patton's, about two miles, and preached to a pretty large congregation of Presbyterian people. Wednesday, preached again in the same place, and crossed the Catawba river and came to Henry White's.' Here he remained till Sabbath; part of the time sick of the flux, but was able to preach on Sabbath, the 23d, at the 'meeting-house,' five miles off; and went home with Justice Dickens." Mr. Stinson reasons with much probability, that the "Justice Dickens" of McAden's journal was a mistake for Pickens, and that the individual referred to is Andrew Pickens, afterwards a distinguished general in the war of the revolution. "At what particular date Andrew Pickens became a resident of Waxhaw is not known, nor whether any other of the family ever resided there, although the name is kept up in other families unto the present time, *e. g.*, Pickens Davis. The direction from Waxhaw which Mr. McAden would take on his return would conduct him to a plantation up the Waxhaw Creek, now known as 'Pickens Old Fields.' It is certain that he resided in Waxhaw settlement in 1758, and there interested himself in the affairs of the church. Many of the old grants of land of Lancaster, Chester, and other districts, were granted to A. Pickens, and others to Pickens and Rutherford. These were North Carolina grants in Anson county. This region, after settling the line between North and South Carolina, was called 'The New Acquisition,' until laid off into the counties of Lancaster, Chester, York, Union, Spartanburg, etc."

This year, 1755, was the year of the great drought from early in the spring till late in the fall, which McAden mentions as prevailing through Virginia and the Carolinas. It was the year too of Braddock's defeat, (9th of July, 1755.) The murderous savages made inroads through the valley of Virginia. Mr. Craighead, after living in Virginia six years, fled, with such of his people as were disposed to follow him, to Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, and became the first minister of Sugar Creek. The war, pestilence, and famine, that then threatened the colonies, drove many to the more peaceful regions of the Catawba, down to the peace of 1763.

It is evident that a house of worship was already erected at the time of McAden's visit. Mr. Stinson says whether it was built in the first or second year of their settlement is now unknown. The spot fixed for the site was on the plantation of Robert Miller. The church, which was of logs, was built

on the east side of the graveyard, and signs of it are now visible from the road-side.

Our other authority, Mr. Davis, proceeds to say that "during this time the number of inhabitants had considerably increased. We now thought ourselves in a situation that would justify our making application for a stated ministry. The inhabitants of Fishing Creek were now forming themselves into a congregation, and being contiguous, we entered into union with them in 1756, and built houses for worship. We found ourselves far distant from any of the northern presbyteries, and probationers under their care exceedingly few. It appeared to us advisable to put ourselves under the care of the Charlestown presbytery, South Carolina, with a view of obtaining a preacher from Scotland.

"Accordingly Mr. Robert Miller, a probationer, made us a visit in the spring, and we forwarded a call to the presbytery in May, which he accepted and was ordained a minister. He was a man of popular talents and a lively preacher, but in a little more than a year, a charge of too much familiarity with a young woman put a stop to his preaching and left us vacant."

We are able to throw light upon this piece of history from the journal of Mr. Simpson. At the meeting of the Charleston presbytery, in November, 1755, at which Mr. Simpson acted as moderator, a Mr. Robert Miller, a man "well advanced in years," who had followed the occupation of a schoolmaster, was put on trial for licensure at the request of the people on the Waxhaws. On the 7th of February he was licensed to preach, and was appointed to go as soon as possible to the Waxhaws for settlement. He was to be ordained at Pon Pon on the 16th of June, 1756, with a view to his officiating at Waxhaw, and for a season was to supply at Wilton and Pon Pon. The people at Pon Pon, however, shut the doors against him. He was prevailed upon by Mr. Simpson to preach under the trees. There was reason for this opposition. At the meeting of presbytery in Charleston, June 22d, 1758, Mr. Miller was deposed and was laid under the lesser sentence of excommunication for violating the seventh commandment. It appeared that he had once been deposed by an associate presbytery in Scotland for the same crime. Mr. Simpson subsequently preached at Pon Pon, and read Mr. Miller's sentence of deposition. It was ordered to be read in all the churches throughout the province. It was published in the church at Williamsburg on the same day. It is believed that Mr. Miller repented sincerely of this his sin, and lived

afterwards a virtuous life as a private Christian. Intercession was afterwards made for his restoration to the ministry by the people of Long Cane, who testified to his sincere repentance and regular life, but without success.

It is no small argument for the divine origin of the visible church, that it outlives the imperfection of its members, and the sins and even crimes of those clothed with authority in it. It claims no perfection for the individuals that compose it, but only for the truth it publishes. Neither the passion of Moses, the meekest of men, nor the crimes of David, nor the fall of Peter, have been able to destroy it.

Previous, however, to this *dénouement* and sad termination of Mr. Miller's official life, on the 9th of March, 1758, the congregation of Waxhaw seems to have assembled in full numbers at their house of worship to attend to matters relative to the church. Mr. Miller had sold his plantation to Mr. Barnett, but had reserved four and a half acres, on which the church was built, as sacred to the uses of the congregation. On this day he and his wife Jane executed a lease and release of the land, transferring this tract, on which was the cemetery, church, and spring, to trustees for the Waxhaw congregation. The trustees named in the document are Robert Davies, Robert Ramsay, John Linn, Samuel Dunlap, and Henry White. It is attested by Robert McClanahan, John Crockett, and Andrew Pickens. It states that the land was given in good will to the congregation; that it is to be continued to the Presbyterian church as established in Scotland, and in failure of this, to revert to the original donors; that the trustees are to fill their own vacancies, and in case they fail to do so, it is to be done by the congregation; and that the minister's stipend is to be raised on the seats, the trustees paying the same as others.

In a little more than three months from this, the high hopes of the congregation were dashed by the deposition of their minister.

"We continued destitute of a stated ministry," says Mr. Davis, "and had few supplies until 1759, when Mr. William Richardson, a probationer from the Virginia presbytery, who had been sent a missionary to the Cherokee Indians, on his way out called upon us in February. Finding no probability of success among the Indians, he soon returned to us and preached greatly to our satisfaction. At our instance he put himself under the care of the Charlestown presbytery, and we presented our call, which he accepted, and was

ordained by the presbytery, but not installed to our congregations."

We are now able to trace that course of providential events which gave to the people of Waxhaw this pastor who labored so long and faithfully among them. In Mr. Simpson's diary, which he began at the early age of fourteen, and in the year 1748, in the city of Glasgow, he speaks often of his "dear friend and comrade, W. R." The record often occurs, "Spent the entire afternoon with my friend W. R., in the field, in prayer, praise, and reading God's word." Mr. Simpson entered college in July, 1748, and seems to have spent his Saturdays with his friend, "W. R.," in some retired spot beyond the noise of the city, in acts of devotion. The two friends were brought up under the same ministry and the same influences.

On the 8th of February, 1755, we find him receiving a letter from "his dear comrade, W. R.," the same with whom he had such constant and sweet Christian intercourse while they were fellow students at Glasgow. He too is in America, in Virginia, not yet in the ministry, but has some prospect of it. Their intercourse is now renewed by epistolary correspondence. W. R. is licensed and at last ordained, and has his full share of discouragements and trials. At length, on Monday, April 16th, 1759, we find this entry: "Dear old comrade, W. R., came to my house. He was licensed and ordained by a presbytery in Virginia. Had gone some months ago a missionary to the Cherokee Indians, but finding no good could be done among them, as they were inclined to join the French, he has laid down his mission and accepted an invitation from a people at the Waxhaws, about two hundred miles beyond Charlestown, is come down to join presbytery and accept their call, they being in our bounds." He has much conversation with his "dear comrade," finds he has been only one year employed in public work, and has not been without his share of trouble, affliction, and sickness. Finding his circumstances low, he assists him. He sends him to preach at Pon Pon, and at Port Royal, or Beaufort. On Wednesday, the 16th of May, his comrade is received as a member of presbytery, his people are present with their call, it is accepted, and he is to be installed in the autumn. Presbytery being over, he accompanies his dear comrade some distance on his way, and parts with him six miles from Charleston. Thus the two college friends, that had studied and prayed together in Glasgow, and had gone to the house

of God in company, meet in America, and commence a ministry on these shores, which was to be continued for years, and to be owned by the Master of assemblies. The comrade of Mr. Simpson was no other than William Richardson, who now became pastor of the Waxhaw church, the first church, we believe, above Orangeburg, to enjoy full gospel ordinances.

William Richardson was born in the year 1729, at Egremont, near Whitehaven, in England, from which place his sister Mary removed when she came to America. His father is said to have been a man of wealth, which was inherited by his eldest son, who was wild, extravagant, and dissipated. William was the youngest of the family, whose whole inheritance was the education he received. The companion of Archibald Simpson in the University of Glasgow, he seems to have graduated earlier than he, as his name ceases to be mentioned in the diary of the latter for some considerable time before *his* academic life was finished. At the age of twenty-one, Mr. Richardson came to America, and landed in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1750. He became a resident in the family of the Rev. Samuel Davies of Virginia, whose name is so distinguished in the annals of the Presbyterian church and pulpit. Davies, in writing to his correspondents in Scotland, speaks of him as being then under his roof, and as ready to assist him in distributing the books sent out by the Glasgow society. He was taken on trial by Hanover presbytery, June 9th, 1757, and was licensed at a meeting at Capt. Anderson's in Cumberland, Virginia, January 25th, 1758. On the 18th of July, 1758, at the first meeting of that presbytery after the union of the synods of New York and Philadelphia, held in Cumberland, he was ordained as a missionary to the Cherokee Upper Towns, to which he, as well as Mr. Martin, was sent, by an understanding between the Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England and the Society in Scotland for Propagating Religious Knowledge. Mr. Davies, with whom he studied theology, preached the sermon at his ordination. Henry Patillo, also a student of Samuel Davies, and afterwards a pastor in Orange and Granville counties, was ordained with him.—(Webster, p. 674.) He was appointed to perform the installation services of Alexander Craighead at Rocky river in North Carolina, who had occupied an exposed position in Augusta county, Virginia, and after Braddock's defeat, on the 9th of July, 1755, fled with such of his congregation as were able to fly, and settled in Mecklenburg, in North Carolina,

and became the first minister of a congregation on Sugar Creek, by which name the congregation was afterwards known. Mr. Martin had been appointed previously to preside at the installation of Mr. Craighead; but failing to do it, the duty was performed by Mr. Richardson on the 27th of September, 1758, on his way to the Cherokees. Mr. Richardson's stay in that neighborhood must have been scarcely more than six months, since he arrived at the residence of Mr. Simpson in the low-country of South Carolina on the 16th of April following, 1759. The Cherokees took up arms through the instigation of the French, and the mission to them was abandoned. In 1761, he is reported as having left Hanover presbytery, and joined the presbytery in South Carolina not in connection with the synod. In 1762, the presbytery of Hanover sustained his reasons for joining the presbytery of South Carolina without a dismissal from his own.

Mr. Richardson married Nancy Craighead, one of the six daughters of the Rev. Alexander Craighead, said to have been a lady of great beauty and talent, and to have possessed much of her father's spirit. Already, at the close of 1758, Mr. Richardson is thought to have made his arrangements to settle in this congregation. His installation was appointed by the presbytery of Charleston to take place in the fall of 1759. Mr. Richardson's labors were by no means confined to his congregation at Waxhaw, but pursuing his vocation as a missionary, he extended them widely through the Catawba region, which was already becoming occupied more and more by clusters of settlers.\*

Another instance occurred in 1758 of the remote settlement of a minister, under the supervision of the presbytery of South Carolina, among the Scotch settlers upon the Cape Fear, in North Carolina. In 1747, Neill McNeill of Argyleshire, Scotland, visited Wilmington, and ascended the Cape Fear as far

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\* MS. account of the Waxhaw church, prepared at the request of Presbytery under the order of the General Assembly, signed John Davis, session clerk, Waxhaw, April 5th, 1794; Rev. J. B. Davies' Sketches of Bethel Presbytery; MS. of Daniel Green Stinson, Esq.; Foote's N. C., pp. 169, 170; Diary of Archibald Simpson.

† The successors to the original trustees have been William Davis, Robert Montgomery, Robert Dunlap, William Carns, Nathan Barr, James Dunlap. After this, the trustees having died out, the congregation held an election, during the pastorate of Edward Palmer, and elected John Foster, B. S. Massey, Robert Crockett, D. Dunlap, and ——— Gamble. The lease of the church lot was recorded in the Registry Office of Anson county, N. C.—(Book D., No. 4, pp. 371, 375, the 17th of September, 1759.)

as Lower Little river, exploring the country. In the neighborhood of Heart's Creek, now known as Fayetteville, he found William Gray, Nathaniel Platt, and another man by the name of Russell. The former of these had entered land as early as 1732. In the spring of 1749 he landed in Wilmington with about three hundred emigrants—men, women, and children—from the Highlands of Scotland. The people of Wilmington, struck by their unusual dress, speech, and wild gesticulations, required Mr. McNeill to enter into a bond for their peaceable and good behavior. This Mr. McNeill contrived to evade, and ascending the Cape Fear with his companions, he settled them in the neighborhood of Fayetteville, the Bluff, and Little rivers. In 1749, Baliol of Jura ran a vessel between Cambelltown, Scotland, and Wilmington, and the number of emigrants increased yearly. Thus commenced the "Scotch Settlement" of North Carolina, which for many years remained emphatically an *isolated people*. Hugh McAden, in his journal, published in Foote's Sketches, says: "On Sabbath, the 25th, [Jan., 1756], I rode to Hector McNeill's (evidently the 'Bluff,') and preached to a number of Highlanders—some of them scarcely knew one word I said—the poorest singers I have ever heard in all my life. Wednesday, rode up to Alexander McKay's, upon the Yadkin road, thirty miles, (where Long-street church is now located). Thursday, preached to a small congregation, mostly Highlanders, who were very much obliged to me for coming, and highly pleased with my discourse, though, alas, I am afraid it was all feigned and hypocritical." This he feared because some stayed around the house all night and engaged in drinking, in spite of his remonstrances. In 1745 "the veteran warriors of Preston Pans, the Clansmen of Lochiel and Glengary," gathered around the standard of Charles Edward the Pretender, and were at length defeated, as we have before repeated, at the battle of Culloden. They were driven away, as we have seen, with bitter and relentless retribution. Instead of settling in South Carolina, under the guidance of Neill McNeill, they ascended the Cape Fear river, and sat down with their countrymen who had preceded them.

James Campbell was born at Campbellton-on-Kintyre, in Argyleshire, came to America in 1730, was licensed, probably by Newcastle presbytery, in 1735, was "well received" by the Philadelphia presbytery, May 22d, 1739; preached at Newtown and Tinicum, in Buck's county, Pennsylvania, until, under a

spiritual despondency, he came to believe himself unconverted, and told the synod that he dared not preach till he was born again. Whitefield had much conversation with him, and by his efforts and those of Tennent he was persuaded to resume his ministerial duties. He was ordained in 1752, and installed at Tincum, or Tehicken, in 1744. His pastoral relation was dissolved in 1749. He seems to have preached afterwards in Lancaster county, on the Conecocheague, to a Scotch congregation. To him McAden recited the spiritual wants of his countrymen on the Cape Fear, and in 1757 "he took up his residence in their midst, on the left bank of the river, thirteen miles above Fayetteville, nearly opposite the Bluff church, on the plantation where, almost within sight, his mortal remains now rest." In 1758 he was dismissed from the presbytery of Newcastle, within whose bounds he last labored, to join the presbytery of South Carolina. It was made one of the conditions of his settlement, specified in the call, that he should, "as soon as his convenience permit, accept of our call, to be presented to him by the Rev. Presbytery of South Carolina, and be by them engaged to the solemn duty of a pastor for us." "On his own plantation," says the authority to which we are chiefly indebted for these facts, "beneath the shade of his own lofty oaks, Mr. Campbell first preached Christ and him crucified, and through him pointed out the way of salvation to his famishing countrymen. The tidings that a Gaelic preacher had settled in their midst sped throughout the 'Scotch settlement' almost with the speed of the fiery cross in the Highlands, when sent to summon the clansmen to the fight. Soon multitudes came to hear the word expounded, and to listen to the accents of his Highland tongue."—(A Centenary Sermon, by Rev. Neill McKay, and a Centennial Historical Address, before the Presbytery of Fayetteville, at the Bluff church, the 18th day of October, 1858, by James Banks, Esq., Fayetteville, 1858.)

The germ of the FAIRFOREST CHURCH, in the district of Union, on the waters of a large creek of the same name which falls into the Tyger river, a branch of Broad river, was planted at the same time. The site of the church is half a mile below where the line between Spartanburg and Union crosses the Fairforest creek. The first house of worship was half a mile eastward of the present one, on a lot now enclosed as a cemetery. The church dates its origin from some seven or eight families who emigrated from Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, from the year 1751 to 1754. Among the first emigrants were

George Story, James McIlwaine, and one by the name of Dugan. Their first place of encampment was on a commanding eminence about two miles east of Glenn's Springs. A beautiful valley stretched far in the distance, a grove of lofty trees concealed the meandering of a stream which fertilized the tract below. The rays of the declining sun shed their departing beams on the tree-tops that waved over the wide amphitheatre in the evening breeze. One of the two, McIlwaine, it is said, exclaimed: "What a *fair forest* this!" The name attached itself to the place, and then to the bold and lovely stream, which, rising in the mountains, sweeps on, dispensing fertility and refreshment to the central portions of this and the neighboring districts below.

These forests were not unpeopled. The buffalo, deer, and other wild game, the panther, the wild-cat, the wolf and bear, and other beasts of prey, filling the night with their dismal cries, roamed through them; the beaver, architect and engineer together, built his works across the cold streams, and birds of varied plumage sang through the day and night around them.

What was true here was true throughout the country in which these early churches were planted. It was, indeed, a goodly land, a "land of rivers of water," "of springs sent into the valleys which run among the hills," of forests goodly like Lebanon, or the oaks of Bashan, with their grassy carpet or their tangled vines; of wooded mountains, or rolling hills, or undulating plains, or prairies covered with a rich growth of cane. The margins of many streams almost equalled the cane-brakes of the Southwest. These facts are established by the names which many of the streams in the up-country still bear, as Reedy River, Reedy Fork, Cane Creek, and Long Canes. The cane growth of the country was, we are told, the standard, to many, of the fertility of the soil; a growth twenty or thirty feet high denoting the highest fertility, and that no higher than a man's head, a more ordinary soil.—(Logan's History of Upper South Carolina.)

The aborigines had done the country no injury. So far as they produced any effect, it was to increase the natural fertility of the soil. They burned the woods at proper seasons to destroy the undergrowth and promote the springing of wild grasses. So rich and abundant was the pasturage that stock of all kinds increased and fattened without the expense of feeding.

These immigrants were all Presbyterians, some of them of respectable attainments in knowledge, and all attached to the faith of their fathers, and desirous of enjoying the ordinances

of the gospel. In 1754 they were visited by the Rev. Joseph Tate, then pastor of Donegal, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, whence they had emigrated, and in the year following by the Rev. Daniel Thane of New Jersey, who preached to them under the shadow of a spreading oak. Mr. Tate was sent out by the synod of Philadelphia, and Mr. Thane by the synod of New York. In the same year they were visited by Hugh McAden, who preached to them one sermon. In the absence of ministers of the gospel, the flame of piety was kept burning by a diligent attention to family religion, and by social gatherings called "society meetings," which were held in the church or in private houses, for worship, reading the Holy Scriptures and sermons, and catechising.—(Records of the Pres. Ch., pp. 210, 260; MS. Hist. in hands of Stated Clerk of Gen. Ass.; MS. Hist. by Mr. Saye; do. by Rev. A. A. James.)

FISHING CREEK was first settled in 1749, 1750, and 1751, the first inhabitants of this congregation being persons chiefly from Pennsylvania, and professing the Presbyterian faith. In the winter of 1752 a sermon was preached at Landsford, on the west side of the Catawba river, by a Rev. Mr. Brown from Virginia, and in the winter following the Rev. Mr. Rae from Black river, at their request, paid them a visit, and baptized several children. At or about this time they began to be constituted as a regular congregation, and about the year 1755 presented a call to the South Carolina presbytery for the services of the Rev. Mr. Miller, who preached in two meeting-houses, one on each side of the river, until the fall of 1757, when he was silenced. During the season that the church was vacant they were favored with a visit from the Rev. Mr. Campbell and Rev. Mr. Alison. About the year 1758 they were visited by the Rev. Wm. Richardson, on his way from Virginia to Charlestown. Being encouraged by him, they sent a call to the South Carolina presbytery, which he had then joined, and obtained his services.—(MS. Sketch of Fishing Creek Church, by Samuel Neely, dated March 31st, 1794.)

CATHOLIC CONGREGATION occupies a portion of country in the southeastern part of Chester county, the whole region around being drained by Rocky Creek and its affluents. Tradition informs us that white men were settled on the Catawba, near the mouth of Rocky Creek, as early as 1732. If this is so, we should suppose it could only be the settlement of some adventurous Indian traders quite in advance of the white population. In about 1751 or 52 there was an emigration from Pennsylvania of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and

also from Virginia, some of whom had formerly been of the Church of England. The progress of settlement was slow till 1755, when in consequence of Braddock's defeat and the incursion of the Indians, the whole country of Upper Carolina began to receive refugees from Pennsylvania and Virginia. These settlers opened communications with their friends in Ireland, and a direct immigration from that country commenced, which reached its height perhaps in 1768. The principal inhabitants active in forming the congregation were Messrs. Thomas Garret, John Lee, Alexander McQuown, and Hugh McDonald. The congregation was formed by the labors of Mr. Richardson, who gave it the name Catholic. Mr. Richardson did not visit the Waxhaws till 1758, nor take charge of that congregation till 1759. This is said to be the date of its organization.

"The beginnings of the churches of INDIAN CREEK and of GRASSY SPRING, near Maybinton, in Newberry district, date back to a like early period. The original founders emigrated from Pennsylvania in the years 1749-1758. Several professors of the Presbyterian denomination having settled successively on Enoree river, Indian Creek, and Tyger river, which are all near each other in this part of the State, they were first visited with a preached gospel in 1755, by the Rev. Mr. McKadden," [McAden], who "preached them one sermon only."—(MS. Hist., written April 7th, 1794.) "On Monday," says Hugh McAden in his Journal, (Sketches of North Carolina, p. 170,) "the 10th of November, 1755, returned about twenty miles, to James Atterson's on Tyger river; preached on Tuesday, *which was the first they had ever heard in these parts*, but I hope it will not be the last, for there are men in all these places, blessed be God, some at least, that have a great desire of hearing the gospel preached. Next day rode to James Love's, on Broad river. Thursday, preached." The name spelled Atterson should have been Otterson. He was probably the father of Major S. Otterson, who had settled a little before this on Tyger river a few miles above Hamilton's ford. Families of the name of Hamilton were among the first settlers, and Presbyterians.—(Rev. James H. Saye. MS. Account.) Another account says, "they were first visited by a Presbyterian minister, whose name is now unknown, in the year 1758 or 59. He preached at Jacob Pennington's, on Indian Creek, and baptized several children." If this date is correct, it refers to some other visit than McAden's. We find that Mr. Benjamin Hait was appointed by the synod of New York, in 1757, to supply the southern vacancies. They recommended

the presbytery of Newcastle to send another, and the presbytery of Hanover to send another, when Mr. Hait shall come to them. And it may have been one of these.—(Records of the Presbyterian Church, p. 279.) By such labors, and among such a people, the churches of Grassy Spring and Indian Creek subsequently arose.

One great source of confusion, as we conduct our researches, is the different ecclesiastical organizations, springing up sometimes contemporaneously, more often successively in the same general community, the dates of which as organizations are made coeval with the settlement itself. Religious people occupying a new country, worship God in their households first, then in social assemblies of limited numbers, eventually in ecclesiastical organizations, and these not always permanent, but one giving place to another, as population extends itself in different directions, and families move from their original seats. This we have found true in several neighborhoods, and one among others is the upper corner of Newberry district and the adjoining corner of Laurens, where the waters of the Enoree and its affluents, King's Creek, Gilder's Creek, Indian Creek, Duncan's Creek, on the one side, and Tyger on the other, and the neighborhood of Grassy Spring, are in such proximity, and where the same general population covers the whole space. Different organizations have existed here, and to each of them there is a tendency to ascribe the date of the earliest settlement. It may be said that the original founders of Grassy Spring church, now extinct, emigrated from Pennsylvania in 1749 to 1758; but this will not make the organization so old as is thus indicated. Pennington's grant on Enoree dates, it is believed, in 1751, or possibly earlier. Pennington's Fort, erected as a protection against the Indians, was on Indian Creek. Duncan's settlement on Duncan's Creek was begun in 1752: the portion between Enoree and Tyger probably earlier. Bearing these remarks in mind, we will better understand the statements which follow. A church was organized at Indian Creek in the next decade, but a full organization at either locality is not a matter of record so early as this.

UNION CHURCH, though not *organized* so early, dates its first planting back to this period. It was situated near the centre of Union district. The first settlement was made in 1754 and 1755, by emigrants from Pennsylvania, who had lived under the ministry of Rev. Mr. Cathcart. Several heads of families, among whom were Messrs. Brandon, Brogan, Jolly, Kennedy, and McJunkin, settled in a then uninhabited wild, not far from the spot on which Union meeting-house afterwards stood.

They lived in tents until they got cabins erected. Several of these adventurers were truly pious, and they frequently met on the Lord's-day for reading the Scriptures, still hoping to be visited by some of their own ministers.

The settlements on Duncan's Creek and Long Canes were already commenced; but as the history of those churches properly begins at a later period, we defer further notice till we treat of the ten following years, from 1760 to 1770.

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### CHAPTER III.

SUCH are the facts we have been able to discover relating to the Presbyterian and the Independent churches of this State, united in their history, and adhering, the one closely, the other more loosely, to the Westminster Confession. Mr. Simpson mentions two other ministers, Rev. Mr. Munroe, chaplain to a Highland regiment in Charleston (March 19th, 1758), and Mr. Bennett, a probationer, whose "sweet gospel sermon" he heard January 6th, 1759. We have found the presbytery usually meeting in the city of Charleston, with a jurisdiction somewhat extensive, and ruling with some authority. Mr. Simpson was appointed by them to read a letter to the Pon Pon church, reproving them for employing Mr. Hutson, "a worthy Independent minister," which he did, much against his will, April 22d, 1757. "Read the letter without comment. The people were greatly surprised and displeased." Mr. Whitefield spent but fifteen months in America in the ten years; seven of which were in Georgia, with frequent visits to Carolina. He was either employed in his delightful work of "gospel ranging," as he was fond of calling his itinerant preaching, or engaged in building his new tabernacles at London, Bristol, Norwich, and his chapel at Tottenham Court. He had also become a preacher, as early as 1748, to persons of the most distinguished rank, who flocked to the drawing-room of the Countess of Huntington, where he preached to them with the utmost faithfulness and the most thrilling eloquence. Thither were drawn persons the most unlikely to attend his ministry, such as the Earl of Chesterfield, Horace Walpole, Lord Bolingbroke, and David Hume. The latter said he would go twenty miles to hear him. The brother of Bolingbroke became a convert, and died in the hope of the gospel. He had conceived the idea of convert-

ing the orphan-house at Bethesda into a college. He had declared his intention, provided the honorable trustees would put the colony on another footing, and allow the introduction of negroes, without which Georgia could never be a flourishing province.

The measures pursued by the actors in the "Great Awakening," and the resistance it met with, had divided the Presbyterian church of the north into the "Old Side" and the "New Side," into the synod of Philadelphia and the synod of New York. But both were alike men of probity, piety, and soundness in the faith; and after seventeen years of separation, this schism was healed, the "Old" and "New Side" coalesced, and the synod of New York and Philadelphia took the place of the separate jurisdictions. In this division the Presbyterians of South Carolina, whatever may have been their private views, took no active part.

The outward events which disturbed the peace of our people arose from the proximity of their Indian neighbors and the overshadowing power of France on this continent. England occupied the Atlantic slope, but claimed to the Pacific. France had settled the Canadas and Louisiana, and held the country bordering on the Mexican Gulf, as far as Mobile. She claimed the Mississippi and its tributaries, had her line of forts from Canada to New Orleans, and her traders and Jesuit missionaries dispersed among the Indian tribes. She had settled Nova Scotia under the name of Acadia. It was conquered by the English, but long neglected, and alternately ceded to France and reconquered. New England troops, led on by Peperell, for whose flag Whitefield had given for a motto, *Nil desperandum, Christo duce*, had taken Louisburg, and in 1749 the English had laid the foundations of Halifax.

The French settlers who were of the Romish faith, had been required to take the oath of allegiance to the British crown or leave the country. To this the Acadians consented, if they should not be obliged to take up arms against the French or their Indian allies; but the government required an unconditional oath or an immediate departure. To this the Acadians refused their assent. They claimed to be neutral, and were called "the French neutrals." They are represented as devoted to the peaceful pursuits of the shepherd, the herdsman, and the agriculturist; as dwelling in neat and well-constructed houses, having large possessions of flocks and herds, and living almost in a land of enchantment, in harmony and peace, under the care and control of their own priests.

Their disputes were settled among themselves, domestic virtue prevailed, and the law of kindness and mutual aid reigned abroad. They had increased in numbers until they amounted to sixteen or seventeen thousand. In their ignorance of English laws they were defenceless. Their arms and boats were taken from them. By a general proclamation the males above ten years of age were required to assemble at their respective posts. At Grand Prè, as one instance, four hundred and eighteen met together and were marched into the church, and its avenues closed and guarded. Winslow, the American commander, gave them the astounding information that their lands, tenements, and live-stock, of all kinds, were forfeited to the crown, and that they were to be removed from the province. Their wives, their sons—in number five hundred and twenty-seven—their daughters—five hundred and seventy-six—in all one thousand nine hundred and twenty-three souls, in this single community, were driven forth by force. The 10th of September, 1755, was fixed on for their embarkation. They were drawn up six deep. The young men were ordered first to march on board the vessel. They were unarmed, at the point of the bayonet, and there was no resistance. They marched slowly and sadly from the chapel to the shore, between kneeling women and children, sending their cries to heaven in their behalf. The old men followed. The women and children must remain behind for other means of transportation. They were scattered through the colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia. Families were thus separated, and the colonial newspapers contained advertisements of sons anxious to meet with and relieve their parents, and of parents seeking for their children. The cry of Rachel, the mother of the Benjaminites, went up,—of Rachel weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted, because they were not. To prevent their return, their houses, barns, mills, and churches were consumed. "For several successive evenings, the cattle assembled amid the ruins where they had been sheltered, as if in anxious expectation of the return of their masters, while all night long the faithful watch-dogs of the neutrals howled over the scene of desolation, and mourned alike the hand that had fed, and the hand that had sheltered them." "It was the hardest case," said one of the sufferers, "which had happened since our Saviour was upon earth." Their flocks and herds were at last seized for spoils, the forests took possession of their cultivated fields, the ocean broke through their neglected dykes. Seven

thousand of these people were banished to the different colonies, one thousand and twenty to South Carolina alone. They were pursued with hatred in the provinces whither they were carried.

The Journals of the House of Assembly speak with dread of their presence in the province, as men tainted with pernicious principles. The South Carolina Gazette frequently speaks of them, generally in the language of prejudice. Some leave the province and go off in boats and canoes for the north. Most of those sent to Georgia left for Carolina; on one occasion two hundred going off in ten rude boats which they had constructed, hoping to reach, by threading the coast, once more their beloved Acadia. The governor and council offered them vessels at the public charge to transport themselves elsewhere, and many went to France, some to Canada, others to Louisiana; in one direction and another they were eventually dispersed. To those who escaped to Louisiana, lands were assigned above New Orleans, in what is still known as the Acadian Coast. A few remained in the colonies, some of whom recovered from their despondency and became useful citizens. The family of Lanneau, in Charleston, who embraced the Protestant faith, have been long recognized for their devoted piety and active efforts for the cause of Christ. Two of them, Rev. John F. Lanneau, long a missionary to Jerusalem, and Basil Edward Lanneau, for some years Hebrew tutor in the Theological Seminary at Columbia, and afterwards professor in the Oakland College, Mississippi, have been favorably known in this generation.

The treatment of the Acadians was perhaps aggravated by the disastrous defeat of Braddock in his attempt on Fort Duquesne, July 9th, 1755. The effects of this on the settlement of the up-country of Carolina were very manifest. The western frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia were exposed to Indian depredations, and the settlers, a large share of whom were Presbyterians, removed for safety further south, away from the influence of the French. The French succeeded too in expelling the English from their ancient post of Oswego, and from Lake George, and Fort William Henry surrendered to the French general Montcalm. "Of the North American continent, the French claimed and seemed to possess twenty parts in twenty-five, leaving four only to Spain, and but one to Britain."

Both Mr. Simpson and Mr. Hutson allude to the sad state of things. "Everything," says the former, "looks awful and

dreadful, and all against us; a very hardened and sinful people, laden with iniquity." "Alas! it seems," says Mr. Hutson, "as if to the end of the war desolations were determined! May God have mercy upon us, and if suffering times are coming on, may he give suffering grace to all his people."

The tables were turned when William Pitt became prime minister. Louisburg was first taken, and the power of France fell on the eastern coast. Fort Frontenac succumbed before the vigorous attack of Bradstreet. Fort Duquesne was captured by Washington, and, in honor of the distinguished minister at the head of affairs, was by acclamation named Pittsburg. In 1759 Quebec surrendered to the heroic conduct of Wolfe, who lost his life on the heights of Abraham; and the power of Catholic France was at an end on the continent of North America.

All would now have been peace; but the royalist governor of South Carolina was bent on war with the Cherokees, who had assisted in the capture of Fort Duquesne. Having lost their horses, many of them took, in passing through Virginia, such as fell in their way. The Virginians assailed them, and killed twelve or fourteen of their number. They became excited by this conduct towards those who were allies, and on arriving at their homes, parties of young warriors, contrary to the remonstrance of the chiefs, sallied forth and murdered and scalped whoever fell in their way.

The Indians now regarded their accounts balanced, and would have remained at peace. They sent thirty-two of their chiefs to Charleston to settle these matters. But Governor Lyttleton determined on war, and refused to treat on any terms. He ordered the officers of the militia to collect their men and stand to arms. On Friday, the 12th of October, 1759, Mr. Simpson writes: "Early this morning an alarm was fired by the discharge of three muskets at every dwelling-place in the province. This seems very terrible. All the men immediately repaired with their arms to a public place of muster, and there the one half were drafted and ordered to be in readiness at an hour's warning to march against the Indians. God in his holy providence so ordered it that the draft to go out did not fall on me, for ministers, both of the establishment and dissenters, are obliged to be under arms and stand their draft, none being excepted. It was a serious time among us." The troops rendezvoused at the Congarees. Marion was there, then twenty-six years of age; and Christopher Gadsden, at the head of an artillery company which he had just raised.

The Cherokees had accompanied the army thus far. Here they were made prisoners; a captain's guard was put over them, and they were marched to Fort George, full of resentment at the treatment they had received, and were shut up in a hut hardly sufficient for a half-dozen soldiers. Lyttleton sent for Attakulla, an aged chief, and demanded that the twenty-four men who had been guilty of the murders should be delivered up to him, to be punished for their deeds. Attakulla replied that he had ever been the firm friend of the English, and had only now returned from a long and fatiguing expedition to aid them against their enemies, the French. That notwithstanding these things they had been cruelly treated in Virginia by those in whose behalf they had taken up arms; that though he would use his influence with his tribe, they had no power over each other, and he did not believe that the demand of the governor could be complied with. Under the importunities of the governor, who was desirous of finishing his campaign with credit, a treaty was signed between himself and six of the head men; one of the provisions of which was, that the twenty-two chiefs now in confinement should remain prisoners till the murderers who had escaped were delivered up. It is doubtful if the men who set their mark to these provisions entirely understood them. Certain it is that the nation paid no regard to the treaty afterward. Their chiefs sent as ambassadors to treat of peace, and to whom the governor had guaranteed a safe conduct, and that not a hair of their heads should be touched on their way to their homes, were miserable captives. The natural sense of justice of these untutored savages was outraged, and they were ready for vengeance.

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## BOOK TENTH.

1760-1770.

### CHAPTER I.

THE governor returned to Charleston on the 8th of January, and was received as a conqueror, though returning from a bloodless war. Flattering addresses were presented to him by different societies and professions, and bonfires and illuminations testified to the public joy. The Presbyterian clergy among others were present with "their humble address."

"May it please your Excellency," they say, "We be his Majesty's loyal subjects, the Ministers of the Church in this province, having ordination from the established Church of Scotland, and beg leave to congratulate your Excellency on your safe return from your expedition to the Cherokee Nation. And we return our unfeigned thanks to the Almighty for your Preservation and Success in a campaign attended with so many Difficulties and Dangers," &c.

The terms in which they proceed to express themselves are sufficiently flattering, believing, as they did, in the permanency of the seeming peace which was so soon to end, and filled, no doubt, with the prevailing resentment. The names attached to the address are twelve in number :

Patrick Kier,	John Baxter,
John Alison,	John McLeod,
James Campbell,	John Rae,
William Richardson,	Charles Lorimer,
Charles Gordon,	Archibald Simpson,
John Martin,	Philip Morison.

Charlestown, 11th January, 1760.

The hoped for peace was but a delusion. The young braves who had shed the blood of the settlers, had only been avenging in their own way the wrongs of their people, and could not be given up.

One thing led to another. An attempt was made to rescue the commissioners of the Cherokees, whose persons Lyttleton had seized and held as hostages at Fort Prince George. The commander of the fort was enticed into a parley with a chief at the river-side, and was shot down with the two officers that accompanied him. An attempt was made to secure the persons of the commissioners, which, meeting with resistance, the garrison put them to death. The blood of the Indians was now up. The leaders in every town seized the tomahawk, and told their warriors "that the spirits of their murdered brothers were hovering around them and crying for vengeance." They fell upon the defenceless settlements, and men, women, and children were cruelly murdered. Such as fled to the woods perished with hunger, and those who were taken as captives were carried into the wilderness and suffered incredible hardships. The inhabitants of Long Canes, in what is now Abbeville district, fled for refuge to the older and more protected parts of the country. A party, of whom Patrick Calhoun was one, who were removing their wives, children, and most valuable effects to Augusta for safety, were

attacked by the Cherokees on the 1st of February, 1760, and some fifty persons, mostly women and children, were slain. After the massacre, many children were found wandering in the woods. One man brought nine of these fugitives—some of whom had been cut with tomahawks and left for dead. Others were found on the bloody field scalped, yet living still. Two little girls, daughters of Mr. William Calhoun, brother of Patrick, were carried into captivity. The elder of them was, after some years, rescued; the other was never heard of. "The scene of the melancholy catastrophe is on a descent, just before reaching Patterson's bridge. Attacked at the moment when they had stopped to make an encampment, and entangled by their wagons, they could offer but little resistance. Some, however, were so fortunate as to escape. Cutting loose the horses, and favored by the night, they fled to the Waxhaws, with another portion of the company which was in advance. Among the slain was the mother of the family, Mrs. Catharine Calhoun; and a curious stone, engraved by a native artist, marks the spot where she fell among her children and neighbors."—(MS. Hist., by Mrs. M. E. Davis.) Patrick Calhoun, who returned to the place where the action had happened, to bury the dead, found twenty dead bodies inhumanly mangled. The Indians had set fire to the woods, had rifled the carts and wagons, which were thirteen in number, but had not destroyed them. Patrick Calhoun represented this settlement, at this time, as amounting to about two hundred and fifty souls, fifty-five or sixty of whom were fighting men, but they were not now in a condition to resist. In this incursion of the Indians, the grandfather of Mr. Samuel Clark, late of Beech Island, was killed, and other members of his family. The wife and four children escaped. This sad news filled the whole province with consternation. "People," says Mr. Simpson, "seem stupefied with horror and amazement." At his meetings for prayer he notices "their melancholy, amazed, and overwhelmed state, the spiritual effect on most being to harden and stupefy, on others of a truly pious spirit, to drive them to their Creator and Preserver." "The men were now summoned to the muster-field, where the companies were divided into three parties, one to go out at a time to scout the woods behind us. This is what is doing throughout the province, until an army be raised to march against the enemy." "Lord's-day, February 17th—The congregation confused and distracted. Fear had so seized upon the people as in a great measure to discompose them for the duties of

the day. With others it was a very solemn and affecting time. What made it more so was to see so many poor, destitute families present with us, without habitation or dwelling-place."

To these troubles were added the ravages of the small-pox. The South Carolina Gazette, under date of March 22d, speaks of six thousand persons in Charleston as having had the small-pox, and says that five hundred alone remain to be attacked. The chief mortality had been among the Acadians and negroes. Three hundred and eighty whites and three hundred and fifty negroes had died. Rev. Mr. Hutson of Charleston notices the same afflictive events, and speaks of the goodness of God to him "in this day of general calamity." "He has provided an ark for my family, I hope, to preserve them from the contagious disorder, and has also hitherto preserved the remote branches of my family from the incursions of the savages." He had removed his immediate family to James Island. "Find some of the fugitives," says Simpson, "who were settled at the Long Canes to be very sober, serious, sensible, religious people. There is one family among them who seem to be amongst the most excellent knowing Christians I ever met with in America. I have baptized some young people and some children for them; and have great satisfaction in administering the ordinances to them, they being the best-instructed young people I have ever met with in these parts of the world." The fort at 96 was attacked by two hundred and fifty savages, but unsuccessfully. Several of their warriors fell. "We fatten our dogs with their carcasses," said Francis to Lyttleton, "and display their scalps neatly ornamented on the tops of our bastions." Such is the retaliatory spirit of war. They drew nearer to the middle of the province. Two men were killed and scalped in the forks of the Edisto, ten miles from Congaree Creek, and another on the following day. These things increased the general dismay. "The destruction approaches near us. Poor families in droves," says Simpson, "removing in the most melancholy circumstances, not knowing where to go, and meeting with but too little sympathy and support among those who are safe in their habitations. Yet it is a pleasure that I have seen some of the fruits of the last Sabbath's sermon to engage this congregation to help them, as not knowing how soon it may be our own case."

In the month of April, General Amherst detached six hundred Highlanders and six hundred Royal Scots to march to the relief of Carolina, under the command of Colonel

Montgomery and Major Grant. A number of Carolinians joined the expedition, and seven companies of rangers had before been raised to co-operate with him. His march was rapid, and the vengeance summary. Their towns and villages, occupying the beautiful valley of the Keowee, were reduced to ashes, their magazines of corn consumed, some sixty to eighty slain, and forty, chiefly women and children, made prisoners.

"Their villages were agreeably situated, their houses neatly built and well provided, for they were in the greatest abundance of everything. Estatoe and Sugar Town consisted at least of two hundred houses, and every other village at least of one hundred houses. We intended to save Sugar Town, but we found the body of a dead man whom they put to the torture that very morning; it was then no longer possible to think of mercy."—(James Grant, *South Carolina Gazette*, June 7th, 1760.) These settlements occupied the districts of Anderson and Pickens, in South Carolina, and Cherokee and Macon, in North Carolina. The care of his wounded and the general plan of his expedition occasioned his rapid retreat. This sealed the doom of Fort Loudon and its garrison of two hundred. Famished with hunger, they capitulated to the savages, and were allowed to march forth on their return to Carolina. On the very next day they were surrounded. Demere, the commander, three other officers, and twenty-three privates, the exact number of the hostages which Governor Lyttleton had detained in custody, were killed. The rest were distributed among the tribes, and the whole number of captives they were supposed to possess was believed to amount to three hundred souls. The expedition of Montgomery had but inflamed the savage warriors the more. They boasted that they had forced the army to retreat.

These Indian troubles were brought to a close in the following year, 1761. Canada having been reduced, General Amherst despatched an English regiment, under the command of Colonel James Grant, with two companies from New York. Governor Bull raised a Carolina regiment of one thousand men, under the command of Colonel Thomas Middleton. Henry Laurens was the lieutenant-colonel; William Moultrie was one of the captains, and Francis Marion a lieutenant under his command. Andrew Pickens, and others whose names were afterwards distinguished, served in this expedition. The army of Colonel Grant suffered much in this campaign, but they burned the towns and hamlets of the outside settlement on the Tennessee, laid waste their planta-

tions and their extensive magazines of corn, and drove four thousand of their people to wander in the forests without a home. They were completely humbled, and sued for peace. They continued still to inhabit their territories in what is now Anderson, Pickens, and Greenville districts, down to the war of the Revolution.

Of all the settlers, we apprehend the Presbyterians suffered the most deeply from these Indian cruelties, for the upper and frontier settlements of the European colonists were composed most largely of them.

We will now proceed to give such facts connected with the history of the several churches as we have been able to gather. THE INDEPENDENT CHURCH in Charleston was still served by Rev. James Edmonds and William Hutson. The diary of the latter, his many expressions, either of penitence or religious enjoyment, manifested ever his sincere devotion to his ministerial work. At the opening of the year 1760, he speaks of having long survived his expectations. "Behold," says he, "I am still a monument of sparing mercy. However, I have cause enough to be still mindful of my mortality, for I am in a declining state, and 'tis very likely that this year I may die." He, however, outlived this year, which still was one of deep affliction to himself. In February he removed his family to James Island to escape the small-pox raging in the city, but Mrs. Hutson, his second wife, there sickened and died within a week. There are many allusions in the diary of Mr. Hutson to passing events, to the places at which he preached, sometimes to "the blackening clouds gathering over this and the neighboring provinces," and then to the "victory and triumph of the British arms." Josiah Smith is alluded to as still occupying the pulpit occasionally, although his paralytic affection must have rendered his ministrations at this time unedifying. Mr. Edmonds is spoken of, and other clergymen whom he heard in his excursions abroad. The journal of this good man terminates abruptly. The last entry is Lord's-day, the 8th of March, 1761. He died of apoplexy, on the 11th of March in the same year. "His first wife was the widow of Mr. Isaac Chardon," the daughter of Mr. Woodward, and grand-daughter of Hon. James Stanyarn, member of the Commons House under the proprietary government. By her "he acquired a considerable estate," and had several children. His daughter Ann married Gen. John Barnwell of Beaufort; Esther married Major William Hazzard Wigg; Elizabeth married, July, 1765, Isaac Hayne, the martyr of the Revolu-

tion; she died shortly before his execution: Mary married Arthur Perroneau, merchant, June, 1761. One of his sons, Richard, was one of the first chancellors of South Carolina, and a signer of the Articles of Confederation: also prisoner at St. Augustine in 1780: he never married. His son Thomas Hutson was colonel of a regiment in Marion's Brigade; born January 9th, 1750, died May 4th, 1789, and was a much respected and esteemed planter in Prince William's parish, where a numerous posterity survives. Rev. Mr. Hutson married a second time, October 10th, 1758, Mary, widow of Hugh Bryan, who died early in 1760. His remains were interred in the burial-ground of the Congregational church in Charleston.

The following is the epitaph of Mr. Hutson, on a tombstone in the cemetery of the church:

Notent omnes hic positas esse  
Reliquias

Rev. GULIELMI HUTSON,

Qui, a vitis, (quibus juvenis illectus est) Gratia Divina,  
Reclamatus officio sacro ministri *se dedit*, A. D. 1743, quo

Et domesticis clare et integre fungentis  
perduravit, ideo ut erat

Conjux charus, amans, fidelisque parens,  
et benignus herus vitam

Prosperam eget, et (ad Deum Vocatus)  
reliquit populum,

Liberosque lugentes, A. D. 1761, *Ætatis suæ*, 41.

Here are deposited

The precious remains of the Rev. WILLIAM HUTSON, the  
five last years of his life one of the Pastors of this  
Church, being of a

Truly noble Catholick spirit, an affectionate husband and  
parent,

Sincere friend and kind master, endeavored to adorn the  
doctrine

Of God our Saviour in all things, exchanged this for a  
better life, April 11th, 1761, in the 41st year of  
his age; and has a monument erected for

Himself in the hearts of his acquaintances, hearers and  
friends.

Hinc fugit spiritus de corpore morte revulsus,

Incolum ad Gloriam quin iterum veniet,

Charo hoc pulvere ne semperque manebit

Felix in Jesu gaudia pura fruens,

How joyful was his flight

Up to the blest abode,

Guided by troops of angels bright,

To meet a smiling God.

Grief no more assaults him now,

Nor any tears annoy,

Safe landed on the heavenly shore,

He doth his God enjoy.

“He was,” says Dr. Ramsay, “an eloquent preacher, an exemplary Christian, and an accomplished gentleman.” “He has left few such behind him in this province,” says Mr. Simpson, who preached in his own church, which was founded by Mr. Hutson, and where he had labored for twelve years, a funeral sermon from Matth. xxiv. 36—“But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only.”

After the death of Mr. Hutson, the Rev. Andrew Bennet was chosen co-pastor. “He was a native of England, and educated under the Rev. Drs. Conder and Gibbons, in London. He came to Charleston from Philadelphia, where he had been an assistant to the Rev. Mr. Cross, of the Presbyterian church in Market-street.” He was preaching in Dorchester in June, 1760. In 1762 he obtained leave of absence, on account of his health, and in 1763 resigned and went to Bermuda, and afterwards to Barbadoes, on account of ill health, and there died in 1804. “He was esteemed,” says Dr. Ramsay, “a pious, able, and eloquent preacher; but bad health greatly obstructed his ample capacity for usefulness. Having no family, he bequeathed two thousand dollars to the society established in Charleston for the relief of elderly and disabled ministers, and of the widows and orphans of the Independent or Congregational church in the State of South Carolina.”

In 1763 the congregation wrote to Mr. Thomas Gibbons and Mr. Samuel Pike, that with Mr. Bennet’s advice they should send them a pastor. They say they have not the least encouragement to send to the northern colonies, it being extremely difficult, if not impossible, “to find one who would be suitable to this place, and whose sentiments would accord with ours both in doctrine and discipline.” On the 24th of March, 1765, they resolve, at the counsel of Mr. Whitefield and Rev. John Martin, to invite Rev. John Rogers of Philadelphia, and offer him £150 sterling, or £1050 currency. The Rev. Josiah Smith appears to have been present at these meetings. On the 22d of May, 1766, they write to Dr. Gibbons and Dr. Conder, Dissenting ministers of London, to send them a suitable minister. Rev. John Martin, of Wappetaw, seconded their application. In pursuance of this, Mr. John Thomas was sent out there a licentiate. He was ordained early in 1767 by Messrs. Smith, Zubly, and Edmonds. On the 22d of May he was elected pastor, and was installed by Mr. Smith June 7th in the same year. A letter from Nathaniel Russell to Dr. Stiles of Yale College, March 18th, 1767, speaks of the

favorable change in the congregation, which, from being "a very thin meeting, is now got to be very full and crowded," which argues well for Mr. Thomas's success. Mr. Edmonds resigned the pastoral charge in the same year, and removed to Sunbury, in Georgia. This church lost some conspicuous and useful members during this period. Solomon Legaré, the emigrant who came to Carolina in 1696, died on the 8th of May, 1760, in his eighty-seventh year, having been sixty-four years in America; and a Mr. Moody, spoken of by Mr. Simpson as a gentleman of great worth and influence, and eminently pious, who had been much engaged in the religious instruction of the negroes, died a happy and peaceful death in May, 1766.

The Congregational church at WAPPETAU was still served by Rev. John Martin. That at DORCHESTER had become well-nigh extinct by the removal of the pastor and congregation to Georgia. Yet there was still a congregation worshipping there, to which Mr. Hutson preached April 27th, 1760. He preached again at Beech Hill, May the 4th. Again at Dorchester, in exchange with Mr. Bennet, on the 8th of June, as his diary informs us. It is probable that Mr. Bennet was the stated supply at Dorchester at this time. These are all the items we have been able to collect respecting the people worshipping at this ancient church during the period of which we now treat. Some particulars respecting the congregation which had removed to Midway, Georgia, will appear on another page.

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## CHAPTER II.

THE STONEY CREEK Independent Presbyterian Church continued to enjoy the faithful labors of the Rev. Archibald Simpson, whose diary furnishes us with most of the notices we can obtain of neighboring churches and the passing times. On May 18th, 1761, he is called to a people on the Altamaha, in Georgia. On the 6th of June a call is forwarded to him through the presbytery from the Williamsburg church, which he afterwards visits, as he does also the people on the Altamaha. On the 8th he is "set upon to settle at Wilton." In 1764, Mr. Richardson pleads the destitutions in the new settlements above the Waxhaws, and urges his removal there, partly on the score of health. Long Canes earnestly desires

a visit from him. Mr. Richardson's request ripens into a call from a congregation near him, received on Thursday, the 27th of September, 1764, which he declines. In 1765, Mr. Whitefield insisted on his removal to the north, and promises his influence in his behalf in Philadelphia and New York. On the 29th of July, 1765, he receives propositions from Halifax, which he deems it his duty to accept. This purpose is frustrated by the death of his wife. He is solicited also by many poor negroes not to leave the parish. The subject of a removal to the north weighed upon his mind for a twelvemonth. The reason which prevails most with him is the disturbed state of the entire country: "the whole provinces in British America being in open opposition to the government, refusing to submit to an act of Parliament of Great Britain for laying a stamp duty on the colonies, which is thought to be contrary to our liberties, and very oppressive in its nature. And thus all public business is at a stand, and the northern colonies, which are very populous, threaten to oppose the government with arms." He still, however, was troubled about staying in the province, being strongly influenced by the overtures from Halifax.

The colonies met in congress on the 7th of October, and were bound together, "a bundle of sticks which could neither be bent nor broken." The resistance increased; the Stamp Act could not be enforced. Under the lead of Pitt in the House of Commons it was repealed, to the great joy of the colonies, South Carolina herself voting a statue in honor of Pitt, which still stands in front of the orphan-house in Charleston.\*

The church of Stoney Creek owned, with its other property, several negroes, which were hired annually, and their hire constituted a part of the income of the church for the support of its pastor. They were not always as well cared for as if they had individual masters. February 7th, 1765, one had died, one had been drowned, and there were nine remaining. Mr. Simpson notices several meetings of the trustees as occurring to attend to this and other business of a like nature.

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\* The South Carolina Gazette of July 28th, 1766, advertises "A Sermon on the Repeal of the Stamp Act, preached at Savannah, Ga., on the 25th of June, 1766, by J. J. Zubly, V. D. M., from Gal. v. 13, 15—'For, brethren, we have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another. But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed of one another.'

"In this discourse the New World is considered as a Divine Theocracy. And the justness of the author's comparisons of the present with past events, with the eloquence of thought, design, and expression, render it worthy to be transmitted to posterity."

The following relates to Mr. Whitefield, between whom and himself there had been serious differences. "Wednesday, December 5th, 1764:—Between nine and ten, Mr. Whitefield (his old friend or enemy, he will not say which) stopped with him on his way to Georgia, in a coach and four with several servants." "On account of Mrs. Simpson's sickness he could not entertain him, but pressed him to go to Mrs. B[u]ll's, in our neighborhood, which he would not, but insisted on going to Mr. McLeod's, about four miles distant. He is prodigiously corpulent, but has for two years been in a bad state of health, and not able to preach as much as he used to do. Seemed still holy; his conversation not so much in the clouds nor so flighty, but more solid and weighty, and more like an inhabitant of this world. I asked him much to stay and preach here, as it would be agreeable to many." He then makes some comments on his equipage, and cannot forbear saying, "how unlike he was to his Master in this respect!" It was a source of great gratification, doubtless, to both parties that this estrangement was removed. On Tuesday, January 28th, 1765, he "spent this evening and part of the night with Rev. Mr. Whitefield in a very friendly way. Blessed be God, who has lifted me up from the very humbling circumstances I was in the first time Mr. Whitefield was in this country." On Friday, February 22d, Mr. Whitefield preached in his meeting-house. "The auditory large, serious, and well-behaved, which gave me much pleasure, and which is not always the case in his auditories in this province, many taking occasion from his peculiarities to behave very indecently. He preached, from Phil. i. 21, first clause, a good sermon on the very vitals of Christianity. After sermon he dined at my house, renewed his professions of friendship, and went for Charleston on his way to Philadelphia. The more I compare times past with the present, the more my soul is humbled in the dust, praising, blessing, and adoring the Lord for all his great and wonderful goodness."

Soon after the visit of Mr. Whitefield, and while he was still contemplating a removal to some more northern province, both he and Mrs. Simpson were taken desperately ill with fever, and brought to the brink of the grave. After lingering for some days, with a presentiment that her attack was a mortal one, and after much and satisfactory intercourse with her husband, and expressions of joy at her release from the flesh, she expired on the 7th of August, 1765, leaving three children—Jean, Susy, and Eleanor; four years and four

months, two years and nearly eight months, and eight months of age. The record of her religious character and exercises, during her last illness, is one exceedingly touching. Mr. Simpson greatly mourned her loss, but says, "The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away: Blessed be the name of the Lord."

Under date of Friday, March 28th, 1766, we find mention made of Mr. Robert McMordie, who was appointed at the meeting of the synod of New York and Philadelphia, May, 1765, as a missionary to visit the destitutions of the southern colonies. The appointment was in consequence of supplications for supplies from the congregations of Bethel and Poplar Tent, in Mecklenburg county, and from New Providence and Six Mile Spring, Hawfield and Little River, and from Long Canes in South Carolina. In consequence of this the synod appointed Messrs. Nathan Kerr, George Duffield, William Ramsay, David Caldwell, James Latta, and Robert McMordie, to go there as soon as they can conveniently, and each of them to tarry half a year in these congregations, as prudence may direct.—(Minutes of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, p. 346.) "About the middle of the day," says Mr. Simpson, "was sent for to Sheldon, where found the Rev. Mr. McMordy, from Pennsylvania, who has been travelling along our back settlements. In the evening brought home Mr. McMordy and his companion with me, and, having looked into his testimonials, invited him to preach for me on Sabbath." "Monday, accompanied him on his way to Charleston; saw him and his companion safely over Combahee ferry; perceived he was a well-read scholar, of good ability; wrote to a friend at Pon Pon to arrange that the Willton people might hear him, and call him if they thought proper, and to Mr. Gordon to the same effect."

Mr. Simpson had attended a meeting of presbytery, April 21st, 1760, held at Pon Pon, on account of the prevalence of the small-pox in Charleston; again in Charleston, November 22d of the same year. But we find him attending less frequently—his feelings becoming more and more estranged from his brethren on account of a difference of opinion, or perhaps because of his connection with a church not under presbyterial control. His journal introduces us again to the presbytery, which he attended in May, 1766. From his own account, it was far from being a harmonious meeting. He had questioned the perfect orthodoxy of a minister lately from Ireland, whose name he does not fully mention, and whom the presbytery sustained. He is disposed to charge

the majority with having a leaning toward error in doctrine. It was Mr. Richardson who was the author of the queries in respect to this minister's soundness, and who proposed them out of zeal for the truth, and the honor of his Master. It is not improbable that the Moderatism of Scotland and the evangelical views of its opponents were both represented in this body. But it is to be hoped that the vague charges of Arminianism, Arianism, and Socinianism, made by Mr. Simpson, were far from being justified. Yet it was the prevalence of these opinions abroad which gave rise to the action of the synod of Philadelphia in 1739, and of the General Assembly since, down to 1849, which demands the probation of foreign ministers before they are entitled to full credentials with us.

During these ten years Mr. Simpson made two journeys to the people on Sapelo and Altamaha, who had invited him to settle among them as their pastor. His journal of these visits is interesting, as throwing light upon the condition of the country, and the circumstances and character of the people he met with. One of these journeys was performed in March, 1761, the other in November, 1769. His route lay by the way of Puryburg, Ebenezer, Savannah, Liberty county, as far as Darien, Georgia. He speaks of Puryburg, even then, as a poor, deserted place. He praises Mr. Zubly, in Savannah, as a most eminent scholar and great divine, as possessing extraordinary talents for writing on subjects whether religious or political, and as an excellent Christian. On one occasion he heard him preach in the German to the "Dutch people," and describes him as a holy preacher in every tongue he speaks, the French, German, and English. On his visit he was greatly surprised at the great and beautiful improvements made in the Midway settlement—the fine plantations, the large and well-finished meeting-house, the good public roads, in what seven years before was looked upon as an almost impenetrable swamp. Reaching Major John McIntosh's house on Sapelo, he finds it the most beautiful situation he had seen in America, with the largest orange orchard in those parts. The people on Sapelo were Scotch Highlanders, mostly very poor, their situation for many years, for want of the gospel, very melancholy. Those on the Altamaha were chiefly North Ireland people, who were just moving in from Williamsburg, South Carolina. He addressed them in a pole-house or shelter, where Mr. Osgood had sometimes preached. He also visited old Captain, afterwards General, Lachlan McIntosh, who had spent most of his days in the army, and most of whose children

were settled in those parts. The people resolved to forward a call to South Carolina presbytery for his services, and to seek aid to build a meeting-house and parsonage. The next Sabbath he preached to a very considerable and attentive congregation. On his next visit, in 1769, he has more to say of Mr. Osgood and his people. He attended a sacramental season at old Midway church, which seems to have been conducted much as in later years. He finds Mr. Edmonds as colleague with Mr. Osgood, but residing at Sunbury. He is charmed with Mr. Osgood as a "Nathaniel, an Israelite indeed, much of a gentleman, and yet with the most primitive and plain simplicity in his behavior, by nature and grace of a most mild, meek, and pleasant disposition, and withal a most edifying, delightful, and instructive preacher." The three ministers officiated on the Lord's-day, the congregation was large and genteel, attentive and tenderly impressed, and the whole occasion reminded him of the many sweet seasons of communion he had enjoyed in Scotland. Thus early had the Dorchester church, which removed from Ashley river in 1754, taken root and sent forth its branches at Midway, in what since 1777 has been called Liberty county, Georgia.

The FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH in CHARLESTON, which by its metropolitan position is, in many respects, the most important church of this period, is without any record by which we can gather its history, during this decennium. We have seen that the Rev. Philip Morrison was installed its pastor on the 19th of March, 1757. We are not able to say how long his ministry continued. The South Carolina Gazette for November 5th and 12th, 1763, notices the arrival of Rev. Mr. Hewitt for the Scotch Church. The true orthography of his name, as spelled by himself, was *Hewat*; Mr. Simpson, in his diary, writes it *Huet*; Mr. B. R. Carroll, in the Historical Collections of South Carolina, spells it *Hewit*; Watt, in the Bibliotheca Britannica, gives *Hewatt* as author of the sermons, and *Hewit* as author of the history published by him. His name was probably enrolled by himself in the St. Andrew's Society in the city of Charleston, on the 30th of November, 1763, shortly after his arrival. This was the day of the patron saint of Scotland, and the pastor of the Scotch church has generally officiated as chaplain of that society.—(Hon. Mitchell King, quoted by Dr. Smyth, Sprague's Annals, iii., 253.) Judge King, however, says that "the records of the church, in Dr. Hewat's own handwriting, show that on the 20th of March, 1763, he presided as moderator at the meeting of session." These discrepancies Mr.

King is unable to reconcile. All we know is that Rev. Alexander Hewat was pastor of this church from some time in 1763. In a note appended to his sermons, vol. i., p. 386, he informs us that his early education was obtained in Kelso. He attended faithfully to his pastoral duties during the period of which we now speak, not, however, without some interruption from ill health. Mr. Simpson, speaking of the destitution of ministers, February 17th, 1766, says of Mr. Gordon, "he is very low, is trying to get off to the Bermudas. Mr. Huet, minister of Charleston, has already gone off in a very bad state of health." On the 6th of January, 1768, he was at Mr. Huet's in town, with two other Presbyterian ministers, Mr. Tait of North Carolina and Mr. Knox lately from Ireland. He was "not greatly pleased nor edified with this night's conversation, it being mostly against Mr. Whitefield and ministers of his stamp. As I felt myself pointed at," he says, "I thought it my duty to speak freely, and stand up for the preaching warmly and zealously the doctrines of grace, the necessity of regeneration, the Catholic practice of preaching in all pulpits, employing pious ministers of every denomination, and holding occasional communion with all sound Protestants, with all Christians who held of the glorious Head, and both lay and ministerial communion." On June 1st he was again at Mr. Huet's, where he met with the Rev. Mr. Lathrop. "They rallied me," he adds, "about not attending presbytery, and told me that at the last general meeting, about two weeks ago, all the members attended, except Mr. Richardson and me, and that they looked upon us as incorrigible, and left us to ourselves. Mr. Huet told me seriously that Wiltown call would certainly be offered me, and that the brethren were resolved to have me out of the Independent congregation, that I might have no excuse for not attending presbytery. I told him I hoped they would give the Indian Land people (Stoney Creek) notice before they offered the call, that they might have a hearing against it if they desired. He said, no doubt but they would be informed before it was presented to me, but that he should insist on my accepting it." We see from this extract the general views which Mr. Hewat advocated, and the influential position held by him in the presbytery of Charleston.

WILTON CHURCH. Papers exist which show that Rev. John Alison preached to this church during the years 1760 and 1761.—(MS. Notes, by Rev. J. L. Girardeau, D. D.). He seems to have left Wilton, and ministered to the people on

the Altamaha, in Georgia. In January, 1766, Mr. Simpson received payment, without interest, of the arrearages due him for services in 1752, after a lapse of fourteen years; "Mr. Stobo," who had all this time been hostile to him, "consenting;" "an answer," Mr. Simpson says, "to prayer." Mention is made in the minutes of the Board of Trustees, between May 6th, 1765, and May, 1766, of Rev. Mr. Simpson and Rev. Mr. Alison as having supplied the church during a vacancy in the pastorate, for which they received compensation. On May 29th, 1767, Mr. Simpson says that the congregations of Pon Pon and Wilton request half his time. The minutes of the trustees contain provisions for the erection of a new church edifice to be situated on the parsonage land, about three miles from the original site of the church on Wilton Bluff. A meeting of the trustees was held July 31st, 1767, in the minutes of which mention is made of "the church now building," so that the church was rebuilt in that year. In August of this year Mr. Simpson speaks of preaching at Wilton and Pon Pon, mentions Wilton new meeting-house, "about four miles or more from the old one, and about three miles from the public path, so that it is very convenient and central; is a large, handsome, and very well built house—the pulpit and pews the same which used to be in the old brick meeting-house. Mr. Stobo has moved out of the parish, and all differences are made up. They frequently asked me to accept of their call, and upon my repeated refusal, have lately sent to the northward. Was treated with great respect." On the 10th of April, 1768, he again preaches at Wilton, and finds that they have forwarded their call to presbytery. Of this we have before spoken, and of the wishes expressed by Mr. Hewat that he should accept of it; but Mr. Simpson appears to have declined it, for there exists on the records of Wilton church a petition drawn up and sent to the presbytery of South Carolina for the pastoral services of Rev. John Maltby. The petition contained a call to him through the presbytery to become pastor of the church. It bears date, "Charles Town, May 17th, 1769."

The CHURCH on JAMES ISLAND continued to enjoy in the beginning of this period the pastoral labors of the Rev. Mr. Patrick Kier. Mr. Hutson heard him preach there on the 26th of September, 1760. Mr. Simpson first learns of his death on the 14th of October, 1765, and speaks of him as "an old man, useful and beloved among his people, as having been about seven years in the province, and as leaving a large family

behind in distressed circumstances, the common lot of God's ministers in this world." On the 23d of January, 1766, Rev. Mr. Alison lodges with Mr. Simpson on his way to James Island, where he had accepted an invitation for a twelvemonth. "He has left the people of Altamaha." His ministry here was a short one. In the graveyard of the James Island Presbyterian church, an old cypress board, almost worn out by age and the weather, still marks the grave in which sleep the remains of *Rev. John Alison*. The letters are distinct enough to be read. He died while ministering to that now venerable church. The inscription entire is—"Here lies, in hopes of a joyful Resurrection, the body of *Rev. John Allison*, who departed this life, Oct. 17th, 1766, aged 36 years."—(MS. Notes of J. L. Girardeau; Letter of Rev. John Douglas.) He seems to have been succeeded, but in what year we are not informed, by Rev. Hugh Alison, who was a native of Pennsylvania, was graduated at the College of New Jersey in 1762, and who came out to Charleston as a teacher. He was married to a daughter of Paul Smiser, a planter, and shortly after removed to James Island, taking with him a number of young men with a view to superintend their education.

The Rev. Charles Lorimer was pastor of the Presbyterian church on John's Island in 1755. The South Carolina Gazette speaks of him as having embarked for England, July 8th, 1764. We have found it very difficult to trace down the succession of the ministers of this church, or its history as a congregation. There was an act of the legislature passed in 1765, by which it appears that Joseph Stanyarne, James Carson, John Freer, Henry Livingston, and Hugh Wilson had petitioned for leave to sell the two hundred and twelve acres of land (which they had purchased of Robert Turner) on the 24th of December, 1756, for the use of the pastor or minister of the meeting-house on John's Island, as a glebe or parsonage; and leave was accordingly granted for "the said trustees, or any three or more of them, to sell and dispose of the said tract of land, and the buildings thereon, to any person or persons whatsoever, at the best price that may be had for the same, and to execute conveyances thereof to the said purchaser or purchasers in fee simple; and they are hereby empowered, with the money arising from such sale, to purchase a glebe or parsonage in such place as they shall think proper, and to receive and take a conveyance of the same in trust, to and for the uses of the ministers of the time being of the same meeting-house forever." This looks as if the congregation

were careful in all that pertained to the affairs of the church, and that they could scarcely be destitute of the preaching of the gospel. On the 23d of October, 1769, Mr. Simpson calls on Mr. Hewat in Charleston, and finds with him Mr. Latta from John's Island. He has a previous entry, June 1st, 1768, in which he finds with Mr. Hewat Mr. Lathrop, a young Presbyterian minister, lately received a member [of presbytery probably] and settled on John's Island. A Rev. James Latta was married to Sarah, daughter of Hugh Wilson, March 24th, 1775. The name Lathrop is probably a mistake therefore, and Mr. Latta's ministry on John's Island commenced in 1768. There is preserved in the correspondence of President Stiles, of Yale College, a letter of Mr. Ewing, dated Philadelphia, July 1st, 1768, introducing the Rev. James Latta, as a young gentleman of good learning and abilities, an accurate preacher and of unspotted moral character, and says of him, "He is settled in a congregation near Charles Town, in South Carolina, is now taking a tour for his improvement." This description will answer either for John's or James' Island. James Latta was sent out at the same time with Mr. McMordie, in 1765.—(Minutes of Synod of New York and Philadelphia, p. 346; and in 1768 the second Philadelphia presbytery report that "Mr. James Latta, a licensed candidate, who was sent by the synod to southern parts, informs them by letter that he is joined with the presbytery in South Carolina," p. 378. He was a different person from the former. A James Latta was again sent "to North Carolina and those parts of South Carolina under our care," pp. 389, 399.)

We are not able to give any history of the church on EDISTO ISLAND during this period. The account of Edisto Island appended to Ramsay's History of South Carolina, says Rev. Mr. Henderson succeeded Rev. John McLeod. Mr. Henderson did not become pastor of this church before 1770. Probably the Mr. McLeod, with whom Whitefield insisted on staying, and "who lived four miles from Mr. Simpson," was the Rev. Mr. McLeod, the pastor of this church.

BEAUFORT continued to be supplied, at least occasionally, by Mr. Simpson, and in 1768 resolved on applying to presbytery for one-fifth part of his time.

BETHEL, PON PON (now the Walterboro church) had as its pastor through the most of this period the Rev. Charles Gordon. His health gave way in 1766, and on the 26th of June Mr. Simpson declared the church vacant by order of presbytery—the second time he had performed this act. He preached to

them after this occasionally, and administered the communion. On the 1st of January, 1768, he records the fact that Mr. Latta, a young gentleman from the north, is preaching to them, "a very polite gentleman and preacher," and that he had been called to the pastorate by the voice of the majority, a call which it appears he did not accept.

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### CHAPTER III.

How the church on BLACK MINGO was supplied after the death of Rev. Samuel Hunter, in 1754, we have no means of knowing. John Baxter's register shows that he preached many times on Black river, sometimes on the Pedee, and sometimes at Winyaw, and frequently on the Santee, "at the Santee meeting-house." His residence was not far from Black Mingo church, which, also, is not very remote from the Black river. It is possible that he may sometimes have ministered to this church, though of this we have no proof. On Wednesday, the 6th of January, 1768, Mr. Simpson meets with "a young man, Mr. [William] Knox, lately from Ireland, with some poor people for Long Canes; but he thinks of going to Williamsburg, or wherever he may find a settlement." Mr. Knox became the pastor of Black Mingo, and his descendants still live in Sumter district.

Of the church of WILLIAMSBURG we find some notices in the diary of Mr. Simpson. He notices the death of Mr. Rae as having occurred in the spring of 1761. Mr. Wallace, in his History, says, "Having faithfully served his generation, Mr. Ray fell asleep in 1761, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day. He was the first minister buried here."

"He is represented," says Dr. Witherspoon (MS. Hist. of Williamsburg church), "to have been a man of heavenly spirit, and to have labored with much success, with unwearied diligence and fidelity reproving the negligent, encouraging the doubtful and desponding, visiting the sick, comforting mourners, and relieving the distressed. At once prudent and faithful, he retained the confidence of the whole community, exerting an influence for good upon the aged and the young. The most perfect harmony prevailed among the people, who walked together not merely in peace and unity, but in Christian charity and fraternal affection. The piety and graces of

the parents seemed to have descended upon their offspring, and the young, as they grew to manhood, became, with few exceptions, members and ornaments of the church of their fathers. New additions were made from abroad to the settlement, and prosperity in worldly and spiritual matters marked the place where the pilgrims from Ireland had set up their altars to the Lord, so that the church was filled from Sabbath to Sabbath with pious worshippers whose deportment attested their reverence for everything holy. At length, after serving most faithfully his congregation for eighteen years, Mr. Ray died in 1761, at about forty-six years of age, in the full tide of usefulness, with the blessing of God upon his labors, and surrounded by the tears and unavailing regrets of his pious and much beloved people. His body was interred in the yard of the original church, to which it was conveyed from the neighborhood of Salem, where he died."

The attention of the congregation was then turned towards Mr. Simpson, and he received from them a most unanimous call through the presbytery, on Saturday, June 6th, 1761. He says, it is "from a very numerous people, among whom there is above two hundred communicants." He had just before (in the month of May) received the call from the people on the Altamaha. One thing that rendered that field the more promising, in his view, was the expected removal of a considerable number of the Williamsburg people thither. He finds that they conclude to settle at a nearer locality on the Pedee. June the 17th, he finds his way more clear for Williamsburg, he sees in it "a remarkable hand of providence." The support is indeed less, but the opportunity of usefulness greater. He therefore informs his own people, Lord's-day, 28th, that he had returned the Georgia call, but that it would be his duty to go to Williamsburg. One of the reasons he gives to his people why he has thought of removing is the existence of two parties among them, "an Independent and a Presbyterian." Yet he feels "much troubled about the poor, destitute flocks, the Altamaha, Indian Land, and Williamsburg." On Monday, July 13th, he sets out on his visit. He describes with his usual minuteness the particulars of his journey. He finds the congregation larger than at Indian Land, the parsonage very commodious, all things considered, the temporals better; but he speaks less well of the spiritual condition of the people at the time of his visit. He declined this call, and remained with his own church.

In the old tattered sheets of the early register of Williams-

burg church there is no entry from 1759 to 1769. At this latter date there is a record of the settlement of Rev. David McKey (or McKee), who "was ordained minister of the gospel by the presbytery of Bangor in Ireland, to take charge of the congregation of Williamsburg in the province of South Carolina, in consequence of a blank call sent by the representatives of said congregation, and transmitted with a recommendatory letter from the presbytery of South Carolina to y<sup>e</sup> Rev<sup>d</sup> Messrs. Laird and Walker, members of said presbytery of Bangor, to be filled up by one whom they should choose. Mr. McKey arrived in this province about the latter end of December last, and applied to Mr. Huet [Hewat], upon which he and others of the presbytery met *pro re nata*, when, after receiving his credentials, and other letters of recommendation, they appointed his instalment the third Wednesday of February, 1769, which accordingly was observed by Mr. Knox, a member of said presbytery in this province."

"The successor of Mr. Ray," says Rev. Mr. Wallace, "was Rev. Mr. McKee, of whom not much is known, except that he was a godly man, walking with God like Enoch of old. After laboring here two or three years, he was called to the Salem church. His successor was the Rev. Hector Alison, who was examined by the committee of the synod of Philadelphia in languages and philosophy, May 28th, 1745, and approved. He was ordained by the presbytery of Newcastle in 1746. In 1750 he was sent to the western parts of Virginia for eight Sabbaths—an appointment he faithfully fulfilled. In 1753 he asked for a dismissal from his pastoral relation; his request was referred to synod, and by them sent to their commission, who determined the case, and he was settled at Drawyers till 1758. In 1753, when he had been but six years in the ministry, he was made moderator of the synod of Philadelphia. In 1758 he was appointed chairman of the committee to draw a plan of union between the synods of Philadelphia and New York. In 1760 he was directed by synod to supply the English Presbyterian gentlemen at Albany," and during the same year was sent as chaplain to the Pennsylvania forces on their march towards Canada. He was one of the commission of synod. He joined the presbytery of Newcastle in 1761, after the union. His name appears as a member of Newcastle presbytery for the last time in 1762. About this time he was called to the Williamsburg church. One [traditionary] account (Dr. Witherspoon's), says Mr. Wallace, avers that he was minister here from 1765 to 1770, when he left. Another, and

more probable one, is that he died here, and that his sepulchre, though unknown, is with us. A venerable lady [Mrs. Nancy Mouzon] assures us that the tradition was, that both Alison and his successor are entombed in this sacred repository of the dead. There is evidently a confusion between the statement of Mr. Wallace and the record still extant as to the ministry of Mr. McKee, and we must give the preference to the ancient record before the uncertain tradition. Mr. McKee was evidently the successor of Mr. Alison, if the date of Mr. Alison's connection with the church is rightly given by Mr. Wallace. Yet both he and Dr. Witherspoon make Mr. McKee successor to Mr. Rae, and Dr. Witherspoon speaks of his remaining with the church only about two or three years, as then removing to Salem, where he died about the year 1770.

We are not able to say anything further respecting the church of WACCAMAU (probably Conwaysboro), where Rev. William Donaldson was settled in 1756; nor are we able to say anything as to the church at CAINHOY, save that it appears to have been served during this period by Rev. John Martin as supply.

The FRENCH PROTESTANT CHURCH in CHARLESTON was under the pastorate of the Rev. Barthelemi Henri Hiemeli, as his register of baptisms, commencing January 10th, 1759, and extending through the whole of this period, shows. From this we gather that Jacques Poyas, Jean Ernest Poyas, Daniel Bouget, and Theodore Trezvant were anciens, or elders, of this church during this period—their names being casually mentioned. From this register we learn that negro children were sometimes presented for baptism by their masters, which is also in accordance with the decisions of our own church.—(Minutes, 1787, 1816; Baird's Digest, p. 82.)

But a new church was organized on the north side of SALT KETCHER, in Colleton district, by the labors of Mr. Simpson. The people of the neighborhood, he tells us, were originally of the church of England, and had no desire for the preaching of the gospel till two families of the name of Dunham, from the Bethel church, Pon Pon, and another from the same, by the name of Hamilton, moved among them. They then resolved on establishing gospel worship among them, and commenced the erection of a house of worship about ten miles from Mr. Simpson's, with the design of building still another about ten miles beyond, where the larger portion of the congregation lived. April 3d, 1766, they presented a call to Mr. Simpson for half his time, offering him £400 currency. The other

church wished him to accept of it, and though much reduced in numbers, proposed to pay the same sum, "which," says Mr. Simpson, "with their negroes they can easily do." Mr. Simpson's labors were much blessed in this congregation, and his efforts to build it up were crowned with success.

Beyond the Santee also, on the Black river, "church extension" seemed to be the order of procedure in one neighborhood at least. About the time of the Cherokee war, in 1759, there was donated by Captain David Anderson for the use of the Presbyterian church of SALEM, a spot of ground on what was then called Taylor's Swamp, but now Meeting-House Branch, and at or about the same time there was erected a log meeting-house; this is believed to have been first occupied by the Rev. Mr. Rae of Williamsburg, also by Mr. Ellison (Hugh Alison?) and perhaps others. In this state of occasional supplies it remained until the year 1763, and in 1768 the log meeting-house was removed, and on the same site was raised a frame-house, which was occupied occasionally by the Rev. Mr. Knox, and at one time for six months by the Rev. Elam Potter. After this time it was occupied occasionally by the Rev. James Edmonds, and the Rev. Mr. Richardson of the Waxhaws.\* The Suffolk presbytery report to the synod of New York and Philadelphia, May 20th, 1767, that they had licensed Mr. Elam Potter. Supplications for supplies were made to that synod from Orange and Culpepper, and the southern branch of Potomac in Virginia; and from Long Canes, Cathy's Settlement, Indian Creek, and Duncan's Creek in North [and South] Carolina; and motions for supplies were made in behalf of Williamsburg and places adjacent, Hanover and Cub Creek in Virginia, Newbern, Edenton, Fourth Creek, Upper Hico, Haw River, Goshen in the forks of Catawba, the south fork of Catawba, the forks of Yadkin, and Salisbury, North Carolina, Little River in South Carolina, and Briar Creek in Georgia. The synod accordingly appointed "Messrs. Bay, Potter, McCrery, Alexander, and Latta, Jun., to take a journey, as soon as the circumstances of their affairs

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\* Records of Salem Church collected from imperfect sources in 1825, during the lifetime of Roger Wilson and William Mills, who were members of the church in its early existence, furnished by the clerk of session, M. P. Mayes, and forwarded by Rev. Geo. C. Gregg. "A number of removals had taken place prior to 1760 from the Williamsburg congregation, which formed the germs of several others. Samuel and James Bradley settled in Salem, and planted the church there. The David Anderson who is here mentioned is probably the same whose name appears on the records of Williamsburg in 1754."—Wallace.

will admit, through Virginia, the Carolinas (and Georgia, if they can), and that each tarry half a year, and as much longer as he shall think proper."—(Minutes, *ut supra*, pp. 374, 375.) Mr. Archibald Simpson at Indian Land (Stoney Creek, Pocatigo), by a letter from Mr. James Dunham, is informed, Lord's-day, October 4th, 1767, that a young man from New Jersey synod preaches at Wiltown with a view to settlement, and that Mr. Potter and he will come to his (Simpson's) house to-morrow on his (Dunham's) way to Georgia. Mr. Simpson remarks that this man is from New England, is preaching by appointment of the synod of New York [and Philadelphia]; that he is about twenty-seven years of age, has much of a college air, which may wear off in time, and that there are thoughts of calling him to Wiltown and Pon Pon. On Mr. Simpson's return from Savannah, he finds Mr. Potter "has given some disgust to the people of Wiltown, by his stiff and obstinate behavior." He seems to have very mistaken notions of the country. Still he thought of getting him to Pon Pon for the winter. Mr. Potter was taken very sick at Mr. Simpson's. On the 21st he thinks him dangerously ill. He "finds him melancholy and unwilling to die." He endeavors to comfort him, but finds that "his confused metaphysical notions and distinctions yield him very little comfort in view of death." He asked him for the ground of his hopes of salvation. "His answers were not clear and distinct. At last he said his hope was founded on his having fulfilled the conditions of the covenant of grace. I asked him what conditions he meant. He said repentance and faith. I told him I did not like his manner of expressing himself. He endeavored to explain his meaning, which seemed well enough on the whole, but confused; found him to be much in the dark as to his own state. I believe he is truly a gracious person, but seems to have a better heart than head,—full of confused metaphysical distinctions, with Arminian expressions, yet fixing a Calvinistic meaning to them. He appears to me to have been but a short time at his studies, to have been advanced in life before he went to study, and to have crowded his study too much, so that, although he seems to have made proficiency, yet all is crowded, huddled, confused. And he seems to have no order, method, nor regularity in his opinions. He appears to have taken up notions from some leading men he regards, without understanding their sentiments or being convinced of them, so that his unorthodox expressions seem to be contradicted by the feelings of his own heart. From conversing with him, I have seen it to

be a great blessing for a minister to have real grace, and to be well acquainted with holiness and the workings of the Divine Spirit experimentally, before studying divinity as a science. I took the opportunity to show him that many of his notions were very untenable, and those metaphysical distinctions were very foolish, idle, and useless; and however they might please speculative men, and serve to exercise their wit and talents upon them, yet they would not do to die in, and were very uncomfortable. I then instructed and directed him in a way of speaking and thinking which I thought much more scriptural, evangelical, and comfortable. He received it well; was myself in a humble frame of soul, helped to prayer, &c. His fever increased. He became out of his head, sprang from his bed and ran into the hall; could get no white assistance—the sickness was so general.” Mr. Potter recovered from this severe illness, and seems to have remained with Mr. Simpson till the following February. He could not have been very popular or acceptable in southern society. Under date of January 19th, 1768, Mr. Simpson says, “Mr. Potter returned from Port Royal: his unhappy temper and unlucky address make him disagreeable to most people.” Yet he afterwards speaks well of him, and thinks his going away a great loss to the country. On February 1st, he “went some distance with Mr. Potter, who sets out for Long Canes, and intends to be in Philadelphia at synod in May next, the Lord willing, and so proceed to New England. He came into this province with great expectations and assurance of settling at Wiltown, but has met with great disappointments, great and repeated afflictions in sickness, and is now returning through the wilderness lone and desolate enough.” On the 31st of May he finds Mr. Potter in Charleston at Mr. Legar’s, “he had been prevented from going to Long Canes by the heavy rains. He went to North Carolina, and was invited to Bl[a]ck Creek in the north-western part of the province.”

This extract from Mr. Simpson’s diary is discriminating and instructive. It describes the character of many scholastic inexperienced young ministers of the present day. It presents before our view the great superiority of a thorough education in religious things, both doctrinal by human diligence, and spiritual by a thorough work of experimental religion, before entering on studies for the ministry. A clear inculcation of the doctrines of the Assembly’s catechism and confession from youth up, and a hearty adoption of the same, will serve as a sheet-anchor against being driven about by the winds of doc-

trine, and as a guide amidst the speculations of a deceitful philosophy.

This Mr. Potter, we doubt not, was the same minister who preached to the people of Salem, Black River. Mr. Simpson saw him in the years of his inexperience, but in all probability he possessed valuable qualities, and certainly an observing and inquiring mind, which we shall have occasion to show hereafter.

During this period, from 1760-1770, the Rev. James Campbell, who was a member of the presbytery known by the names of the presbytery of South Carolina and the presbytery of the Province, was exercising his ministerial office at the BLUFF CHURCH on the Cape Fear. "His preaching," says his grandson (the Rev. D. A. Campbell, quoted by James Banks, Esq., Centennial address at the Bluff Church, North Carolina, p. 15), "was not so much of the didactic and polemic as the exegetical and practical—expounding and explaining chapters or portions of Scripture. In this he imitated Whitefield, to whom he felt much indebted."

The WAXHAW Church enjoyed the faithful labors still of the Rev. William Richardson. His labors were not confined to that particular congregation. Indeed, for seventy miles around, he seems to have extended his evangelistic labors, visiting the people, and gathering them, in many instances, into regular congregations and churches. His preaching tours would continue for a month, during which he preached daily from place to place. Mr. Robert Carr, who lived in Mr. Richardson's family, said that messengers were frequently arriving to obtain his services as a preacher at different places. The churches in Chester and York, and Pacolet Church and Fairforest, are said to have been founded by him. Though not permitted to labor according to his original intention, as a missionary among the Cherokees, he belonged to the equally worthy army of domestic missionaries, and performed the labors of a true evangelist. It is said too to have been the spirit of those times, that those who ministered at the altar should live of the altar, and Mr. Carr testified that on Mr. Richardson's return from these itinerant tours he would bring with him a great deal (?) of money. We hope it was even so.

After Mr. Richardson was settled in America, he was thoughtful of his kindred whom he had left behind in Britain. His sister Mary, six years older than himself, had married Mr. Archibald Davie, and had called her first-born son after

her absent brother, William Richardson Davie. By frequent correspondence, he had prevailed on Mr. Davie, her husband, to remove to America, had sent them the pecuniary means to do so, and about the year 1764 they arrived at his house. Little William, the son, had been sent over before in 1761,\* when only five years old, in company with Robert Carr, the nephew of Mr. Archibald Davie. Mr. Richardson settled his sister and brother-in-law but a few hundred yards from his own dwelling, and having no children of his own, regarded his nephew and namesake with peculiar fondness. The house of the uncle was the home of the child, who was a lovely boy, of uncommon beauty, sprightliness, and intelligence. In Mr. Richardson's frequent absences from home, Robt. Carr stayed at the house as the guardian of Mrs. Richardson and the child; and when her husband was at home, he took especial pains to guide him aright, to direct his studies, and implant within him those noble principles which in after life produced such noble fruits. William Richardson Davie, under this training, became "a great man in the age of great men." His life and character belongs to his country. He was a patriot, a soldier, a jurist, a statesman, and a diplomatist, whose abilities were admitted and whose services were acknowledged.

When the settlements on Long Cane were broken up in 1761, by the incursion of the Cherokees and the murders committed by them at Long Cane Bridge, near "the Calhoun settlement," a portion of the fugitives took refuge in the Waxhaw congregation. Ezekiel Calhoun escaped thither, bringing with him his interesting family. Andrew Pickens was also for a time a resident there, and became acquainted there with Rebecca Calhoun, whom he afterwards married. Patrick Calhoun was also betrothed to Miss Jane Craighead, the sister of Mrs. Richardson and daughter of Rev. Alexander Craighead, of Rocky River, N. C., an ardent preacher and a Whig in politics anterior to the Revolution, and who did much in disseminating those principles which culminated afterwards in the Mecklenburg Declaration and the Declaration of American Independence. She was the first wife of Patrick Calhoun.†

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\* Jared Sparks (Am. Biog., New Series, vol. xv., p. 2), says: "His father, Mr. Archibald Davie, brought him to America in 1763, and placed him under the care of the Rev. William Richardson, his maternal uncle." Mrs. Davie's death occurred in 1767.

† After her death, says Mr. Stinson, Mr. Calhoun, while locating lands in Abbeville District, fell in with Mr. Caldwell, engaged in the same business, went home with him, and subsequently married his daughter, the mother of Hon. J. C. Calhoun. The other sisters of Mrs. Richardson were married,

The settlements on the Catawba now received an accession to their population from the Presbyterians of Ireland who were disfranchised in their own country. The parents of Andrew Jackson are said to have migrated to the Waxhaws in 1764.

**FAIRFOREST CHURCH.** "From the insolent and unfriendly treatment of the Cherokee Indians, the inhabitants of this settlement were obliged to abandon their habitations in the early part of this period, and fly into the interior parts of the country, where they remained until the peace of 1763 between Great Britain and France. To the sufferings and perils of this period we will again recur.

"In the year 1765 the Rev. Mr. Richardson from Waxhaws visited their neighborhood. In the year 1766 visits were made and the gospel preached by the Rev. Messrs. Duffield and McMordie. Towards the close of the same year Rev., afterwards Dr., Joseph Alexander, being then a licentiate, visited and preached to them; and it is with a grateful pleasure that he is still acknowledged to have been a father and guardian to that people. In the same and the year following they were visited and supplied occasionally by the Rev. Mr. McCreery [McCreary] from Pennsylvania, and by Messrs. Roe and Close when missionaries, as also by Mr. Holmes and Mr. Tate before mentioned." "The Rev. Joseph Alexander had at one time made arrangements to settle within the bounds of this congregation with the view of supplying them and the Nazareth people, but for some reason abandoned this purpose and settled in the congregation of Bullock's Creek."—(MS. Hist. of Churches in second Presbytery of South Carolina; and J. H. Saye, MS. Hist.)

**INDIAN CREEK AND GRASSY SPRING.** In the early part of this period, these settlements, in common with the whole frontier, were greatly annoyed by their savage neighbors. Some of the people called Quakers had settled in these parts. In the year 1760 the Cherokee Indians murdered several of the inhabitants. This compelled the others to collect and build a stockade-fort at the house of a Mr. Otterson, the signs of which are still visible. Into this the Quakers, as well as others, fled for refuge, but would not take up arms. While here the Presbyterians assembled generally every evening to read and join in social prayer. Their place of refuge

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Rachel to Rev. David Caldwell, of Guilford, N. C., Margaret to Mr. Carouth, Mary to Samuel Dunlap, son of the old elder of that name, Elizabeth to Alexander Crawford, the two last mentioned living in Waxhaw congregation.

became thus a temple to the living God. The incursions of the savages became at length so frequent and alarming that the people in the fort determined to evacuate it, and fled for shelter to different interior parts. After returning from exile, in the year 1763, they were visited by the Rev. Mr. Richardson, who continued to preach occasionally among them, through the period of which we now treat. About the year 1768 the people on Indian Creek formed a society and built a meeting-house, of which body the church of Grassy Spring, subsequently organized, was a branch.

UNION CHURCH, known also as the BROWN'S CREEK Church.—Of the beginning of this church we have before spoken (p. 299). Besides the families we have mentioned as the first settlers, we now add, from a competent authority (Rev. James H. Saye), the names of Young, Savage, Hughes, Vance, and Wilson. Scarcely had they got out rights for their land, and cleared a little ground, when the Indians of the Cherokee tribe made a hostile attack, in their savage manner, on this defenceless frontier settlement, and the inhabitants were obliged to betake themselves to Otterson's fort as an asylum.

Several Quakers were their associates in this distress, yet, notwithstanding repeated attacks were made on the fort by the savages, those non-resisting sufferers refused to take up arms in its defence.

During this season of calamity numbers of the inhabitants fell victims to Indian barbarity; yet amidst these melancholy scenes of skirmishing, wounds, and death, in the intervals of military duty, this little band of Presbyterians would join in reading, prayer, and other devotional exercises.

After being thus invested and painfully harrassed for several months, it was unanimously concluded to abandon that fort. The majority of the Presbyterians retired into Pennington's fort on the Enoree. Here they found none of their own religious sentiments. There were one or two pious Baptists; the rest were generally indifferent or dissolute in their morals. Yet there these refugees still endeavored to maintain and manifest their attachment to the principles of piety in which they had been educated, by observance of the Lord's-day, reading the Scriptures, family and social prayer, etc.

In this manner, enduring the difficulties arising from fatigue, fear, and watching, more than two years elapsed, to which inconvenience the apprehension of famine was super-added.

After the peace of 1763 they returned to their homes. For

the first time since they left Pennsylvania they heard a gospel sermon from the Rev. William Richardson, from Waxhaw, who on that and several succeeding visits preached among them and baptized several persons. He was succeeded by two ministers at different times, both named Lewis.

About 1765 Mr. Joseph Alexander began to preach occasionally here. A house of worship by this time was erected and trustees were now chosen, and the congregation was organized by the name of Union. The site of this church was on Brown's Creek, about four miles from the present site of Unionville, near the road now leading from that place to Pinckneyville. It was intended to be used in common by Presbyterians and Episcopalians. Hence its name. It seems to have been a noted place, as its name was transferred to the county in which it was situated when county courts were first introduced into the State.—(MS. of Jas. H. Saye.)

From this time visits were received successively from the Rev. Mr. Bay of Pennsylvania, Messrs. Roe and Close from New England, Mr. Campbell of Scotland, and in 1769 from Mr. Edmonds of Charleston.—(MS. History of Churches in Second Presbytery of South Carolina.)

Of the FISHING CREEK Church, afterwards called Richardson, and Lower Fishing Creek, we can obtain no certain information from the year 1760 to 1770; but as it had presented a call to the presbytery of Charleston, with which Mr. Richardson was connected, and obtained his services in 1758, it is probable that he continued through these years to hold this congregation under his charge as well as that of Waxhaw, besides performing a large amount of itinerant labor for the benefit of other Presbyterian communities. He well deserves the name of the evangelist and apostle of this frontier country. As we have had occasion frequently to mention the sufferings of these churches and congregations from the Cherokee Indians, from 1760 to 1763, we would be glad to introduce here the history of Katharine Steel, the heroine of "Steel's Fort;" of the capture of Mrs. McKenny by the Indians, who struck her to the ground with their tomahawks, scalped her, and left her insensible, but who recovered from her frightful wounds and became the mother of a family; of the gallant defence of her house by Melbury; of the killing of John McDaniel and his wife, the capture of their seven children, and their rescue. But we must refer our readers to the narrative of these and other thrilling events in Mrs. E. F. Ellet's "Women of the Revolution," iii., 85-97, who has gracefully wrought up these

incidents from materials furnished to her hand by Daniel G. Stinson, Esq., of Cedar Shoal, a descendant from these early settlers, whose opportunities and tastes have enabled him to perpetuate so many of these early traditions.

DUNCAN'S CREEK Church is situated in Laurens district, on the waters of Enoree, a branch of Broad river. It was principally composed of emigrants from Ireland and Pennsylvania with their descendants, some of whom settled here as early as 1758. The original settlement was made three years before Braddock's defeat, by Mr. John Duncan, of Aberdeen, Scotland, who first emigrated to Pennsylvania, and thence removed here and settled on the creek which bears his name. He was the highest settler by ten miles in the fork between the Saluda and Broad rivers, and the only man at this time who had either negro, wagon, or still, in this part of the world. His nearest neighbor was Jacob Pennington, living on the Enoree below.

About the year 1763 or 1764, Messrs. Joseph Adair, Thomas Erving, William Hanna, Andrew McCrory and his brothers, united in building a house of worship. In 1766 they were visited by Mr. Duffield, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Campbell. Mr. Duffield was probably George D. D., who was licensed by the presbytery of Newcastle in 1756, and was sent by the synod of New York to Carolina in 1765, and was afterwards settled in Carlisle and Philadelphia. Campbell was James Campbell, who joined the South Carolina presbytery in 1758, and became pastor of the Bluff church in North Carolina. Afterwards they were visited by Rev. Hezekiah Balch, licensed by the presbytery of Newcastle in 1768-9, and whose name will occur again in these pages. Mr. Balch advised the people to choose elders. This was done. Andrew McCrory, Joseph Adair, and Robert Hanna, were elected, and ordained by Mr. Balch. James Pollock and Thomas Logan having come into the bounds of the congregation a short time before, the former from Pennsylvania and the latter from Ireland, on producing certificates of their membership and ordination, were chosen elders of this church. The communion was also administered, the number of communicants at that time being about sixty. —("Materials," etc., furnished Genl. Ass. by Rev. J. B. Kennedy and Dr. Waddel in 1808-9.)

The manners and dress of these first settlers must have been quite primitive. Their dress was as follows: hunting-shirt, leggings, and moccasins, adorned with buckles and beads. The hair was clubbed and tied up in a little deer-

skin or silk bag. At another time they wore their hair cued and rolled up in a black ribbon or bear's-gut dressed and dyed black. Again it became a custom to shave off the hair and wear white linen caps with ruffles around. The women's dress was long-eared caps, Virginia bonnets, short gowns, long gowns, stays, stomachers, quilted petticoats, high wooden heels. There was little market for produce except to the new settlers. Trade was carried on in skins and furs. Deer and beaver skins were a lawful tender in payment of debts. Summer skins were 1s. 11d. sterling, winter skins 18 pence sterling, Indian-dressed skins \$1 per pound.—(Testimony of James Duncan, son of the first settler, in Mills' Statistics.) In the early settlement of the country he followed hunting for seven years. He was in the whole of Col. Grant's war with the Indians, and was afterwards a soldier of the Revolution.

CATHOLIC CONGREGATION is situated about fifteen miles southeast from Chester Courthouse, near the dividing ridge between the Great and Little Rocky Creek. The emigration into the bounds of this congregation continued to increase by the way of Charleston until the year 1768, which was called the great emigration from Ireland. The emigrants were entitled to receive what were called "bounty lands." Each man was entitled to one hundred acres as "a head right," and fifty acres each for every member of his family. Upon these lands, when laid out, they erected houses, generally near a spring, and cleared small plantations. Some of the immigrants having sufficient means, bought lands from the earlier settlers which were already improved. With this emigration came James Harbison, Esq., long a ruling elder in the congregation, but at that time a child of six years of age. There is a statement drawn up by him in 1830, in which he says that at that time, 1768, there was neither a common teacher nor a preacher of the gospel in this part of the country, nor is it known that it had ever been visited by one. His statement does not allow of the existence of a church and the institution of public worship before 1770. But Rev. Mr. Richardson was not far off, and the date we have before given (1759) is a possible one.

BETHEL CONGREGATION.—The house of worship is located ten miles northeast from Yorkville, on Crowder's Creek, within four miles of the North Carolina line. The migration of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians continued on from Pennsylvania, their first American home, through the valleys of Virginia and North Carolina, extending through what was then Tryon county, across the Catawba into this region of country.

Mr. Richardson was probably the first minister who visited them, and this church affords another proof of the extent and value of his labors in that new and forming country. In 1764 he preached the first sermon heard by them in their new home, and organized them into a church, which he called Bethel. They had come thus far in their migrations, and here, like the patriarch Jacob, they set up their altar in what was then a vast wilderness. They held a season of religious worship, wrestling, with that earnest, devoted evangelist at their head, with the angel of the covenant. The wild woods rang with their "songs of praise" and "hymns of lofty cheer." They lifted up their eyes upon the forests and wilderness around them, and said, "This is none other than the house of God and the gate of Heaven." And we do not doubt that they adopted the name with deep emotion, and felt and hoped that not only the house which they should erect for worship would be the house of God, but that they themselves, in their religious community, would also be the temple of the Living God, in which he should continually reside. "After this," the first sermon of Mr. Richardson in 1764, says one account before us, "they became a congregated people, built themselves a house of worship, and were supplied by various ministers from the synod of New York and Philadelphia."—(MS. Hist. of York county, South Carolina, archives of General Assembly.) They greatly increased in numbers and strength, and soon became a very respectable congregation, well organized, and able to support the gospel. Their first elders were David Watson, John Jordan, George Denney, John Gullick, Thomas Neel, and James Campbell. The residence of these elders, as far as it can be ascertained, shows that the congregation covered a region of country more than twenty miles square, from the present site of Beersheba church to the Catawba, and from beyond Olney and the South Fork to what is now known as the Indian Land.—(Hist. of Bethel Church, by Rev. Samuel L. Watson, Yorkville Enquirer, November, 1855.)

**BETHESDA CHURCH and Congregation.**—This church is located in York district, eight miles a little east of south from Yorkville, thirteen miles a little east from Chesterville, twenty miles from Broad river on the west, and seventeen miles from the Catawba river on the east. It is between two public roads leading north and south and less than a mile from either. The church gave name to a region of country about sixteen miles square, occupied by the members of the congregation.

The commencement of the church is assigned to the same period with that of Bethel. The original population of the neighborhood was chiefly composed of immigrants from the north of Ireland, and the great body of them were Presbyterians by education and choice. A few, less than six families, were Roman Catholics. The most came directly from their native Ireland; others from different parts of the United States, but chiefly from Pennsylvania, and a few from the lower parts of South Carolina. About one hundred and forty families became located in the settlement of Bethesda in this and the following decade, or more strictly from the years 1765 to 1780.\* Most of these families, if not all, lived within the bounds of the congregation, or were accustomed to worship at the church, and buried their dead in the common cemetery.

At a central point in the settlement they erected, about the year 1760, a plain but substantial wooden building as a house of worship, about a mile eastward from the present edifice, and around it were deposited their dead, the traces of whose tombstones are visible to this day (1863). At this house missionaries traversing the country occasionally preached. The church was organized either by Rev. William Richardson of Waxhaw, or Rev. Hezekiah Balch, a missionary sent

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\* Their names are as follows:—Adair (John and William), Adams, Akins, Ash (Robert), Adrian, Arthur; Baird, Barry, Berry (William), Black (Thomas), Boggs (Thomas), Bratton (Colonel William, Hugh, Thomas, Samuel, and Robert), Burriss (William), Brown (Robert), Byers (Edward); Carroll (John and Thomas), Carson (John, William, and Thomas), Chambers (Captain John), Clendenin (Thomas), Curry (Charles), Cooper (John); Davidson (William), Dickey, Drewry, Dennis (John); Erwin (William); Fleming (Robert and Elijah), Fonderon (John); Gallaher, Gibson, Gill (Robert, James, Thomas, and Arthur), Givens (Daniel), Guy (William), Glover, Giver (James), Gaston (Joseph), Gordon (David); Hanna (William and James), Hemphill (James and John), Hillhouse, Howie (Robert), Hetherington, Harris (John), Henry (William and four sons, William, Malcom, John, and Alexander); Keenan, Kelsey (Samuel), Kidd (John), Kirkpatrick, Kuykandale (Matthew and Samuel); Latham, Lacy (General Edmond), Leach (David), Love (Colonel Andrew), Lewis (William); McElwee (James), Manahan (William), Martin (John, Captain James, and Edward), McLain, McCaw (John), McCrory, Meeck (James and Edward), Mitchel (Captain James), Miller (John), McElhenry (James), Murphy (John), Mills (Charles), Marley, McNeel (James), McConnell (Captain John and Reuben), McLure (James) Moore (three families, Major James two, Alexander and William three, John and his sons, John, Samuel, Nathan, and William); Norman, Neely (Samuel and Thomas); Pagau, Palmer, Porter; Qwinn; Ratchford (George), Robeson, Ross (James and William), Rainey (Thomas, Samuel, and Benjamin), Ray (Henry); Sadler (David and Richard), Silliman, Steele (Joseph), Straight (Christopher), Swann (John), Starr (Arthur), Smith, Stallions; Trail; Wallace (Captain James, John, and Thomas), Waters, Williams, Williamson (James and five sons, viz., John, Adam, Samuel, George, and James), Wiley; Young.

out by the synod of New York and Philadelphia in 1769, or by Messrs. Azel Roe and John Close, missionaries from the same body, in 1770. In all probability, to Mr. Richardson is to be ascribed the honor of organizing this ancient church. Among those who supplied its pulpit in the early time of its history may be named the Rev. Hezekiah James Balch and the Rev. (afterwards Dr.) Joseph Alexander of Bullock's Creek. The organization of the church is believed to have taken place in 1769. The first elders were — Neely, of whom no information has been obtained, save that he filled this honorable office; John Young, who served in this capacity till 1790, in which year he died, and Robert Fleming, who lived till the close of this century, when he died, leaving his mantle to fall upon his sons, of whom he had four. The sons of Robert Fleming were Elijah, also an elder in this church; Alexander, who died in Camden jail of small-pox during the Revolution; Robert, who moved to Franklin county, Georgia, about 1803; and William, who also removed to Georgia, and was for a long time an elder in Hebron church, Franklin county. He subsequently removed to Texas, where he died. One of the daughters married William Ash in Franklin county, Georgia, and the other an Adrian, who assisted in founding and became an elder in New Lebanon church, Franklin county, Georgia.— (MS. Hist. by Rev. John S. Harris.)

LITTLE RIVER CHURCH is situated near the boundary line of the district of Laurens and Newberry. It was first organized in 1764, by Rev. James Creswell. Its first elders were James Williams (who held a colonel's commission, and fell at King's Mountain, in the war of the Revolution), Angus Campbell, and James Burnside. Rev. James Creswell was a native of Ireland, who emigrated to this country in his youth. He pursued his studies for the ministry while teaching school at Colonel Gordon's in Lancaster county, Virginia. He was introduced to the presbytery of Hanover at Cub Creek, October 6th, 1763, and licensed at Tinkling Spring, Virginia, May 2d, 1764. He was ordained at Lower Hico, in North Carolina, in October, 1764. He must have gathered this church soon after his ordination, in the beginning of his ministry. Yet this settlement petitioned the synod of New York and Philadelphia for supplies in 1766, as did also Long Canes, Indian Creek, and Fishing Creek. The "Statutes at Large," vol. viii., p. 117, give evidence of the interest he took in the subject of education. They record the incorporation of the "Salem Society," formed for the purpose of endowing and sup-

porting a school and seminary of learning between the Catawba and Savannah rivers, near the Little River meeting-house. They were empowered to hold property to the amount of \$10,000 per annum, for the endowment and support of the school and the maintenance and education of orphans or indigent children. Of this society the Rev. James Creswell was president, and John Williams (son of Daniel) and James Caffin were wardens, at the time of the incorporation, March 16th, 1768. They were empowered to hold funds for the maintenance of the school and the education of poor, helpless orphans and indigent children.

BULLOCK'S CREEK CHURCH is situated in the southwestern part of York district. It applied to the synod of New York and Philadelphia for supplies in 1766. It is said to have been organized by the Rev. Messrs. Azel Roe and John Close in 1769, who were sent as missionaries to the destitute settlements of the south by the synod of New York and Philadelphia. It was by them called *Dan*. The congregation preferred the name of Bullock's Creek, on the waters of which the church was located. Previous to the organization, Rev. Messrs. Richardson, Alexander, and others, had preached in the vicinity with a view to gathering a church and establishing the gospel ministry among them.

BEERSHEBA is situated in York district, on the waters of Bullock's Creek, and was organized nearly at the same time with the church last mentioned, viz., in the year 1769.

NAZARETH CHURCH is situated in the district of Spartanburg, on the waters of Tyger river, towards its source. Its first formation proceeded from a few families, eight or ten in number, who obtained supplies in 1766, and were soon afterwards organized into a society.—(MS. Hist. of Second Presbytery of South Carolina.) The Rev. Robert H. Reid dates the first settlements on Tyger river about the year 1761. They certainly existed before the year 1765, for in that year the road that passes by the church between the North and Middle rivers was opened. The first settlers were Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania. When they left the north of Ireland and came into Pennsylvania we have at present no means of ascertaining. Some of the families were in Pennsylvania as early as 1732, for in that year Captain Barry was born in that State. The names of the first settlers were Barry, Moore, Anderson, Collins, Thompson, Vernon, Pearson, Jamison, Dodd, Ray, Penrey, McMahan, and Nichol. About the year 1767 or 1768 their numbers were increased by a colony which came directly

from the north of Ireland. They were each entitled to one hundred acres of land by a grant from his majesty George II., and the old titles bear date in 1768. The families of Caldwell, Coan, Snoddy, Pedan, Alexander, Gaston, Morton, and perhaps some others, came at that time. These first settlers on Tyger river, like all of the same descent, were full of reverence for God's word and for the institutions of religion; and no sooner had they established their homes in the forest of the New World than they made the best arrangements in their power for the public worship of the God of their fathers.

LONG CANES.—Abbeville district embraced the extensive settlement known formerly far and wide as Long Canes. It is the upper portion of what was originally called Granville county and afterwards Ninety-Six district. The first important settlement was made in February, 1756, by about eight families, Presbyterians in faith, who emigrated from Pennsylvania to the upper parts of Virginia and North Carolina, and thence to this place. The majority of these settlers being of the name Calhoun, the particular settlement took its name from them. Previous to the settlement of Patrick Calhoun and his friends at Long Cane Creek, there were only two families of white settlers in the northwestern extremity of the province; one by the name of Gowdy, another by the name of Edwards. Gowdy was born in Ireland, and settled in that distant portion of the province about 1750. By the year 1759 the number of Presbyterian families had increased to between twenty and thirty, and would probably have been many more had not Governor Glen for some years discouraged settlers by the encouragement he gave the Indians.

The views and expectations of these settlers were to form a Presbyterian church. As far as they could do so they set up their altar and commenced their worship in the wilderness in a more private way until February 1st, 1760, when the Cherokee Indians broke in upon them, killed twenty-two persons, carried fourteen into captivity, and dispersed the survivors. Of the flight of these persons, some to the Waxhaw settlement, and others to the low country and the bounds of the Stoney Creek congregation, and the honorable testimony borne to them there, we have before spoken.

In this state of dispersion they remained for two years, and in 1763, after the expeditions of Col. Montgomery and Col. Grant, they returned with considerable addition to their numbers. About the end of 1763 the Creek Indians broke in and committed some deeds of barbarity. In the South Carolina

Gazette of December 22d, 1763, a letter from Patrick Calhoun speaks of the murder of Mrs. Dyer and the families of Pawlet and Lawson. There were fourteen persons in the two last who were killed in one house on the Savannah river. The people took refuge in such fortified places as they were able to reach. Under date of Dec. 26th, it is said, "There are twenty-seven men and one hundred and three women and children in Fort Boone (Calhoun's); thirty-four men and one hundred and five women and children at Arthur Patten's (Long Canes); about the same number at Dr. Murray's, on Hard Labor Creek." Jan. 28th, 1764, the Irish settlers between Ninety-Six and Long Canes complain of their deserted and exposed condition. These notices from a contemporary journal, and the only one in the province, show that these early settlers were environed with dangers. Still this calamity did not dishearten nor disperse the people. In their strongholds these virtuous and hardy men watched over their wives and children with sleepless vigilance till the danger was passed, and then returned to their accustomed employments.

Thus were they situated and circumstanced until the year 1764, when Rev. William Richardson, a member of the presbytery of Charleston, visited them as a preacher of the gospel. Though his visit was short, he contributed something towards the organization of the church. In a few days he baptized about sixty children in the settlement, and about two hundred and sixty from the time he left home, in the Waxhaw settlement, till he returned, a space of four or five weeks. About this time they made strenuous efforts to secure a visit from Rev. Archibald Simpson, of Stoney Creek, near Pocotaligo. In his journal, Sept. 27th, 1764, he writes, "At the same time read a letter from Long Canes, earnestly requesting I would make them a visit and preach some Sabbaths,—same people who were driven away by the Indians some four years ago and came to this place. Have been desirous ever since I would visit them. Were attacked last winter by the Creek Indians; one man killed, another wounded. Have now a great company of negroes among them and new lands settled—are two hundred miles back from this place, in the high lands, but very much exposed to both the Creek and Cherokee Indians. Their case I know is very distressing, their letter very affecting, and their messenger resolved and pleading earnestly. But when he saw my weak and low state he was silent. My heart bleeds for them. I would think it a great happiness to be able to visit them. I wrote them an affectionate letter,

giving account of my weak and sickly condition and of my desire to visit them if the Lord should restore my health and the heat of the weather were over."

In the year 1765 the Rev. George Duffield, from Pennsylvania, a member of the Carlisle presbytery, visited this church, and tarried perhaps about three or four weeks, at which time the bounds of the congregation had become so large, it was necessary that public worship should be at different places. The church, or rather churches, now underwent a further and more perfect organization by the visit and assistance of Mr. Duffield. It would thus seem from the narrative\* from which we draw the chief part of this present relation, that the germs of the several churches, which were afterwards more distinctly organized, were already in existence. "There is good reason to believe," says the narrator, "that the blessing of God attended the visits of the aforesaid rev. gentleman, to the quickening of religion and to the comfort and edification of at least numbers of the people, and some spirit seemed to be given to ecclesiastical affairs."

In the year 1766 these charges were again visited for about three or four weeks by the Rev. Robert McMordie, from Pennsylvania, a member of Donegal presbytery, and a missionary from the synod of New York and Philadelphia, by whose visit the church profited. Nothing more worthy of remark happened until the years 1767 and 1768, when, in answer to ardent petitions sent to the synod of New York and Philadelphia, several ministers—Mr. McCreary, a probationer from Pennsylvania, the Rev. Andrew Bay † of Maryland, and the Rev. Thomas Lewis of Rhode Island—visited these churches, all of whom were received with gladness and with

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\* "Materials for the History of the Presbyterian Church in Abbeville county, State of South Carolina," in the hands of the Stated Clerk of the General Assembly. The Rev. Dr. Cummins was appointed by the presbytery of South Carolina, 1793, to collect these materials,—(Minutes, pp. 62-65). On September 24th Rev. Mr. Cummins had complied with the order. As the collections were imperfect, the order was continued and strict attention enjoined. April 8th, 1794, the materials for a church history were brought in and sent on, p. 69. These materials were collected under an order of the General Assembly, addressed to the presbyteries, and received the approval of presbytery. "Some of these first settlers yet living, and *via voce* as well as by papers, assisting in compiling these materials, they are the more credible."—(Materials, etc., p. 1.)

† Rev. Andrew Bay married a daughter of Elihu Hall, of Nottingham, Md., and Hon. Elihu Hall Bay, one of the associate justices of South Carolina, was his son.—(Materials, etc., p. 3.) Judge Bay studied for the ministry, but was deterred from entering it by an impediment in his speech, which troubled him also on the bench. Judge O'Neill's "Bench and Bar of South Carolina," i, p. 57, relates an amusing instance.

advantage to many souls. In the year 1768 Mr. Tate, from Donegal presbytery, preached in this and the adjacent neighborhoods. In the spring of 1769 Mr. Fuller, a Congregationalist from New England, visited this people, and was greatly esteemed in the several congregations. In the summer following they were visited by Mr. Balch.—("Materials," etc. History of the Second Presbytery of South Carolina, by Rev. John B. Kennedy and Dr. Waddel, committee.)

Mr. McCreary, before mentioned, after this received a unanimous call from the congregations—two hundred and forty-nine persons setting their names to it as subscribers. These numbers indicate not only the unanimity and zeal of the church for the gospel, but also its rapid increase. This call was sent by Mr. Bay to the synod of New York and Philadelphia, at their meeting in May, 1768, accompanied with a supplication to the rev. synod to concur in presenting said call, and a supplication for "a stated supply for six months of some skillful minister," should Mr. McCreary decline the call. The call was put into his hands by synod directly; but as he required time for deliberation, he was directed to give his answer to the presbytery of Newcastle, under whose care he was as a probationer, who were desired to ordain him, should he accept.—(Minutes of Synod of New York and Philadelphia, p. 387. Petitions for supplies had been preferred in 1764, 1766, and 1767; Minutes, pp. 346, 360, 374.) In this call the church was unsuccessful. It is evident that the community was increasing and becoming more prosperous. Mr. Simpson incidentally mentions a company that came over from Ireland with Rev. Mr. Knox who settled in Williamsburg, the destination of whom was the Long Canes settlement.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

DURING this period an interesting colony was brought over from France, by the way of England, by the Rev. Jean Louis Gibert, and settled in the immediate vicinity of the Long Canes people. They came to America as a refuge from the most bitter and inexorable persecutions.

We have described in earlier pages of this history the extreme hardships to which the French Protestants were reduced. The people were at length deprived of all their

ministers and all the means of education. It was not wonderful if, under these circumstances and under the irritation of terrible persecutions, there should spring up, in the absence of a clergy who had always inculcated submission to the government, the spirit of resistance. This especially manifested itself in the most southern portion of France. De Baille, who was the supreme administrator of the province, became known—in the language of the populace—as “the King of Languedoc,” and he was the terror and horror of that unhappy people. Exasperated at their obstinacy, he would ferret out their places of secret convocation, surround them with his troops, charge upon them sabre in hand, or fire into their crowded assemblies with a discharge of musketry. The most notable of the prisoners were hung on the nearest trees, and others sent to the galleys, where they were chained to oar-benches in perpetual bondage. At the commencement of the eighteenth century there had been two thousand of these convicts, and among them men of gentle blood and ministers of Christ, who were more severely treated than highway robbers.

The war of the Camisards was different, wholly, from the struggles which had preceded it. In those the gentlemen of France were engaged—under experienced leaders—on tented fields and in regular battles. This was a war of peasants, ignorant of the art of war, without arms—except such as they wrested from their enemies—and obliged to sell their lives dearly behind the rocks and thickets of their mountains. In the Vivarais, in the high and lower Cevennes, amid their naked peaks—their bristling crests—their horrid precipices—“the image of a world tumbling to ruins and perishing with old age”—they found their strongholds. The caverns of the mountains served them for granaries, magazines, stables, hospitals, powder-mills, arsenals, and armories. Their government was a military theocracy. For purposes of military discipline, there were captains of tens, of fifties, and hundreds. Their chiefs were prophets, acting, as they believed, under a divine inspiration. Their God was Jehovah; their temple, Mount Zion; their camp, the camp of the Eternal; their people, the children of God. Religion was their solace; desert and lonely places, sanctified by their tears, and often by their blood, were their temples of worship. Their captain, Cavalier, sword in hand, was everywhere present on the field of death, encouraging, animating his brethren, giving forth the most surprising orders, which were executed with unquestion-

ing confidence, and crowned with surprising success. They believed themselves to hear the word of God, and went into conflict as if clad with iron. Boys of twelve or fourteen years of age fought like veterans. Those who had neither sabre nor musket, did execution with clubs and slings, and the hail of bullets which whistled around their ears, and pierced their hats and sleeves, was not regarded. Their number was never more than ten thousand, but they had a good understanding with many who did not join their ranks, who, by preconcerted signals, warned them of the approach of their enemies, and gave them time for concealment in their impenetrable fastnesses.

There arose then a new order of pastors, who took the place of those whom cruel death or foreign exile had removed from them, the "pasteurs sous la croix," or "pasteurs du désert;" "pastors beneath the Cross," or "pastors of the desert." *The desert* was a vague term which they used to conceal the true places from which they wrote, or to designate, in general, their persecuted church. An attempt was made, by a man of intrepid courage, wonderful vigor of mind and body, consummate prudence and tact, incorruptible integrity, and surprising knowledge of human nature, united with an agreeable amenity of manners, to reorganize the Huguenot church. Antony Court deserves the name of restorer of Protestantism in France. At the age of seventeen years he began to preach to the churches of the desert. He was endowed by nature with remarkable gifts of eloquence, and, without the advantages of early education, he acquired, during a life of constant study and toil, rare erudition on the many topics to which his attention was directed. Even at this early age he conceived the plan of reorganizing the churches. To four points did he direct his efforts—to repress the disorders of those who pretended to be inspired; to collect regular religious assemblies; to restore the government of consistories, colloquies, and synods; to raise up young ministers, who should undertake the work of preaching the gospel amid scaffolds and gibbets, in the spirit of martyrs. In all these things he was wonderfully successful. He travelled through the country, gathering the adherents of the truth together in desolate and hidden places. At first he was able to collect but six, ten, or twelve persons, in some gap in the rocks, in some remote barn or open meadow; but at last he had the pleasure of meeting, sometimes, ten thousand souls for the worship of God. Their assemblies were held at night, under the shadow of rocks, or in caves and dens of the earth.

A system of secret intelligence prevailed. Letters were addressed to third persons of approved fidelity, and the names of those for whom they were destined concealed in anagrams hard to decipher. Notices of meetings were sent by chosen messengers from place to place, and whispered from one to another. Experienced guides conducted the ministers, at night, by adventurous and secret routes, concealed often under ingenious disguises, to the place of convocation. Sentinels placed upon the heights, at different distances, watched the approach of troops, upon whom Protestants in the towns and cities continually kept their eye, that they might convey to their brethren information of their movements. The ministers changed their abode each night, and no sufferings to which their adherents were exposed could prevail for their betrayal.

For the education of ministers for the scattered flock, he established an institution at Lausanne, in Switzerland, which became one of unspeakable importance to the persecuted church. To sustain it he raised subscriptions in Switzerland, England, Holland, and Germany. He searched out young men who were willing to take upon themselves the vocation of martyrdom. From the plough, the shops of artisans and merchants, and from any source whence he could draw devoted and talented youth, he gathered them, sent them to Lausanne, and provided for their support till they were prepared for their work, and were initiated into their arduous, dangerous vocation as "pastors of the desert." It was this academy at Lausanne which saved the Protestants of France. It continued in existence for three-quarters of a century, and was closed by Napoleon in 1809, who transferred its theological faculty to Montauban. In 1740 this seminary sent into Saintonge several of its young *proposans*, or *candidates*, who reorganized, secretly, several churches, and were followed in 1744 by regular ministers of the gospel. In 1745 they received from the same institution three others, Du Bessé, Gounon, called also Pradon, and Jean Louis Gibert,\* who

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\* M. Jean Louis Gibert, pasteur, et M. Louis Figuière, candidate, with two elders, were members of the National Synod in "the desert," which sat from May 4-10, 1756, of which Pierre Peyrot was moderator, and Paul Rabaut assistant moderator. Coquerel says, "This remarkable term, 'moderator,' to designate the presiding officer of a synod, was invented by the Calvinistic discipline to avoid the term *president*, which might indicate a superiority of rank. The absolute equality of all ministers, the presence of laics voting in the synod, and the perfect competency of laics to judge in doctrinal matters equally with the clergy, form the essential basis of the Calvinist-Presbyterian discipline.—(Hist. des Eglises du Désert, i., p. 545.)

founded the French Protestant colony in Abbeville district, South Carolina, and who was born near Alais, Languedoc, July 22d, 1722. Both he and Etienne [Stephen] Gibert were students at Lausanne. These last three pastors had no permanent abode. Always on horseback, they itinerated through the cities, towns, and villages. After the fatigues of the day they would claim the hospitality of Protestant families known by their zeal, and it was always accorded to them with the liveliest alacrity.

The Protestants of Pons, who had survived the persecutions, were animated with new courage by the presence of these faithful servants of God. At the suggestion of Louis Gibert, who did not cease to visit and electrify them by his warm exhortations, they constituted themselves secretly into a church. But already the attention of their infuriated enemies had been attracted to this religious revival, and they hastened to take measures for arresting its progress. The three zealous pastors, and above all Gibert, who seemed the most formidable, were denounced to the magistrates. A price was set upon the head of this eminent pastor, and the bishop of Saintes neglected no means of securing his apprehension. The following scheme was adopted: a man by the name of Syntier established himself at Pons, who appeared to be a person of some pretension. He assumed to be a zealous Protestant, avoiding the Catholics, and obtaining the articles of merchandise he needed from Protestants alone. The Protestants of Pons gave him their confidence. He applied to M. Gibert to baptize his infant child, which he did accordingly. He also invited the minister to dine with him the following day; but Gibert being warned by his friends, who had begun to suspect Mr. Syntier, declined the invitation. Syntier had given information to the soldiers the night before, who took a position near which he was expected to pass. No sooner was this done than Mr. Gibert rode by, accompanied by two other persons. The cavaliers mounted promptly and charged upon them in pursuit. They captured one of the party, who was a deacon in the church, fired upon and killed another; but the minister escaped by the fleetness of the horse he rode. The whole was planned by the chief of the diocese for the capture of the faithful pastor. The facts are recorded in the baptismal register of the parish of St. Martin de Pons, over the signature of the curate.

The night before Jean Louis Gibert's arrival at Pons he slept at the house of an elder of the church of Gemozac, by

the name of Bugeaud. The gentleman who accompanied him was the Count de Grâce, who was actively employed in establishing the churches. On leaving Pons, this last had forced Gibert, whose ministry he appreciated, to change horses with him. They did not seek to resist. They refused simply to stop when commanded to do so, and it was then that the balls of the horsemen struck the unfortunate gentleman who rode the horse which had been described to them as the horse of the minister. This attempt discouraged neither the pastor nor the flock. At the commencement of 1755, Louis Gibert reappeared at Pons, and assembled the scattered members of this ancient church at the wood of Merlet, in the parish of Tanzac. This reunion was fatal to some who assisted at it, who were seized and conducted to the prison of Rochelle.

There is another scene which shows the courage and conduct of this noble pastor of the desert, who ended his days, and whose descendants still live, in South Carolina.

“The depth of the woods, out-of-the-way places, caverns of the rocks, or the shores of the ocean, served them as temples. Often, by the feeble light of the torch, did they there listen in pious meditation to the reading of the word of God, which had become their only treasure, or to the touching recitals of the sufferings, firmness, and courageous death of their distant brethren. In spite of the danger, it was sufficient to announce the presence of a pastor in a particular place, to see the scattered members of the neighboring churches hasten thither. One of the last and most remarkable of these reunions took place under the ministry of Louis Gibert. Two days before the appointed time, many of the Reformed arrived from the most distant parts of Saintonge. A generous hospitality was accorded them in the dwellings of the Protestants living near, and of the Catholics who had never approved the severity with which they had been treated. But it was not till the next day, and the day of the assembly, that the mass of the faithful arrived. The richer were borne on vehicles, or mounted on horses. The others had accomplished long journeys on foot. The intrepid Gibert, on whose head a price was always set, was not tardy in reaching his numerous flock. He escaped the pursuit of his enemies a few days later, only by hiding under the straw, at the house of an elder of La Salle, named Guillot. To avoid all surprise, it was agreed that they should hold the service, as usual, at night, in the heart of the forest of Velleret, in a place where there was a wide space, called still by the inhabitants the Combe de la Bataille, in memory,

doubtless, of some ancient battle with the English. All was arranged for the celebration of worship. They carried thither the different pieces which composed the pulpit of the desert. This was placed between two oaks. The communion-table was arranged in the enclosure of the consistory, or the place reserved for the elders. Seven flambeaus, placed at intervals, shed a feeble light over seven or eight thousand persons grouped together in pious meditation. A moment after these preparations, the pastor, escorted by certain of the faithful, armed for his defence, ascended the pulpit clad in his ecclesiastical habit. Their arms were then laid aside. At the invitation of Louis Gibert the assembly sang the eighty-fourth Psalm, whose words were so appropriate to their present circumstances. But the solemn chant, which re-echoed with such clearness during the silence of the night, gave the alarm to certain enemies of the gospel, who, suspecting some assembly, were prowling about to discover the place the Protestants had chosen. They hastened towards the Combe de la Bataille, having at their head Bernard, governor (tutor) of Prince Camille of Pons. Gibert did not allow himself to be disconcerted by their presence. He ordered from the pulpit that they should seize their persons, disarm them, and place them in the consistory, that they might convince themselves that their assemblies had no other object than the worship of God. The services then continued without interruption. A considerable number of children, brought from places the most distant, were baptized. Young people of both sexes, who had been instructed by the elders in the truths of the gospel, were received into the membership of the persecuted church, and many marriages were celebrated. Gibert, in a discourse full of faith and life, touched the hearts of his numerous auditors, who with tears of gratitude took part in the sacrament of the supper, which some of them had been deprived of for a long time. The meeting continued nearly five hours. Those who had assisted at it resumed their journey homewards, blessing the Lord for the holy joys he had vouchsafed. All had not the good fortune to reach their homes in safety. Some had to submit on the way to many persecutions of the enemies of the gospel. Monsieur Labbé, captain of the Coast Dragoons, slew with his own hand a married lady of La Jaille. The widow Larente, who accompanied her, would have shared the same fate if the sword of this fanatic had not broken against her corset."—(Crottet, *Histoire des Églises Reformées de Pons.*)

After these events, we find this indefatigable minister still

active. He encouraged the Protestants of Pons to secure to themselves a house of worship. They accomplished this by purchasing two houses adjoining each other, removing the separating wall, and arranging the interior for religious service. He stimulated the faithful of Saint-Seurin and de Mortagne to construct also a place of worship. This they did, but it was demolished by their persecutors in 1768. He also established a school at Biziterie for Protestant children. Still later we find him engaged in building a church at Gemozac. These churches were often barns, at other times dwelling-houses, converted to purposes of religion. But the intendant of Rochelle, de Baillon, councillor of state, ordered all such to be demolished. Martin Pasdejue, of Arvert, for disposing of his granges, or barns, at Avallon, for this purpose, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in a convent. Soon there followed a judgment against the pastor who had occupied the post of danger. A sentence was passed, July 14th, 1756, by the same intendant against the minister, Gibert, "duly held and convicted of having performed the functions of minister for many years in the province of Saintonge; with having convoked and held assemblies of religionists; with having preached; celebrated the supper, baptisms, and marriages." He was condemned to the gibbet after submitting to this singular procedure. He must be conducted to the principal gate of the church of Saint Bartholomew, "and there, with head uncovered, on his knees, say and declare, in a loud and intelligible voice, that he had wickedly, and as ill-advised, performed the aforesaid functions of the ministry, to the prejudice of the ordinances of his majesty." The nephew of the minister, Stephen Gibert, must assist at the execution of his uncle, and then be conducted to the galleys. The Protestants, Gentelot de Sainte-Foy, and Belrieu de la Grâce, convicted of having accompanied the minister Gibert, nightly, and of having menaced, with their pistols, the cavaliers who would seize them, were condemned to prison, and Andrew Bonfils was banished. Happily, the persons accused had fled. De Belrieu had died. "His memory must abide suppressed." The intendant did not fail to take possession of their goods, not being able to seize their persons. This accounts for the note of Paul Rabaut in his journal: "The pastor, Gibert, is exposing himself greatly in Saintonge." The courageous and zealous minister survived a long time this barbarous sentence. —(Coquerel, *Histoire des Églises du Désert*, ii., 228; also, *Let. du Past. Etienne Gibert*, in Coquerel, p. 363.)

Despairing of finding liberty of worship in his own land, he conceived the project, which could hardly be universally carried into execution, of an extensive expatriation of his fellow-worshippers to foreign countries. His plan was to make this known at Versailles, to show that the way was open, and to hold it up in terror to the government if the persecution should recommence.

Rev. Jean Louis Gibert, accompanied by Etienne Gibert, his nephew according to Coquerel, his brother according to Moragne, in the year 1763 left France for England, and negotiated with the English government for the transportation of colonists to Carolina. His memorial was read in council July 6th, 1763, praying for a tract of thirty square miles on the eastern bank of the Savannah, between Purysburg and Fort Moore. This memorial was for substance granted. By correspondence with his friends in various provinces in France, two hundred and twelve persons, having hastily converted their effects into money, commenced their travels in small numbers from Languedoc, Hainault, and Montrevel, and from the river Loire, pursuing their way in secret, and often by night. "On the 2d of August, 1763, a considerable number arrive near the Royant, where the ship lies at anchor. But from the secrecy required, or from some other cause, the vessel is unsupplied with provisions, and one of the emigrants has to pay down £31 16s. to purchase the necessary supplies. On the 9th of August they put out to sea. For one week they were tossed by contrary winds, and at length, on the 16th of August, they were driven by stress of weather into the port of D'Artimon, ten leagues from Plymouth, where they took in supplies, having been without provisions for several days. On the 22d they put to sea again in their frail barque, which soon sprang a leak, to the alarm of the captain and all; and the passengers were compelled to work incessantly, for four long hours, with buckets and with the pumps, to keep the water out of the captain's cabin. At length, by a very narrow and dangerous passage between two rocks, they reached the English shore, whence some of the company preferred to journey by land, and arrived on the 25th at the appointed *rendezvous*. At Plymouth they remained from the 25th August to January 25th, 1764, much longer than was expected, and while there, in the language of the private journalist, they say — 'we have undergone much trouble, which is too bitter to speak of here.'"

They set sail from Plymouth in another vessel, destined for

Charleston, on the 25th of January, 1764, with a moderate wind. While yet in the Channel there blew a great tempest, stranding the vessel on some rocks, with great risk of perishing, in which time they had their clothes and bedding severely drenched by the waves of the sea rising on the deck of the vessel. They stood in the roadstead of Farbret, some eleven leagues further than Plymouth from Charleston, till the 14th of February; and, as if these persecuted wanderers were not sufficiently smitten by the visitations of Heaven, a rebellion arose among themselves against the captain of the vessel on account of the spoiled meats. "Many hard words were spoken, which" (in the language of the pious journalist) "brought down the wrath of God upon us."

"On the 17th they were driven back into Plymouth, and on the 22d set sail once more for Charleston under a fair wind, which grew better and better for several days. On the 17th March they met a vessel from Carolina in time of a calm. On the 30th another dispute arose about the bread, which had been spoiled by the worms. Finally, after boisterous weather and several severe claps of thunder, which gave alarm, they hove in sight of the American shore, to the great delight of the emigrants (as we are told), who had been forty-seven days complete without the sight of aught but the heavens and the wide expanse of waters. But soon their joy was changed to sadness. The vessel ran aground on a bank of sand, and had to be lightened by throwing everything that could be spared into the sea. On the 14th of April they debarked at Charleston, and took their lodging in barracks, presented to them by the inhabitants of the town. They received many liberalities from the French church at that place, in awaiting the bounty of the province. After a residence of six months and a half in Charleston and at Port Royal (Beaufort), where they experienced great fatigue and inconvenience, and in the language of the journalist were almost worn out with grief, a party of three, of which Mr. Boutiton was one, were sent up, in the month of April or May, 1764, to explore the country and to select a site for the town. They returned and appeared before the council, May 28th, 1764, to make their report. The season being too far advanced for them to make a crop on their new lands, and their provisions being exhausted, the colonists, or a portion of them, had been sent a short time after their arrival to Fort Lyttleton, and supplied by the province.

Some of them returned to Charleston about the 1st of July, and set out in two parties for New Bordeaux—the advance

party July 16th, 1764; but they reached only ten miles, when their teams proving insufficient, they sent back for assistance. On July 25th the advance party set out again from Flood's (ten miles from Charleston) in great spirits—the rest following the next day. These parties arrived at New Bordeaux, the first on the 5th, and the second on the 7th August, 1764. The party with Pierre Moragne did not reach the town till November 15th. The Rev. Mr. Gibert did not leave Charleston till some months afterwards—the Rev. Mr. Boutiton taking his place temporarily as spiritual leader of the colony.

The labor of clearing land and building houses was begun by the colony the same day of their arrival on the western bank of the river. The site of a town had been determined on, and each emigrant proceeded to appropriate to himself and to improve the little lot assigned to him. The town, called New Bordeaux, after Bordeaux in France, from the neighborhood of which most of the colony came, was situated in a rich and level valley on the western bank of Little river, shut in by hills and a deep forest, and was built up, we are told, in a square or rectangular form, after the usual French style, having in the centre of the square a plain log building, used as a town-hall or *Hôtel de Ville*—a sort of "Bureau des Affaires." The land on which the town proper was built, comprising one hundred and fifty acres, was bought from one James Davies for £250—or about \$1200. In the buildings on this land, the French, on their arrival, deposited their arms, baggage, etc. By the 20th September, 1764, they had six frame houses set up, and fourteen more frames ready for erection. The half-acre lots were laid off in the lower part of the town about September 25th, 1764. To each head of a family was assigned a half-acre lot within the town, and from documents now extant, as many as one hundred and seventy-four lots were laid out so early as April, 1765, under the lieutenant-governorship of William Bull, in the fifth year of the reign of George III. of England. Vineyard lots, containing four acres each, were likewise granted and laid out, adjacent to the limits of the town; and about the same time parcels of land of one hundred acres each were given as bounty land to each male and female adult. All these grants lay in Hillsborough township, which had been surveyed by Patrick Calhoun, and was at that time the only civil jurisdiction in this immediate part of the State: a section of country about ten miles square lying on both sides of Little river, and extending westwardly to the Savannah.

The site of the town was selected with the view to the navigability of the stream and the adaptation of the soil to the culture of the vine; for our fathers, coming from the south of France, had experience in vine-dressing, and were not without knowledge of the blessings of commerce; though at this distant period of time we can but wonder at the short-sighted policy which prompted them to reject the sunny hills and fertile valleys and smooth current of the Savannah for the more damp and inhospitable region of this now sluggish stream.

In February, 1765, the emigrants had erected their houses and commenced to labor on their half-acre and four-acre lots; and by the 13th of June they had finished planting, in corn and beans, all the land which they had prepared. But they were greatly stinted in provisions.

In the month of July, in the same year, the peace of the little community was disturbed by a rumor of a threatened invasion by the Indians inhabiting the upper portions of the State; and all labored actively to dispose some trees so as to form a fort, which was built on a high hill, overlooking the town, and to which they gave the name "Fort Bonne." The Indians, however, did not arrive, and quiet was gradually restored.

From the remoteness of other white settlements, the colony was naturally kept in constant apprehension of attack. The nearest neighbors were a small colony planted only a few years before, in 1756, by Patrick Calhoun, the father of our late distinguished statesman, some fifteen miles distant; and they were too feeble to render material aid to the French colony, but rather needed assistance themselves.

Freed from alarm as to the Indians, the inhabitants now gave themselves in earnest to their labors. Silk and flax were manufactured, while the cultivators of the soil were taxed with the supply of corn and wine. We can easily imagine how the hum of cheerful voices and the busy sounds of industry arose during the week, mingled with the fervent chanting of the once-interdicted psalms. Among a pious and simple people, there are no idlers. Every one had his appointed work, and on Saturday afternoon might even the little children have been seen, each with a wicker basket and snowy napkin, going and returning from the oven with loaves of bread.

Finding the culture of the vine less successful than was anticipated, they devoted themselves chiefly to the raising of flax, Indian corn, and tobacco; but with some, silk,

indigo, and the vine were not wholly abandoned for a generation.\*

But it is in their religious history that we should delight to contemplate this little colony. For freedom of conscience, for the sake of an independent worship, they had been induced to abandon the endearments of their native land to seek a home in the forests of America. Through all their toils and sufferings they had followed a devout and worthy minister, in the hope that they would some day hear, unmolested, the divine precepts falling from his eloquent lips; and now that this privilege was secured to them by all the freedom of a soil yet unpolluted by the tyranny of man, it may be well conceived that they regularly and faithfully exercised all the rites of their religious worship. Of the fact that they had a regularly organized church, and kept a baptismal registry, there is substantial proof, though the oldest inhabitants have no recollection of a church building in and about the town. It is believed that divine service was held in the town-hall on the public square. To a people accustomed to worship God in the glens of the mountains and in the caves of the earth, the simplest edifice might become a temple if secured from the eyes of persecution."†

These suffering people of France have taught the world a great and memorable lesson. They have proved that the apostolate of the sword is powerless in the conversion of souls, and that for the overthrow of the most colossal despotism it is sufficient always, that a people, however weak in themselves, should suffer in silence and in hope. Far more is due to these Protestants of France than to its speculative

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\* The Gibert family were the most successful silk growers, and long continued to produce a beautiful and useful fabric. Many persons for a long time supplied their own cellars with wine, but the vintager *par excellence* was Mr. Jean Noble, an unmarried gentleman, the remains of whose cellar and the house above it in which he kept a school are still, in 1857, pointed out. Rev. Mr. Gibert produced six hundred and thirty pounds of cocoons upon the plantation of Gabriel Manigault, called "Silk Hope," out of which he has made thirty-six pounds of fine drawn silk, and will be able to make fourteen pounds more.—(South Carolina Gazette, August 3d, 1765.) He seems to have been in Charleston in 1766. The Commons House voted £10.0 to establish a silk filature in Charleston in that year, and in the following year attention is called to it.—(South Carolina Gazette, January, 1766, and May 11th, 1767.)

† Address delivered at New Bordeaux, Abbeville district, South Carolina, November 15th, 1854, on the Ninetieth Anniversary of the arrival of the French Protestants at that place. By W. C. Moragne, Esq. Published by the citizens of the neighborhood. Charleston, South Carolina, 1857. See also for documents, *Coll. of Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii., p. 75, 1858.

philosophers. They secured to the French people, at least in theory, to be more perfectly wrought out in practice hereafter, absolute toleration of religious worship, liberty of conscience, the equality of all forms of religion which acknowledge a supreme and merciful Creator. This in France was one of the consequences of the French Revolution. The edict of Louis XVI. proclaimed it in despite of the remonstrances of his clergy, and in despite of the gigantic shade of Louis XIV., under whom these bitter persecutions took place. It was the eloquent voice of Rabaut-Saint-Etienne, son of the pastor of the Desert, which, on the 23d of August, 1789, secured the formal declaration of this doctrine in the Assembly Constituante. By the side of their synods, and after their model, they founded political assemblies which exercised a great influence upon the liberties of France. From that illustrious Frenchman, John Calvin, proceeded an influence which has regenerated civil governments. Exiled from his own country, he still exerted a powerful influence upon it. His city of Geneva, like a young mother, nourished in her fruitful womb the germs of many tribes of men who have been the advocates of civil and religious liberty. They remained there exiles from their own lands, to issue forth at the propitious hour to deliver them from tyranny. The new republic of Holland adopted the principles of Calvin; Scotland received them with tumultuous joy, and transmitted them to England to obtain their full triumph under Cromwell. They passed over to North Ireland; and from all these sources poured themselves forth over this Western continent, and prepared it for the high destiny which has awaited it.

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## CHAPTER V

THE period of which we now treat was the period of extensive immigration. One Stumpel, who had been an officer in the King of Prussia's army, conceived the design of transporting a German colony to South Carolina; and having obtained some encouragement from the British government, seduced some five or six hundred poor people, by promises of land in America, to migrate under his guidance. Having got them to London, finding himself unable to fulfil his promises, he decamped, leaving them in an open field, ready to perish. A benevolent clergyman took compassion on them, obtained for them the protection and bounty of government, and the

public spirited charity of the citizens of London. The king provided two ships, abundantly provisioned for their transport, and placed in their hands one hundred and fifty stand of arms from the Tower of London. They took leave of their benefactors with songs of praise to God in their mouths and tears of gratitude in their eyes. In the month of April, 1764, they too arrived in Charleston, and were received with corresponding kindness. The Colonial Assembly voted them £500 sterling. The township of Londonderry was allotted to them. Captain Calhoun, with a detachment of the rangers which had been organized for the protection of the country in the Long Canes settlement, had orders to meet them on the way and conduct them to the place in the northwest part of Edgefield district, where their town of Londonderry was to be built, and every assistance was given towards their speedy and comfortable settlement.

But of all other countries, none furnished the province with so many inhabitants as Ireland. Scarcely a ship sailed from any of its ports for Charleston that was not crowded with men, women, and children. About this time, too, above a thousand families, with their effects, in the space of one year, resorted to South Carolina, driving their cattle, hogs, and horses before them. From these Scotch-Irish people is the chief strength of the Presbyterian church in South Carolina derived.

Thus have we gone over the particulars of this tenth decennium of the history of this colony, and reached the end of the first century of its existence. We have traced its growth from its first beginnings, and have given, as faithfully as we could, a narrative of the religious state and external sufferings of its early colonists. We have been able to find but little which would throw light upon certain important interests. Among these, that of education ought to have a special prominence. We presume it was for the most part private and domestic. The circumstances of the colony did not yet allow of expensive and well-ordered institutions of learning. The wealthy, for the most part, sent their children to England or Scotland for education; and in these cases the highest advantages were enjoyed, as the ability of the public men of the colony frequently manifested. A few were educated in the Northern colonies. Yet the Low Country was not without its institutions of charity, which accomplished something in the way of education. The South Carolina Society was formed in 1736 by French refugees, who met twice in the week, contributing each night of the meeting two *bits*, or four half-pence, and

received the name from this circumstance of the "Two-bit Club." This became wealthy, and was able to provide for the education of the families of its deceased or indigent members. The St. Andrew's Society was formed by Scotchmen even earlier, in 1729, for similar purposes. The Fellowship Society, formed in 1762, cared for the afflicted maniac, but appropriated one-half of its funds to the education of the children of misfortune. The Charleston Library Society was established in 1748, and incorporated in 1754.

We find Mr. Whitefield, during this period, abandoning his project of an orphan-house in the new colony of Georgia, and seeking to convert the institution into a college. He memorialized the Governor and Council of Georgia, in December, 1764, and obtained from them a grant of 2,000 acres of land on the Altamaha for this purpose. In his memorial to the king, he mentions the fact that there is no seminary for academical studies yet founded south of Virginia; that with the addition of the two Floridas, Georgia will be central for the southern district; that numbers in Georgia and South Carolina are waiting with impatience to have their sons initiated in academical exercises; and he prays therefore that a charter, upon the plan of the New Jersey college, be granted, and proposes to make a free gift of his possessions in Georgia for the support of an institution to be called "The Bethesda College, in the province of Georgia." His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury desires that the institution may be a Church of England institution. But Mr. Whitefield cannot allow that the master of the college shall always be a member of the Church of England, nor can he enjoin the daily use of the liturgy of that Church, as persons of all denominations have been contributors to its funds, in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Scotland, and England. Mr. Whitefield states the income of his property to be between £400 and £500 sterling. He proposes to give the whole to the uses of the college; to wit, eighteen hundred acres of land on which the orphan-house stands; two thousand acres granted by the governor and council; and one thousand left to the institution by the Rev. Mr. Zauberbuhler. From his accounts appended, it appears that he had expended £12,855 sterling for the orphan-house, being £2,000 over and above what he had ever received for this specific purpose.\*

Of the benevolent intentions of Mr. Whitefield in these pro-

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\* See a Letter to Governor Wright, etc. London, 1768, pp. 30. 12mo.

positions there can be no doubt. He has the merit of anticipating, by a number of years, a want subsequently felt, which at length gave rise to those numerous institutions of learning which have since sprung up in the southern States. Yet not all were favorable to his project, or thought he had the right to appropriate the funds of the orphan-house for this end. We have copies of two letters of Rev. Mr. Zubly of Savannah, touching this point, the originals of which are preserved in the Stiles MSS. in Yale College library, from one of which we make the following extract:—

"REVEREND AND VERY DEAR SIR:

"You have doubtless seen Mr. W.'s correspondence with the late archbishop, a piece to those who are acquainted with matters very surprising. I am amazed at the project to turn orphans out and erect a college on their ruins, and more amazed that not a creature in America has opened his lips against it. I have published a memorial on the subject which you will receive, and should have printed something more striking but that his managers desired I would delay it a little longer. I am convinced the whole is designed as a seminary for Methodists, and that Mr. Whitefield in truth loves church power, and is not that open friend to dissenters that he would be thought. Of this I think I have irrefragable proofs, and his own letters plainly show that he did mean to leave things designedly in the dark. It is astonishing to me that he offers to *make* a free GIFT his present TRUST, that he tells the King and all the world he will GIVE what is none of his, and of which in the same line he owns himself only a trustee.

"The 25th of March was sacred to the laying of a foundation stone for the intended wing of the College. It was so decreed in England, and tho' I dare say there was not 500 brick provided, nor the foundation dug (which I am told is not done this day, and the bricks only beginning to be moulded), yet it must be that day. Mr. Frinck preached on Luke i,—'And the angel came in unto her,' and observed that probably the founder had an eye to the solemnity of the (Lady) day. He also told them who knows but the Angel Gabriel, who attended the royal maid (having now no further occasion to guard her), may take this house under his protection, and the holy Trinity grant it a blessing. I do not hear that he said more upon the subject, nor the Governor when he laid the first stone. Nothing has been done since, but the clay is carting 3 miles in order to be trode, tempered, and made up into bricks. For 4 years past no orphans have been in the house, and I have good authority to say that instead of its income being between 4 and 500 per annum in these 4 years that it has been empty of orphans, not one hundred has been laid up.

"I have wrote to Mr. Whitefield very freely, but do not expect that it will be much noticed. When he arrived here on his last visit he laid his hand in my hand and said, 'I am afraid of nobody in Georgia but this little man,'—the sense of which I think I now understand. I am apprehensive that by all this Religion will greatly suffer, and if an Orphan house can be turned into a College, to the expulsion of those for whom the charity was given and the land granted, I do not see but it might by a second change be turned into a Bedlam if those that think themselves authorized should so think fit. I know, however, my dear Sir, you will make a prudent use of what I write and what may be consistent with a real regard I have for Mr. Whitefield, notwithstanding his mistakes and blunders. I think, upon the whole, every man before man is more or less valuable as true sincerity appears or is wanting in his actions.

"I think I have not before sent you a funeral discourse on Peter the Great, which so pleased me in the reading that I translated and printed it, and have sold at least half a dozen copies of the impression.

"I lately had the pleasure of the company of the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Halsey, by whom I learn that the Controversy about episcopizing America is still vigorously carried on. I find petitions for this purpose are also gone home from the Southern colonies, tho' the church people in general are very far from being zealous for any such importation.

"I beg to be remembered sometimes in your retirement, and hope ever to approve myself, dr. Sir,

"Yr. unworthy brother and humble Servt.

"J. J. ZUBLY.

"St. Gale, April 19, 1769."

P. S. on a separate slip of paper.

"Capt. Bouck having sailed without the inclosed, I am glad another opportunity offers so soon.

"Since my last a Presbyterian meeting is set on foot in this place, as the house I preach in is upon so general a plan as to receive the Westminster Confession of Faith. Some think it done out of opposition to me, however, Phil. i. 18. If the right of taxation takes place, those that are for being taxed will not choose to have anything to say or hear from me.\*

"In using but  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a sheet I reduce the duty upon paper  $\frac{1}{3}$ .

"Vale ouam plurimum.

"To the Rev. Ezra Stiles, D.D.,  
"Newport, R. I."

The subject alluded to in a portion of this letter gave great uneasiness to the dissenters from the English church. The conduct of the Society for Propagating Religion in Foreign Parts was charged by them with entirely departing from its professed purpose of enlarging the boundaries of Christendom, and with devoting itself to the work of episcopizing the dissenters in America. It was founded, Jonathan Mayhew of Boston shows, for disseminating religion among the heathen, especially among the Indians and negroes in the colonies, so the annual sermons of 1710, 1724, 1747, 1754, and 1764 had professed. Bishop Butler says of it, in 1739, "It were much to be wished that serious men of all denominations would join it. William of Orange, who gave its charter in 1703, was a Calvinist and a Presbyterian. Yet the society bestowed its missionaries among those very non-conformists who left England on account of their sufferings from prelatical domination. At first the society attempted to carry out its original purposes. For eight or nine years they sent no missionaries to New England, but after that the increase was rapid. In 1718 the num-

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\* These allusions we do not fully understand. Dr. Zubly was ordained in the German [Reformed] Church at London, August 19th, 1744. There was no Presbyterian organization from which an effort of the kind alluded to could emanate but the presbytery then in existence in South Carolina.

ber was three; in 1727 it was ten; in 1730, fourteen; in 1739, twenty-two; in 1745, twenty-four, and in 1761, thirty. In the last year, too, there were sixteen missionaries in New York, ten in New Jersey, nine in Pennsylvania, five in North Carolina, five in South Carolina, one in Georgia, one in Bahama, and two in Barbadoes. The charges of the prelates against the colonists were galling in the extreme. The Bishop of Llandaff, in his sermon before the society, February 20th, 1667, says that "instead of civilizing and converting barbarous infidels, as they undertook to do, they became themselves infidels and barbarians, and that this their neglect of religion was contrary to the pretences and conditions under which they obtained royal grants and public authority to their adventures." Well does William Livingston reply—(Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff, pp. 31, 12mo, New York, 1768),—"What barbarians, my lord, have they [your missionaries] civilized? What infidels have they converted? The immense sums expended by the venerable society are not laid out in missions among the native pagans, who know not the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he has sent. They are squandered, ridiculously squandered, on missions to places where the gospel was preached, and (admitting the articles of the Church of England as the standard of orthodoxy), were faithfully preached before." There arose at this time a great dread of an *American Episcopate*, and the extending of Episcopal power over the colonies under the British crown. We cannot learn that this dread was especially felt by the churches of South Carolina. Indeed Mr. Zubly says, "I do not hear that the Episcopal clergy in South Carolina or this province [Georgia] have any itch for a bishop, and you can inform me whether I am out in my guess that it is chiefly such as have been bred in America and among the dissenters that appear in this matter."—(Letter of October 10th, 1768, to Rev. Ezra Stiles, Newport, R. I. Stiles' MSS., Yale College library.)

We have recurred to this matter, not so much for any bearing it has in itself on the history of the churches in South Carolina, as for the fact that in a very elaborate treatise on this subject found among the voluminous MSS. of Rev. Dr. Stiles, of Yale College, replete with statistical information, the object of which is to show the preponderance of dissenters throughout the colonies, we find the only enumeration of the ministers and churches of South Carolina of so early a day that we have been able to discover. The first enumeration is of the date of 1760, the commencement of our present period.

"PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS.—Jno. Baxter; Jno. McLeod; Jno. Rae of Williamsburg, P.; Charles Lorimer, St. John's, 2 churches; Archibald Simpson, Prince William's (Congl.); Philip Morrison, Charlestown (mixt); Patrick Kier; Jno. Alison, St. Paul's; William Richardson; Charles Gordon, St. Bartholomew's (mixt); Jno. Martin, Christ's Church, (Congl).—*Eleven.*

"CONGREGATIONAL MINISTERS.—Josiah Smith, James Edmonds, Andrew Bennet—*three.*

"*Note.*—Rev. Messrs. Simpson and Martin are Presbyterian ministers settled over Congregational churches.

"EPISCOPAL MINISTERS.—Of these he enumerates 13, of parishes 17, of churches and chapels twenty-four. And 6200 whites, and forty-six coloured. BAPTIST MINISTERS three, Messrs. Hart and Wheeler of Charleston, and Stevens of St. Andrew's. IN GEORGIA he names two, Mr. Zubly of Savannah, (Ind. Pres.), and Mr. Osgood of Medway (Congl)."

Under the date of 1768 we find the following vague enumeration, on the authority of Rev. Dr. Chauncey:

"EPISCOPALIANS.—Florida and Georgia, 10,000; South Carolina, 13,000; North Carolina, 25,000. Total, 48,000. DISSENTERS.—Florida and Georgia, 10,000; South Carolina, 14,000; North Carolina, 70,000. Total, 94,000."

In the same year the following statement was made by Rev. Elam Potter, who we have seen was the guest of Mr. Simpson, and the supply for some time of the church of Salem on Black River, and was sent out as a missionary by the synod of New York and Philadelphia in 1767.

"SOUTH CAROLINA.—Waxhaw, 120 families, Pastor, Mr. Richardson. Near by, 70 families, but vacant. Lynche's Creek, 60 families; Great Creek, 50; Black River, 40; Williamsburg, 90; Sumter, 30; Pedee, 20; all vacant. Indian Town, 50 families, Mr. [K]nox; Pine Tree, 50 families; Rocky Mount, 20; near by, 20; Indian Creek, 20; about Saluda, 200; all these vacant. Wando Neck, 60 families, Mr. Martin, æt. 35; Charlestown, 70 families, Mr. Hurr, æt. 28, Edinburgh. Wiltown, 50 families; Pon Pon, 50; Indian Land, 50, Mr. Simpson, fr. Edinburgh [Glasgow], æt. 32. Port Royal, vacant. Salt Ketcher, Mr. Simpson (same); John's Island, Mr. Latta, Ret<sup>d</sup> to Glasgow, æt. 25; James Island, 30 families, vacant; Near by, Mr. McLeod, æt. 50. Near Savannah, 30, vacant. [Three] Runs, 30; Shell Bluff, 30; New Windsor, 30; these all vacant. Long Canes, 500, vacant, Missionary frontier; Charlestown, 80, Mr. Thomas, æt. 24. Wales, Mr. Josiah Smith, æt. 70. *Set down by him to* NORTH CAROLINA, Bethel, 60; Catupa, 30; Fishing Creek, 40; Bullock's Creek, 100. GEORGIA, Savannah, Mr. Zubly, æt. 34 or 38, Switzerland. Sunbury, Mr. —; near by, Mr. Osgood. Briar Creek, 30; Buck Head, 30; near Savannah, 40; all these vacant.

"N. B.—Many of the places are not yet formed, and some others are capable of being formed. Please, Sir, to pardon the incorrections of your very humble servant,

ELAM POTTER.

"To Rev. Dr. Stiles.

"Not having my journal present, I labor under some disadvantages. E. P.

"New Haven, Sept. 12, 1768."

We give the above as observant and shrewd estimates of what appears to have been a very inquisitive traveller, repeated from memory, and interesting to us, because we have no details of churches and population belonging to this date. The synod of New York and Philadelphia, through all this period,

was not inattentive to the distant churches of South Carolina. Agreeably to a resolution to correspond with foreign churches, it addressed the churches in South Carolina, the letter being prepared by the Rev. Alexander McWhorter, of the presbytery of New York.—(Minutes, p. 399.)

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## BOOK ELEVENTH.

1770-1780.

### CHAPTER I.

THE decennium on which we now enter covers most of the stirring period of the American Revolution. And though the method we have pursued, of taking the several churches in detail, is liable to many objections, yet, for the purpose of exhibiting the progress of events in each church, we will endeavor to pursue it, though in many respects little satisfactory to ourselves and perhaps tedious to our readers.

We begin again with the oldest of the churches which were then called Dissenting, and, as we commenced, by giving the history of the Congregational churches, we will go through these before entering on the others.

The INDEPENDENT CHURCH in CHARLESTON was served still by the Rev. John Thomas. But early in the year 1771 his health began to fail, he had leave of absence, was instructed to look out for an assistant, and to request Rev. Mr. Simpson, Mr. Alison, Mr. Martin, and other suitable ministers to supply his pulpit. On the 13th of October, Rev. Mr. Zubly officiated, and the church hearing of Mr. Thomas's increasing indisposition wrote to him, with Drs. Witherspoon and Rogers and Joseph Treat, to recommend a minister. Mr. Treat in reply informs them of Mr. Thomas's death, and that just before his exit he had partly engaged the Rev. William Tennent to undertake the pastoral office among them. The circumstances of Mr. Thomas's life, death, and his character, are thus set forth by Dr. Ramsay, in his History of the Independent church:—

“Rev. John Thomas was born in Wales, and educated at a dissenting academy there. In early life, he was sent from England, by the Rev. Drs. Conder and Gibbons, dissenting ministers of London, to whom the church had applied by letter to procure for them a suitable minister. The Rev. Josiah

Smith preached a funeral sermon on the death of Mr. Thomas, in which he observes as follows :

“ He was a man of superior genius, and adorned with many excellent natural gifts. His conceptions were clear, his judgment solid and piercing—he well knew how to distinguish, and had a good taste and relish for, the polite parts of learning. If we consider him as a minister, he *prayed as a seraph*. His compositions were ingenious, methodical, and rational; he was a man of fire and pungency, nor was he a stranger to the art of addressing the passions. His principles were sound and orthodox—a thorough Calvinist, *though* he was much *on the side of liberty* and moderation, and loved good men of all persuasions, yet would he contend for the primitive faith and purity. The guilt, pollution, and propagation of original sin—the divinity of Christ—the redeeming efficacy of his blood—his full and proper atonement—the influences of his spirit—the necessity of faith to a sinner's justification before God, and of good works to his salvation, were doctrines which he often insisted upon, and strongly defended against Arians, Socinians, and others.’

“ Mr. Thomas left two daughters, one of whom married Samuel Beach, Esq., the other Adam Gilchrist, merchant; they are both now living (in 1815) and have eight living descendants; his widow is still alive, at the age of sixty-nine years.

“ The circumstances of Mr. Thomas's death are worthy of notice, both in a moral and medical view. Six months before he died, he was in good health; but in two or three hours of philanthropic exertion, contracted a chronic disease which brought him to his grave. In the first three months of 1771 he paid particular attention to instruct and prepare for death a man who was condemned to suffer the highest penalty of the law. In the course of his conversations with this unfortunate man, Mr. Thomas had abundant reason to believe that he was a true penitent, and the subject of a saving change. This naturally produced a strong attachment and a disposition to serve him; every kind office was rendered to him while living, and measures were adopted to save him from dissection after he was dead. His body was kept private till the shades of night afforded a screen to carry it over Ashley river to James' Island for interment. Mr. Thomas, with a few religious friends, attended the corpse, and at ten o'clock, p. m., in a cold, blowing March night, consigned it to a grave. Mr. Thomas performed in the open air the religious services usual at funerals. On this solemn but unseasonable occasion he was instantly seized with a violent cold, which speedily produced a spitting of blood, and other symptoms so alarming, that, in the summer following, he obtained leave from his church to go to the northern provinces for the recovery of his health; all was in vain. The adventures of this single night laid the foundation of a consumption, which eventuated in his death at New York, September 29th, 1771, in the twenty-sixth year of his age.”

On the 17th of November the congregation made out a call, expressed in beautiful language, for the ministerial services of the Rev. William Tennent, then settled as pastor of the Congregational church of Norwalk, Conn. This zealous and influential clergyman, the third of the name, was the son of the Rev. William Tennent, of Freehold, New Jersey, who was eminent for his piety, talents, and usefulness, and was the subject of the remarkable trance which is so familiar to all who are acquainted with the biography of the American pulpit. His grandfather was William Tennent of “the Log College” at Neshaminy, the friend of Whit-field. The father and

grandfather were both born in Ireland. He was born in Freehold, N. J., in the year 1740; was graduated at the college of New Jersey in 1758, under the presidency of Rev. Aaron Burr; was admitted to the degree of A. M. at Harvard in 1763. He was licensed to preach by the presbytery of New Brunswick between 1761 and 1762, and was ordained by the same presbytery in 1762-3. He preached in the bounds of Hanover presbytery, Va., some six months. In 1764 he was invited to settle as the colleague of Rev. Moses Dickinson, then advanced in years, at Norwalk, Conn. To this he consented on condition of his retaining his connection with the presbytery. The presbytery of New Brunswick took measures for his installment over the church in Norwalk, to which the congregation objected, believing it to be an attempt to draw them under the power of presbytery. Mutual explanations being made, Mr. Tennent was in due time installed, still retaining his connection with presbytery. After an acceptable ministry of six and a half years, he was invited to the Independent church in Charleston, having previously been invited to Boston as a colleague to Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton—(Webster, p. 402); and though his transfer was strenuously resisted by his people, he was at length released from his charge and repaired to the city of Charleston. Job Palmer, afterwards a deacon in this church, and the father of Rev. Dr. B. M. Palmer, sen., came out with him. His address to the congregation, April 12th, 1772, on accepting the call, shows his ability and energy of character. He was received with great favor, and wielded a commanding influence both in the pulpit and out of it. October 25th, of the same year, Mr. Tennent suggested to his congregation to build an additional house of worship. In a written speech, drawn up with his characteristic ability, he showed,

- 1st. That the exigencies of Charleston required it, there not being room in the church edifices then existing for more than two-thirds of the white population. The price of pews was enormous, some in the Church of England having been sold for £1900.
- 2d. The exigencies of the congregation demanded it. It had grown to its utmost extent of church accommodations, and their children would be compelled to resort to other churches.
- 3d. The dissenting interest required it. Numbers challenge respect and are secure from oppression. A new church opened commands its assembly.
- 4th. Two ministers were needed in such a place, and under such a climate. The danger of division would be small. Moreover, a sum of money was already subscribed for the object amounting to £9,000. The

congregation acceded to the proposition, and appointed a building committee, who estimated the cost of the new church at £13,000, recommended that both houses should be common property of the society, the ministers serving each alike. The morning sermon in one church should be the afternoon sermon in the other. All these measures were adopted, and a new house, sixty-five feet by fifty in the clear, the walls twenty-eight feet in height, was built in Archdale-street, covered in and the pews put in before the war of the Revolution. Various unsuccessful attempts were made to obtain a colleague to Mr. Tennent. In 1773 Rev. Daniel Jones, of Philadelphia, was invited, and though he discouraged it, they made out a formal call, promising him a salary of £200 sterling, or £1400 currency, which call was enforced by letters both from Rev. Josiah Smith and Mr. Tennent. This call Mr. Jones declined. February 27th, 1775, they wrote to Robert Stewart to visit them as a candidate. He promised to do so when licensed. The same year Mary Lamboll and Josiah Smith, junior, made over property adjoining the new church, which, under no pretence whatever was to be withdrawn from the use of the congregation, worshipping at "the White Meeting-house" in Meeting-street. The number entitled to vote at this time was sixty-eight, of whom twenty were members in full communion.

Mr. Tennent, though devoted to his clerical duties, could not be indifferent to the great issues of the American Revolution. It early took firm hold of all his powers, and to it he devoted no small share of his energies, putting forth in its cause some of his most eloquent efforts. He rarely introduced its topics into the pulpit, but elsewhere he was its earnest and enthusiastic advocate. A favorite of the people, they elected him a member of the provincial congress, and afterwards of the commons house of assembly. "In the different hours of the same day his voice was occasionally heard both in his church and the state house, addressing different audiences with equal animation, on their spiritual and temporal interests." He was appointed with others as a committee of intelligence to communicate to the back country every kind of necessary information, with power to hire horses and send expresses for this purpose. In the same year, 23d July, 1775, with the Hon. W. H. Drayton he was commissioned by the committee of safety to make a progress through the back country to explain the causes of present disputes between Britain and the colonies, to secure a general

union; and they were authorized by Henry Laurens, president, "to call upon officers of the militia and rangers for assistance, support, and protection."

On the 19th of April the battle of Lexington was fought, and the news of this engagement was forwarded by express from one committee of safety to another, or, where they did not exist, to prominent individuals in the different localities. The communications of each committee were enclosed in the one next in the order of progress, till in twenty-one days the original news, enveloped in the missive of the first committee, reached its destination, the city of Charleston. The originals of these were preserved until the burning of Columbia, February 17th, 1865, and the evidences of interest they disclose are very exciting. "Disperse the material passages through all your parts." "If you should be at a loss for a man and horse the bearer will proceed to the next station." "For God's sake send the man on without the least delay, and write to Mr. Marion to forward it by night and by day." The country was roused as by the sound of a trumpet. The night after the arrival of these despatches in Charleston, the royal arsenal was seized and the arms removed. The general committee summoned the Provincial Congress, and they set on foot an "association" in which those who subscribed to it bound themselves by "every tie of religion and honor" to stand up in defence of South Carolina and their country. They resolved to raise troops, and appointed a committee of safety, to whom they delegated some portion of their authority, and a general committee with legislative and advisory powers to act in the present emergency. They recommended to this general committee to have "the association" signed throughout the province and to demand their reasons of the recusants; of non-subscribers an oath of neutrality was demanded, and, at least in the town of Charleston and its vicinity, those who refused were disarmed and confined to their houses and plantations. Committees of gentlemen were appointed in the several districts and parishes of the province to consult for the public safety, and the committee of intelligence addressed them all in a circular letter rehearsing the events that had occurred, and calling upon the inhabitants everywhere to associate and pledge their lives and fortunes in defence of their rights as freemen against the tyranny which oppressed them.

It was under these circumstances that Wm. Henry Drayton and Rev. William Tennent, accompanied by Col. Richard

Richardson, of the Camden regiment, Joseph Kershaw, and the Rev. Mr. Hart of the Baptist church, set out from Charleston the 2d of August, 1775, on a tour through the upper country, to strengthen the friends of resistance and to win over the wavering. On the 5th they reached "the Congaree Store," in the vicinity of Granby, where after sermon the people were addressed on public affairs. Mr. Tennent then crossed the Congaree and addressed a crowd assembled for a public election. He visited the churches of Jackson's Creek, Fairfield, and of Rocky Creek, Chester; he accompanied the Rev. Mr. Alexander to his preaching places—to Beersheba on the head waters of Bullock's Creek, in York, to another meeting-house on Thicketty, thence to Goudelock's, and to the general muster at Ford's on the Enoree; thence to James Williams's, elder in the church of Little river, and the Col. Williams who fell at King's Mountain, where he preached for Mr. Creswell at Little river, and then at his other church at Ninety-six. On the 31st he preached at "one of Mr. Harris's preaching sheds," at Boonsborough on Long Cane Creek, Abbeville, and on the 2d of September at Bull Town meeting-house, fifteen miles from the Indian line, to one of the most crowded assemblies he ever saw. On all these occasions, after the religious services were over, he harangued the people on the state of the country, gave them a "touch of the times," was led often into ample discussions, and obtained subscriptions to the association. Sometimes Drayton, Richardson, or Hart was with him, but often he was alone. In this tour he encountered Fletchall, the Cunninghams, and Brown, leaders of the Tories, and many of their followers. On one occasion he employed himself in raising a company of mounted rangers and three companies of volunteers. At Fort Charlotte, below Vienna on the Savannah, he gave orders for the erection of platforms, mounting the cannon, and preparing everything for defence, reviewed the troops, addressed them, prayed with them, and so took his departure. Similar vigilance, activity, and quick observation were exhibited on his return home. He visited Capt. Hammond at his "forted house," describes the fortified houses of Augusta, strives to obtain a meeting at New Savannah, in the neighborhood of Beach Island, crosses Briar Creek in Georgia, and returns home, crossing from the Georgia side at the ferry of the "Two Sisters."—(Drayton's Hist. of South Carolina, 1; Gibbes' Documentary Hist.)

Had our space permitted, we would have given extended extracts from the interesting and exciting journal of this tour,

because it illustrates so much the character of the man, as persevering, public spirited, energetic, and fearless; eloquent and convincing when he opened his mouth to speak; because it shows the trusts confided to him and the influence he exerted; and above all because it reveals so much concerning the condition of the upper country at the opening of the Revolution, and shows the conflict of opinion and the views held as to public duty in the region over which he passed. It is very evident that this journey of Messrs. Tennent, Drayton, and their companions was of eminent service to the interests of civil liberty; that it brought many over to the cause of the colonies who would otherwise have taken up arms for the king; that it assisted honest but wavering minds to reach opinions which they afterwards steadfastly maintained, and for which they periled their lives. The country they traversed was the most disaffected portion. Dr. Ramsay says the non-subscribers to the association in Charleston amounted to about forty, who in great part were officers living on salaries paid by the king, and that the great body of non-subscribers were found between the Broad and Saluda rivers.

We find Mr. Tennent after this engaged in the duties of his vocation as a minister of Christ amid the events of the Revolution, which were becoming every day more stirring. He employed his pen from time to time in the public prints in the cause of civil freedom, and on 11th of January, 1777, he delivered an eloquent speech in the House of Assembly, Charleston, advocating a petition penned by himself, to which had been attached the signatures of many thousands, against the church establishment which the Church of England had always enjoyed under the colonial government. In this speech he contended that ecclesiastical establishments were an infringement on civil liberty.

“ That the rights of conscience were unalienable, and all laws binding it are, *ipso facto*, null and void; that neither those laws which lay heavy penalties on men for their religious opinions, nor those which make odious distinctions between subjects equally good, ought to be tolerated. Of this last, he contended, were the laws prevailing in Carolina. The laws acknowledge the society of the one as a Christian church—it does not know the others at all. Under a reputedly free government, licenses for marriage were refused by the ordinary to any but the established clergy. The law builds superb churches for the one—it leaves the others to build their own. The law enables the one church to hold estates, and to sue for rights; but no dissenting church can sue at common law. They are obliged to deposit their property with trustees. The law vests in the Church of England power to tax their own people and all other denominations for the support of the poor. The sums advanced by the public treasury for the support of the Church of England for the ten years preceding the 31st of December, 1775, amount to £164,027 16s. 3d. The ex-

pense of the year 1772 was £18,031 11s. 1d. The religious estate, drawn more or less from the purses of all denominations by law, would probably sell for £330,000. If the dissenters have always made more than half of this government, the sum taken out of their pockets, for the support of a church with which they did not worship, must amount to more than £82,013 within the ten years aforesaid; and a very large sum of their property, in glebes, parsonages, and churches, lies in the possession and improvement of the Church of England. Meanwhile the established churches are but twenty in number, many of them very small, while the number of dissenting congregations are seventy-nine, and much larger, and would pay £40,000 annually could they be furnished with a clergy. But the deficiency of gospel ministers diminishes the sum very considerably. To the objection that dissenters are tolerated, Mr. Tennent asks if it would content our brethren of the Church of England to be *barely tolerated*, that is, *not punished* for presuming to think for themselves. To the declaration of those who would keep up the establishment merely as a matter of superiority, he answers that this operates to the abridgment of civil liberty. It was not the *three pence on the pound of tea* that roused all the virtue of America. It is our birthright that we prize. To the proposal to establish all the denominations by law and pay them equally, he objects that the establishment of all religions would in effect be no establishment at all. Religious establishments discourage the opulence and cramp the growth of a free state. That state in America which adopts the freest and most liberal plan will be the most opulent and powerful, and will well deserve it. With the new constitution let the day of justice dawn upon every rank and order of men in this state. Let us bury what is past forever. We even consent that the estate which she has for a century past been drawing more or less from the purses of all denominations—an estate of no less value than three hundred and eighty thousand pounds—remain in her quiet possession and be fixed there. Let her only for the future cease to demand pre-eminence. We seek no restitution. Let her be contented with her superb churches, her spacious burying-grounds, her costly parsonages, her numerous glebes, and other church estates, and let her not now insist upon such glaring partiality any longer. It is demanded that this be delayed till a proper time. I think if the time is left to them, it will prove as it did to the man the time of whose execution was left to himself: it so happened that all the persuasions of the executioner could never make him believe that the time present was proper. Is it not a fact that we are now reviewing the constitution; that what was designed only as a *pro tempore* affair may become so perfected as to be fit to stand? If this matter is not now attended to, will not the Church of England be established by law under the new constitution and become the constitutional church? Must we sit still out of mere compliment? By some it is said to be dangerous to grant this request at the present time. But are we reduced to that situation that it is dangerous to do common justice? Will the danger arise from the dissenting denominations? No: it answers the prayer of their petitions. Will the danger arise from the Church of England? I have the pleasure of knowing too many of them to think so. Many of them have signed the petition. Many more have declared their sentiments in the most liberal terms. They do not desire any longer to oppress their brethren. Grant them the prayer of this petition; grant it in substance if not in the very expression. Let it be a foundation article in your constitution, 'That there shall be no establishment of one religious denomination of Christians in preference to another. That none shall be obliged to pay to the support of a worship in which they do not freely join.' Yield to the mighty current of American freedom and glory, and let our state be inferior to none on this wide continent in the liberality of its laws and in the happiness of its people.'

Such is an outline of the noble and effective speech delivered by Mr. Tennent in the House of Assembly while the

new constitution was under consideration. The civil revolution of which he was so earnest an advocate, brought with it this revolution in the government of the church and its entire severance from the control of the State, which the rights of conscience and the principles of popular government so clearly demand.

Mr. Tennent did not long survive these efforts in favor of ecclesiastical and civil freedom. His father, William Tennent, senior, of Freehold, New Jersey, a minister of singular piety and usefulness, whose name is widely known for the trance in which he lay for a long time, apparently dead, but from which he recovered, in which he seemed to himself to be caught up to the third heaven and to behold things which it was not lawful to utter—this venerable man died on the 8th of March, 1777. In the course of the following summer, he went to Freehold to bring to his own home his widowed and aged mother. He had reached the high hills of Santee, about ninety miles from Charleston, on his way home, when he was attacked with a nervous fever which terminated his life. He died on the 11th of August, 1777, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, prematurely cut off, as we are wont to say, in the very noontide of his usefulness. "I was with him," says the Rev. (afterwards Dr.) Richard Furman, in a letter to Mrs. Tennent, "in his last moments—his life went gently from him, almost without a struggle or a groan. He told me almost in the last words he spoke, that his mind was calm and easy, and he was willing to be gone."

The testimonies to his character by his cotemporaries show the high estimation in which he was held. Mr. Simpson met with him May 14th, 1772, before he, Mr. S., left the province for Scotland, and speaks of him as a "very worthy and excellent minister of Christ, very catholic, a fine scholar, a polite gentleman, a real exercised Christian." On the 31st of May he attended in the forenoon "the White" or "New England meeting-house," where, says he, "I heard Mr. Tennent preach an excellent sermon from Phil. iv. 5, last clause, 'The Lord is at hand.' Was delighted to hear such evangelical preaching, and so great an attachment to our Lord and Saviour."

"Few preachers," says Rev. Hugh Allison of James Island, in a sermon occasioned by his death, "had a more majestic and venerable presence, or a more winning and oratorical address. Animated with a sacred regard for the honor of his divine Master, and the salvation of precious, immortal souls, he spake the word with all boldness. A lively imagination, added to a careful study of the Scriptures, enabled him to bring forth out of his treasure things new and old; yet he never entertained his audience with scholastic niceties or subtle questions, which minister strife and endless disputation, rather than godly edifying, which is in faith. Elegance of style, majesty of thought, and clearness of

judgment, appeared in his discourses, and concurred to render them both pleasing and instructive. Or shall we view him as a patriot? His honest, disinterested, yet flaming zeal for the country's good demands from us a tribute of respect. Impressed with a sense of the justice, greatness, and vast importance of the American cause, he engaged in it with an ardor and resolution which would have done honor to an old Roman. For this, indeed, he was censured, and perhaps too liberally, even by his friends. In many of his speeches, which he delivered in the Provincial Congress and General Assembly, of which he was successively a member, he displayed great erudition, strength of argument, generosity of sentiment, and an almost boundless eloquence. His natural genius was prodigiously strong and penetrating; and the unavoidable consciousness of his native power made him sanguine, bold, and enterprising. Yet the event proved that his boldness arose not from a partial, groundless self-conceit, but from a true self-knowledge. Upon fair and candid trial, faithful and just to himself, he judged what he could do; and what he could do, when called to do it, he attempted, and what he attempted he accomplished. But Mr. Tennent's principal ornament was his unaffected and substantial piety. He was remarkably humane and benevolent in his disposition, and possessed every personal grace and qualification that could attract the esteem and reverence of his fellow creatures. He was a kind, affable, and tender husband; a prudent, cautious, and indulgent parent; a generous and compassionate master, and a faithful, affectionate, and steady friend. His appearance in company was manly and graceful; his behavior genteel, not ceremonious; grave, yet pleasant; and solid, but sprightly too. In a word, he was an open, conversable, and entertaining companion, a polite gentleman and devout Christian at once."

He left five children: two sons, William and Charles, and three daughters. One of his daughters married Mr. Charles Brown, one Dr. Joseph Hall Ramsay, and one Mr. Samuel Smith. The church erected a monument to his memory in their Archdale-street house of worship, of which he was the father. On it is the following inscription:

"In memory  
of the Rev. WILLIAM TENNENT, A. M.,  
pastor of this Church,  
and principally instrumental in the  
erection of this building,  
dedicated to the worship  
of Almighty God,  
who died at the High Hills of Santee,  
August 11th, 1777,  
in the thirty-seventh year of his age.  
He was distinguished  
for quickness of perception,  
solidity of judgment,  
energy and firmness of mind,  
for inflexible patriotism  
and ardent public spirit,  
for the holdness with which he enforced  
the claims of the Deity,  
and vindicated the rights of man.  
As a preacher he was prompt,  
solemn, instructive, and persuasive—  
of every social virtue he was a bright example.  
Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord."

This monument was transferred to the interior wall of the Independent or "Circular" church when it was refitted in 1858.

Several descendants of Rev. William Tennent yet survive in the city of Charleston and elsewhere, and manuscript copies of his sermons are in existence in the hands of sundry persons.

The congregation do not appear to have remitted their efforts during the lifetime of Mr. Tennent to obtain a colleague pastor. On the 9th of March, 1777, five months before the death of Mr. Tennent, they directed a letter to be written to Dr. Rodgers of New York, whom they had called before in the year 1765, inviting him to a temporary settlement, urging that New York was then occupied by British troops, and that a wide field of usefulness was opened before him in Charleston. They hastened the work on the church in Archdale-street, that it might be commodious for worship. They continued their correspondence also with Mr. Stewart, who at length wrote, discouraging their efforts to obtain his services. On the 17th of August Mr. Edmonds preached for them, and announced the death of Mr. Tennent. On the 31st a call was made out to Dr. Rodgers to become their pastor as the successor of Mr. Tennent, and was signed by the congregation. The salary of Mr. Tennent was continued to his family through the year, and the funeral sermons of Mr. Allison and Mr. Hart on Mr. Tennent were requested for publication. During the remainder of this and the following year their supplies were irregular, and there were frequent adjournments of the congregation without preaching.\* In January of the following year, 1778, the constitution of the church, drawn up by Dr. Ramsay, and presented on the 30th of November, 1777, was adopted. The title of the church was declared to be, "The Independent or Congregational Church worshipping in Meeting and Archdale-streets." And it was further declared that "the denomination of this church, the mode of divine service therein, and the government thereof by its own members and supporters, independent of all extrinsic

\* The following, from an old account book, mentions some of the supplies:

1778. To paid Mr. Edmonds for six Sabbaths, between 1st January and instant April, at £15	£90	Between 8th March and 15th Oct	
Rev. Mr. Harris for 1, 22d		Rev. Mr. Gourlay 2, at £20	£40
Feb. . . . .	15	" " Henderson, 3	60
Rev. Mr. Henderson 1, 8	15	" " Edmonds, 9	180
" Mr. Allison, 8 March	15	" " Allison, 2	40
		" " Hill, 3	60

authority, as stated in the 9th, 10th, and 11th articles, shall forever remain unalterable, and no part shall be altered but by the concurring voice of two-thirds of the members and supporters thereof." On the 22d of March Mr. Richard Hutson was commissioned to apply to Rev. Mr. McWhorter to become their pastor, and to offer the same terms as were offered to Dr. Rodgers, and in case of his failure, to apply to Rev. Mr. Duffield, or to some other. On Sunday the 3d of May, the congregation ordered the eight doctrinal articles, the consideration of which had been postponed at a previous meeting, to be entered in the church-book as fundamental articles. On Sunday the 17th, they subscribe the five doctrinal articles of the state, and resolve to secure an act of incorporation, and add three more articles. On Sunday, July 5th, they invite the Rev. Messrs. Piercy and Hill to preach for them, and on the 13th make out a call to the Rev. Alexander McWhorter, D. D., of Newark, New Jersey, with a salary of £2,100. A letter was addressed to the moderator of the presbytery of New York, and another to the church at Newark, urging them to accede to their wishes in relation to Dr. McWhorter, 1. Because of the melancholy state of religion in the state and city; 2. On account of the great opportunity of usefulness afforded by this pastorate; 3. They plead the infant state of literature, and the great advantages which must accrue to civil liberty, and the interests of learning and religion over the whole state, from the established reputation of Dr. McWhorter. On the 20th of September they were ministered to by Rev. Mr. Henderson, and received the letter of Dr. Rodgers declining their call. He was requested to hold it still under consideration, as the destruction of New York might induce him to cast in his lot among them. The salary offered was augmented to £4,000 "during these dear times." On the 20th of January, 1779, they received an interesting letter from Dr. Rodgers, dated at Sharon, Conn., whither the ravages of war had driven him, declining their call, and the congregation continued dependent on such supplies as could be obtained. Charleston was again threatened by the British general Prevost, who had crossed the Savannah on his march towards Charleston. The inhabitants, under the direction of Lieutenant-Governor Bee and the council, made every effort to fortify the city landward. The suburban houses were burned, and lines of defence and an abatis were extended from Ashley to Cooper rivers, across Charleston Neck. The enemy, however, though they approached the city and held parley

with the garrison, did not make the expected attack. It was on this occasion that Major Benjamin Huger, who had ventured with a party of men without the lines, was fired on and killed by his own countrymen in mistake. We still find the church laboring to keep up its religious services in the midst of these alarms. On the 18th of July they extended an invitation to Rev. Mr. Edmonds and Dr. Percy of the Episcopal church, to fill their pulpit till the following October.

Of the CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH at WAPPETAW, in Christ's Church parish, the notices continue to be very scanty. The Rev. John Martin was its minister in the beginning of this decennium. Mr. Zubly says, writing to Dr. Stiles of Yale College, January 30th, 1772, "I also send you a dissenter's Address to Dissenters, by the Rev. John Martin, A. M., a member of the presbytery and minister on Wando Neck." —(Stiles' MSS., Yale College.) About this time Mr. Martin removed to the Wiltown church. There is in existence a manuscript addressed to the Independent church in Charleston, when the Wappetaw church applied to that church to send its pastor and delegates to aid in the ordination and installation of Rev. Mr. Allen.\* Mr. Tennent speaks of the obligations of the city church in Charleston to the church at Wappetaw for the large sum of money they had contributed to aid the former in their schemes of building, and speaks of them as of the same sentiments with themselves. The Rev. Moses Allen, to whom reference is made, was born in Northampton, Mass., September 14th, 1748, was graduated at the college in New Jersey in 1772; and was licensed by the presbytery of New Brunswick, February 1st, 1774, and recommended by them as an ingenious, prudent, and pious man. On his way to the south he spent some days with his friend James Madison of Virginia, where he was solicited to pass the winter. Pursuing his way, however, he arrived in Christ's Church parish, South Carolina, where he was ordained on the 16th of March, 1775, by Mr. Zubly, Mr. Edmonds, and William Tennent, and installed as pastor of the Independent or Congregational church at Wappetaw. He preached his farewell sermon to this church on the 8th of June, 1777, and removed to Midway church, Liberty county, Georgia, to which place he had been called. The British army under General Pre-

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\* Mr. Carter, in his pamphlet, "The Claims of Wappetaw," p. 6, says in 1770 or 1771. But Mr. Tennent did not receive his call till November, 1771, nor commence his labors in Charleston till April, 1772; nor was Mr. Allen ordained till 1775.

most dispersed his congregation in 1778, burned the house of worship, and the dwelling-houses of several of the people, and destroyed the rice then in stacks. In December he was taken prisoner at Savannah, and instead of being sent to Sunbury on parole with the continental officers, he was sent on board the prison-ships. He was chaplain of the Georgia brigade, and his animated exertions in the pulpit and the field had incurred the peculiar resentment of the British; for notwithstanding his clerical profession he was among the foremost in the hour of battle, and the post of danger was to him the post of honor. Wearied of his confinement in his loathsome quarters, he sought to escape by throwing himself into the river and swimming to an adjacent point, but was drowned in the attempt, on the evening of February 8th, 1779, at the age of thirty years. His body was washed on a neighboring island, found by some of his friends, who requested boards of the captain of a British vessel to make a coffin, but could not procure them.—(Allen's Biog. Dictionary, and J. B. Mallard's History of Midway Church.)

Rev. Mr. Atkins succeeded Mr. Allen, but at what interval we are not able to say. His melancholy end belongs to the next decennial period of this history.

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## CHAPTER II.

THE Congregational church of DORCHESTER and BEECH HILL had probably but a feeble existence at this time. Archibald Simpson spent Lord's-day, the 14th of January, 1770, at Beech Hill, and administered the Lord's Supper and the ordinance of baptism. In his MS. diary he says, "On account of the severity of the weather, concluded to put two sermons into one. There was a large and full congregation, a most serious and attentive auditory." He thanked them for their pressing invitation to preach regularly for them, plead his great distance and other duties, and recommended them to secure the services of Mr. Edmonds, who had left Georgia and come to live fifteen or sixteen miles from them on his wife's estate, and to preach around in vacant places. He recommended Mr. Edmonds to them in the warmest manner. He had recommended to them to repair their meeting-house at Beech Hill. This they could not do unless he would collect for them. He promised to read their address to his congregations. Mr.

Edmonds had been called by the Midway church, Liberty county, Georgia, on the 18th of June, 1767, to labor as co-pastor with Mr. Osgood, "to preach chiefly in Sunbury, and, if agreeable, to supply the inhabitants of the Altamaha." "August 9th, 1767, Mr. James Edmonds and family arrived in Georgia on a call from the society. Preached at Midway on the 26th and at the Altamaha on the 30th and 31st, and agrees to supply them once a month for the first year."—(Records of Midway Church.) Whether the church of Dorchester and Beech Hill availed themselves of the labors of Mr. Edmonds, now living in their vicinity, and to what extent, we have not ascertained. The excellent and much loved pastor of the original church which migrated to Liberty county, Georgia, 1753-4, died August 2d, 1773.

The INDEPENDENT CHURCH of Indian Land, now STONEY CREEK, enjoyed the labors of Rev. Archibald Simpson until June, 1772, when he sailed for Scotland. His journal alludes to many things not connected with the history of this church, but of general interest. On Monday, the 15th of January, 1770, he was informed that Rev. James Caldwell of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, was at the house of Rev. Mr. Maltby of Wiltown, on his way to Georgia, collecting funds for the college of New Jersey at Princeton, and that he had preached for Mr. Maltby on Sabbath. He speaks of the college as "that most excellent and flourishing seminary of learning, which has hitherto been and promises to be the most useful of any ever erected in America." He determines immediately to wait on him, "being informed of his great and excellent character." His interview with Mr. Caldwell seems to have impressed him most favorably. He speaks of him as "a valuable person, much of a Christian and gentleman, a fine scholar, and in every way an accomplished minister." He advises him to visit this week among his (Mr. Simpson's) friends, to whom he would recommend his business; arranges for him to preach at Pon Pon the following Sabbath, and stops at Jacksonboro to give notice of the appointment and to speak a kind word for Mr. Caldwell and his cause. He consults with Mr. Caldwell as to the advisableness of his renewing his attendance upon presbytery, which it appears he had for some time omitted, and states in this connection that most of "the old bigotted Arminian party were now dead." He hoped also to gain a majority to join the synod of New York and Philadelphia, and "to comprehend the Independent congregations in this State and Georgia, with a view to promote a catholic, evangelical, and useful ministry, and strengthen the dissenting

interest over all British America. Something of this kind had been thought of and proposed by Messrs. Zubly, Osgood, Martin, and myself, before Mr. Caldwell arrived, and I hope his coming will greatly forward it." Mr. Caldwell returned from Georgia with a son of Rev. Mr. Zubly, lately graduated at Princeton, toward the close of January; and January 14th the following year, 1771, Mr. Ogden from the North came to collect Mr. Caldwell's subscriptions. The Caldwell family tradition makes them to have been of Huguenot origin, and to have been driven from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. They took refuge in Scotland, and lived upon an estate called *Cold-well* (*Scotticè Cauld-well*), whence their name. He was pastor of the Presbyterian church, in Elizabethtown, New Jersey. On the commencement of hostilities between the colonies and Great Britain he became chaplain of the New Jersey brigade, and had unbounded influence with the army and people. The church in which he preached was yielded as a hospital for sick, disabled, and wounded soldiers. It was its bell that sounded the alarm on the approach of the foe, its floor the bed of the weary soldier, and its seats the table from which he ate his frugal meal. High rewards were offered for his capture. His church was burned by a refugee in 1780, and a few months after his wife was shot through the window of a room to which she had retired with her children for safety. On the 24th of November, 1781, while conveying to the town a lady who had arrived from New York under a flag of truce, he was shot by James Morgan, an Irishman by birth, either in a fit of drunkenness or of irritation at not receiving his wages (Mr. Caldwell acting at that time as assistant commissary), or being bribed so to do by the British or Tories. For this murder Morgan was afterwards hung. He left nine orphan children; and at the funeral service, before the coffin was closed, Dr. Boudinot came forward, leading these nine orphans, and placing them around their father's bier, made an address of surpassing pathos in their behalf.—(Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. iii., p. 222; and Allen's *Biographical Dictionary*.)

The measures concerted in this consultation with Mr. Caldwell were partially carried into effect. In the synod of New York and Philadelphia, on the 24th of May, 1770, at which Rev. James Caldwell was present, "a letter from the presbytery of South Carolina, signifying their desire to unite with the synod, and requesting to be informed of the terms on which such union could be obtained, was brought in and read.

It was agreed to send them the following letter in answer to their proposal :—

“**REV. AND DEAR BRETHREN** :—We received your letter by the Rev. Mr. Caldwell, proposing an union of your presbytery with this synod, and asking the conditions on which it may be obtained. The synod took your proposal into consideration, and are unanimously of opinion that the union would be for the interest of religion and the comfort of the whole body, and therefore agreed that it should take place for all ecclesiastical purposes, and expect that your presbytery will attend the meeting of the synod with all the regularity that your situation will admit. The conditions which we require are only what we suppose you are already agreed in, viz., that all your ministers acknowledge and adopt, as the standard of doctrine, the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms, and the Directory as the plan of your worship and discipline. The Church of Scotland is considered by this synod as their pattern in general; but we have not as yet expressly adopted by resolution of synod, or bound ourselves by any other of the standing laws or forms of the Church of Scotland than those above mentioned, intending to lay down such rules for ourselves, upon Presbyterian principles in general, as circumstances should from time to time show to be expedient.

“The only difficulty that has been made in this matter is, that we are not certain whether the corporation of the Widows' Fund will think it safe to admit the members of your presbytery, from their distance and other circumstances. It is, however, the opinion of the members of this synod that you either do not intend to ask admission to this fund, which is not mentioned in your letter, or that you are both able and willing to come in upon such terms as will not in the least injure the stock or embarrass the management of that corporation.

“After receiving this letter, we expect you will send your answer by such of your members as may attend the next meeting of our synod, which is to be at Philadelphia the third Wednesday of May, 1771.”

The moderator was ordered to make out a copy of this, properly attested, and deliver it into the hands of Dr. Rodgers and Mr. Caldwell, to be transmitted to the moderator of the presbytery of South Carolina by the first safe opportunity.—(Records, p. 409.)

No reply appears ever to have been made to these overtures, nor did this ancient presbytery of South Carolina ever become connected by ecclesiastical bonds with any other ecclesiastical organization.

Mr. Simpson seems to have been further stimulated to attempt a reformation as to his irregularity in attending presbytery. He had been reading Guthrie's "Great Interest." One thing he observed in which there was no similitude between Guthrie and himself, and this was his great influence in church judicatories, and he resolves that, if he does again attend presbytery, he will not be so silent as he used to be. He carries his purpose into execution, reaches Charleston on the 15th of May, 1770, calls on Dr. Hewat, minister of Charleston, where he finds "Rev. Mr. T——t of North Carolina, who is to preach before presbytery on a given text, to clear himself

of some suspicions of being an Arian and Socinian, which," says Mr. Simpson, "he most certainly is, although he has repeatedly signed the formula of the Westminster Confession of Faith." Mr. Simpson was impatient, as many men have been since, at the want of punctuality, on the part especially of neighboring brethren, who could have reached the place in from one to four hours, while he had rode between sixty and seventy, and Mr. Richardson two hundred miles, to be present. Presbytery at last met on Thursday, the 17th of May, being delayed one day by the want of punctuality of neighboring brethren, or for some other reason, as Mr. Simpson suspected. The ministers in attendance were the Rev. Alexander Hewat of the Presbyterian church, Charleston; the Rev. Hugh Alison of James Island; the Rev. James Latta of John's Island; Rev. John Martin of Cainhoy; Rev. William Richardson of Waxhaw; Rev. Archibald Simpson of Indian Land (Stoney Creek); and Rev. John Maltby of Wiltown, whom the presbytery of New York, May 17th, 1770, reported as dismissed to join the presbytery of South Carolina. The sermon of Mr. T——t appears to have been the first and opening exercise, and was on the text, Eph. ii. 5, "Even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ; (by grace ye are saved.)" Mr. Simpson characterizes this sermon as "very artful, expressed mostly in Scripture phrases, though it was plain enough in what sense he took them. The whole of it was a piece of rank Arminianism, to say no worse, but expressed with so much art and caution as to be capable of different explanations, and could not be rejected." After sermon he retired, and the presbytery was constituted with prayer by Rev. Mr. Richardson, "he being moderator the last time he was present, and Mr. Knox, the moderator at that time, being detained at home by sickness. The minutes of the last presbytery were read, and Mr. Maltby chosen moderator, which, although it was his turn as a stranger, yet was a disadvantage to what I shall call the orthodox and moderate side, as it put him aside from either speaking or voting, except of giving a casting vote. The first business was to approve or disapprove Mr. T——t's sermon. Messrs. Hewat and Latta gave it great encomiums. Mr. Richardson made several objections, but Mr. Hewat was ready to explain all in an orthodox sense. Mr. Alison, who seems to be a most worthy brother, expressed great dissatisfaction. His observations were most just. Mr. Martin said, if Mr T——t was not orthodox, he was at least very artful, for though the sermon with such explanations

could not be rejected, yet, except his once mentioning the *satisfaction*" [atonement], "any Arian or Socinian might have preached the same. With him I most fully agree. As I had not been present to hear the reasons why he had been appointed to preach on that subject, I said but little, only desired to have some things explained, which I found Mr. H. was ready to do. It passed approved. Then an attempt was made to give him a minute intimating that he was cleared from the charges brought against his orthodoxy by good old Mr. Campbell (Rev. James Campbell, of the Bluff church, N. Carolina) at last presbytery; but as Mr. Campbell had only given in his charges in writing, and these were not read because Mr. T——t was not present and Mr. C. being absent, they were opposed as being false, on which I spoke with some earnestness, which obliged Mr. H. and Mr. L., neither of whom liked to see me there. It was agreed to give him a minute intimating that his sermon was approved, and that no further notice would be taken of any general surmises of his heterodoxy, and that Mr. C. should be written to, and if he did not appear to make his charge against Mr. T. good (both being present at next meeting of presbytery), or send some excuse for not attending for that purpose, that the affair should be dropped. Thus," says Mr. Simpson, perhaps very uncharitably, "was this notorious Arian and Socinian approved and allowed to sit among us, by his artful sermon and dissembling subscription, being supported by those who are of the same sentiments with him."

Mr. Simpson's journal is mostly written in shorthand, only the consonants being noted down. It was his practice especially to abbreviate proper names, giving only the consonants. Who the Rev. Mr. T——t was, so severely charged, we know not. There was a Rev. James Tate who came from Ireland to Wilmington about the year 1760, and for his support opened a classical school, the first one in the place. While residing in Wilmington, he was accustomed to take excursions for preaching through New Hanover and the adjoining counties in North Carolina. In the course of his visits he baptized the children of the Scotch and Irish families without inquiry into the Christian experience of the parents. He received a small fee for each baptism, either in money or in cotton yarn; and this appears to have been all his salary and all the remuneration for his journeyings and services.—(Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, p. 178.) Mr. Simpson was a great advocate for sound doctrine, quick to discover and to suspect error, and insisted much on warm, evangelical piety. The controversy in this

presbytery reminds us much of that between Moderatism and its opponents, and the "New and Old Lights," in Scotland in these and subsequent years.

"The next business," says Mr. Simpson, "was to examine the credentials of two gentlemen, both ordained, who offered themselves to be members. The first was Mr. Henderson, chaplain to the Royal Scots, stationed at present at St. Augustine, who has a call from Edisto, and I believe will accept of it when he receives letters from the governor there [St. Augustine], Colonel Grant, or from the general-in-chief. His testimonies from a presbytery and synod in Scotland were very full, and he was received very unanimously. He seems to be a young man of a very promising countenance, about thirty years of age or better, and in the after-business of the day appeared to be a very sensible and judicious person. The other gentleman was he who preached two Sabbaths at Pon Pon," [Mr. Simpson had before, in his journal, alluded to his suspicion that the presbytery intended to settle him there], "was at Beaufort last week, and a spectator at Wiltown on Sabbath. His credentials were very insufficient. A scrawl on a small bit of paper from one minister in Donegal presbytery to the northward, testifying that he had been two years at Edinburgh in Scotland, studying philosophy, and two years with the great Mr. or rather Dr. Moncrief, professor of divinity to the Anti-Burgher Seceders in Scotland, and afterwards with the subscriber (Proudfoot) to the northward; had joined the above presbytery; was licensed and ordained, but had no charge; brought no letters nor anything else that was genuine, nor any account of his coming out to the southward. Another bit of paper contained an ill-wrote, interlined scrawl, signed by one who called himself Presbytery Clerk, to the same purpose. When asked why he had no mission from the presbytery or synod, he had little to say. When asked why he brought no letters, he said he had some to gentlemen in Virginia, but did not think to come so far as here. When asked why he wanted to be admitted a member with us, he said he liked the country. Some objections were made by all present, except Mr. H., who was most strenuous for his being admitted fully. It was offered to be proved, that the synod to the northward had for some years past an act, that no preacher or minister should be sent to the southward without a mission from the synod, as many worthless young men had come along of their own accord, and done much mischief in the back parts [of the country]; some with forged missions,

others fled from censure. It was also offered to be proved, that the whole presbytery of Donegal was very lately disunited from the synod, and in general looked upon to be very heterodox; but this also was dropped. I insisted most strenuously that he should not be received as a minister, but be admitted to preach within our bounds till he produced better credentials and we heard more of him. Mr. R[ichardson] testified that he was generally refused in the back country for want of credentials. I was once very near carrying it, only to permit him to preach and perform ministerial duties till we hear from the northward; but Mr. H., who was determined to have him in at all events to strengthen their party, said he had never seen me at presbytery before, and did not know whether or not I was to be esteemed a member; and that I had no right to judge there till that question was determined, which he intended to have agitated in the afternoon. This was thought exceedingly rude from him, and had the appearance of breeding bad blood; but I begged the brethren to be silent, and in the afternoon the question should be put, as it was a matter of indifference to me whether I was a member or not. The vote was then put, and all, even those who objected, voted to receive him as a full member, which surprised me much, and gave me great concern, as his practice in those parts where Mr. R. is conversant, has been very unbecoming, and at Pon Pon, the billiard-room and tavern were the only places he liked to frequent; and his whole behavior was very unbecoming a minister or a private Christian. I was also persuaded he will be no honor to the presbytery. But we are now on a trial of strength." \* \* \* "We adjourned and went to dinner all together at Poinsett's, one of the first public-houses in town, where dinner was bespoke. We now made ten ministers in all. All the brethren prayed me not to resent Mr. H.'s conduct; and the moderate party, viz., the moderator, Messrs. Martin, Richardson, and Alison, entreated me not to desert them. I said little, but assured them I would own no fault, nor would I submit to any censure for my absence. They assured me none was intended. We were all very friendly and social at dinner, after which we went back to the meeting-house, and then the question was brought on by reading a minute of the last presbytery desiring the clerk, Mr. Latta, to write me to attend, or to give my reasons for not attending, or they would not any longer look upon me as a member of their body. I informed them I never received

any such letter. Mr. Latta owned he did not write me, as it was agreed the present moderator should write me in a very different strain, which I acknowledged to have received. Mr. H. denied his knowledge of that letter, and said he would not have agreed to have the presbytery beg my attendance. Mr. Latta owned that he consented to that letter, but it was not agreed upon in presbytery. The moderator owned that he wrote by the consent of the rest. Messrs. Martin and Alison owned the same. As I saw they were like to quarrel among themselves, I said I would cut the matter short by giving a general account of my reasons. I then mentioned the liberty I had from the presbytery, on my going to an Independent congregation, to attend or not as I saw proper; that I attended for some years, but could not see the use of it, as the presbytery had no authority over my congregation, and had, under their hands, given up their authority over me, though I reserved my seat in presbytery; that afterwards great sickness and numerous deaths for some years occurred in my congregation, which was well known through the whole province; that at last the sickness attacked and carried off my own family; that since, I had been busily employed in settling a new congregation [Salt Ketcher] and constantly preaching in three vicinages to the southward, the burden of which for several years lay wholly upon myself; that these things taken together, with the liberty I had, constituted my reasons for not attending; that I thought myself better employed than in doing so. Mr. H. wants to deny the liberty spoken of, because it did not appear on the minutes. I gave reasons why it was not there, and offered to prove it by bringing lay witnesses who were then present, the ministers being dead who constituted the presbytery, excepting Mr. Baxter, who for some years has not been looked upon as a member. Mr. H. argued that presbytery then did what they had no right to do. I answered, I did not come to defend that presbytery, who I knew did many things very wrong and arbitrary. They acknowledged my great activity and diligence in the ministry, and some of them said more of my great usefulness in the cause of religion than I choose to repeat, and expressed great satisfaction in seeing me there. Mr. H. was pleased to do the same and to pass some great compliments, but insisted that the authority of presbytery should be kept up, and that I should at least own that I had been negligent, and promise obedience for the time to come. It was answered by Mr. Henderson and others, that my coming there was an

acknowledgment of the authority of presbytery; that I could not be required to acknowledge a fault, as my reasons were really sustained, and it was to be presumed I would attend more constantly. Upon which I got up and answered for myself, that if I had declined or denied the authority of presbytery, I would not have come at all; as for owning myself negligent or in fault, I would not, as I was not conscious of any; neither would I submit to any censure for what was past; that I had promised obedience to the presbytery in the Lord, and was willing to stand to it; that if they as a presbytery withdrew the liberty I formerly received, I would no longer plead that excuse, and that my future attendance was my intention if I saw it would be for edification. Upon which all parties declared their great satisfaction, and none more heartily than Mr. H. He stood up and made an apology for what he had said, adding that he had always been for leaving me entirely to myself, and allowing me to come or not as I thought proper, and applied to the brethren for the truth of what he said; but added further, he was sure Mr. Martin had more cause to apologize than he, for he always thought Mr. Martin treated me with great severity in my absence. Mr. Martin stood up and owned it; but said his high regard and friendship for me was well known; that he thought my absence a great hurt to the presbytery; that it alienated the whole southward from them, and that the greatest body of serious people, both in town and country, were affected by it, and looked shy upon the presbytery on that account; and that what he said and did was not to drive me from, but bring me back to, the presbytery, which was now happily accomplished, and he looked upon it as a most happy circumstance, and that if I never had attended, he would not have consented to their excluding me, and that he thanked God for what he now saw. The honest moderator, too, repeatedly blessed God for it, and none of the old members were silent except Mr. T. The new member, Mr. Henderson, also expressed himself handsomely. In short, many more compliments were paid me on this occasion than I desire or would think it fit for me to express. Mr. Maltby and Mr. Martin could not contain themselves, but kept talking of it after we were gone to Mr. H.'s house, where we drank tea together.

“The next business was a petition from some people in a quarter of the Long Canes, where Mr. Miller, formerly deposed and excommunicated, lives, requesting his being restored to the ministry. Mr. R[ichardson] produced a writing against it,

but without any debate it was rejected. I was requested to give an account of his affairs, being the only member living where they happened. I declined it, and referred them to the books, which it was thought best not to read. Poor creature! he was present, though not seen. The people [of Long Canes] were encouraged to try for the gospel in a better way, and promises were made of assistance to be given them.

"The next thing was the reading of the Beaufort letter, which they were well pleased with, and with what had been done there, and appointed me to supply according to their request, and proceed in doing all the services among them I could. I also obtained the moderator to make them one visit, other supplies were appointed, and the whole was concluded by a most excellent prayer by the moderator. We then went to Mr. Hewat's and drank tea together, with a glass of wine, and parted in great harmony and friendship."

We thus have preserved to us in the diary of Mr. Simpson a very full and contemporaneous account of one of the sessions of the earliest presbytery of South Carolina, of which scarcely any other memorial is in existence. We see it in full operation, its jurisdiction extending, imperfectly perhaps, into the up-country of South Carolina and over a portion of North Carolina, performing its duties with a creditable measure of faithfulness, if not with the utmost harmony among its members. We are admitted in some measure into the social life of Charleston and the adjacent country, and cannot but regret that Mr. Simpson had not been more constant in his attendance upon its sessions, as in his copious and communicative diary we should in that case have possessed a complete history of the ecclesiastical state of the churches of the presbytery through the entire period of his ministry in this country.

Mr. Simpson, by his journal, appears to have been very sedulously employed in the duties of the ministry, not only within the bounds of his own congregation, but in adjacent neighborhoods. On the 2d of October he goes to Charleston to procure land-warrants. He remarks that "there were two hundred that day petitioning for land, a sure sign that the province is thriving." And he thus alludes to the premonitory symptoms of the war of the Revolution: "There was a great confusion in town occasioned by some merchants having imported goods and offering to sell them contrary to the very just and very necessary public resolutions to import only some coarse necessary articles from Great Britain until Parliament repeals

some very cruel and oppressive acts for taxing us contrary to all the principles of liberty and the constitution. Yet such is the avarice of some, that rather than deny themselves the usual profits of trade, they will expose all our posterity to slavery, even though they have signed and solemnly engaged to observe the public resolutions. The general committee at last prevailed with the delinquents to give up their goods to be stored, but not till the mob were just going to tar and feather them, and in that condition to cart them round the town, which has been with good success practised in some of the northward colonies."

The alternate encouragements and discouragements of a gospel minister, are mirrored on almost every page of this journal; the prevalence of wickedness at Jacksonborough gave him great pain. "I was grieved," he says, (Journal, April, 1770,) "to hear of the wickedness which prevailed at Jacksonborough, which is a place of good trade, being by all accounts the most profane place and the most notorious for wickedness in all the province. Great is the need of faithful ministers in this place, and very little is the prospect of usefulness. Wickedness of all sorts is at the greatest height I almost ever heard of. Every species of debauchery is gloried in and boasted of, and that in a place where religion prevailed much and by the posterity of many eminently godly ancestors. These things greatly discourage, grieve, and distress me, and make me tremble at the thoughts of coming among them as their minister." (He had received a call to Bethel, Pon Pon, within whose bounds Jacksonborough was.) Mr. Simpson's plain, faithful, frequent preaching, his constant visiting, praying with, comforting, and exhorting the dying and distressed, rendered him acceptable and beloved by the people of God; and although there were persons prejudiced against him who endeavored to detract from his influence, he was on the whole widely popular. His services were sought for by the neighboring churches. He still labored at the Salt Ketcher church (which he founded) a portion of his time. In addition to this he had an earnest call to settle at Pon Pon, very numerously signed. The people at Beaufort also asked that his services as a supply should be continued to them. His people at Indian Land (Stoney Creek) plead for his continuance among them, and presbytery yielded to their request that he should remain pastor of the church he had so long served. On Lord's-day, April 5th, 1772, after service, he gave an exhortation to the negroes, and gave away some Bibles

and hymn-books and other pious pieces, and a great many spelling-books among them, sent him by some gentleman in New York. "The eagerness and desire of these poor creatures for Christian knowledge," he remarks, "is both pleasant and amazing, as I have lately had occasion to talk with great numbers of them who came to my house for books. I have discovered some very striking instances of true piety and real religion among them, which before I knew not of. I have with great pleasure observed that Christian knowledge and the good effects of it spreads much among these poor slaves, who have great reason to bless God that they were ever brought into this land of captivity, where many of them are brought into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. The slavery of these poor creatures is in general not worse than the service of the laboring part of mankind over the whole world in the freest nations, and far from being so severe as was the state of the common people in Europe some centuries ago, and is still the condition of many European nations. Their service and labor is absolutely necessary for the improvement of this province, it being undeniably evident that white people cannot possibly labor and cultivate the lands in these lower parts of the country; and undoubtedly the bringing these people to this country is a most wise and merciful providence both for them and us and the European nations generally, when our rice, which can only be cultivated in such a climate and such low lands, is in the greatest demand, and is yearly more and more so, being the food and nourishment of thousands." In June, 1772, Mr. Simpson sailed from Charleston for Scotland with his two daughters, for whose education he was anxious to provide, taking two of his servants with him; took his leave of Indian Land (Stoney Creek) church on the 24th of May, 1772, in a farewell discourse from Col. iv. 18, delivered to a numerous congregation, deeply moved at parting with their pastor who had labored among them faithfully for seventeen years. On the 3d of June he sailed from Charleston for Scotland. His original intention was to have returned in about eighteen months to the scene of his labors in Carolina, and he made a strenuous effort to do so in June, 1774; but the war between the colonies and Great Britain soon interposed insurmountable obstacles. On the 3d of August, 1774, on examination of his American credentials, he was received a member of the Established Church of Scotland, and became minister of the new church or chapel at Port Glasgow, where his preaching was largely attended and remarkably blessed. On

the 16th of August, 1775, for example, he admitted to the communion "in the morning about one hundred and sixty-five, and more in the afternoon, being mostly young persons converted within the last twelve months." At the communion which followed, on Lord's-day, 27th, of which his journal gives a full description, seventeen tables were served. "About seven at night," he says, "I went down and served the last table. There were about eighteen hundred communicants." During all this time he was receiving pressing invitations from his people to return. His heart was with America in all its troubles, and his denunciations of the tyranny of the British government were most emphatic. The analogy between the war then waging and that in America under the Lincoln dynasty is most striking. Tuesday, October 10th, 1775, he received accounts from Carolina "of the most dreadful confusion and distress prevailing there, so that the ruin of that most flourishing province seems inevitable. The provincial congress, who meet from time to time to watch over the rights and liberties of the people, have intercepted letters from the ministers of state to their tools in that province, persuading them to stir up the Indians to fall upon the white people, to subdue them to the tyranny of government, and to stir up the negroes to a general insurrection for the same horrid purpose. This has exasperated the people there almost to madness. And as the king's fleets and troops were to support the Indians and negroes in this most villainous affair, the whole province is now in arms to oppose the king's troops, who were daily expected when these letters were wrote (August 19th.\*)" April 27th, 1776: "This day there has been a great concourse of people about this town and Greenock to see a large fleet of transports set off for America, aboard of which are three thousand Highlanders to be employed to subdue that country and forge chains for that brave people, which will undoubtedly revert upon ourselves, and destroy our liberty as well as theirs, if the tyrannical measures of government take place. But I hope God will order it otherwise. People in this poor unhappy land are so blinded to their own destruction that there is nothing to be heard but curses and abuses of the poor Americans, and vain boasts of what vengeance and destruction shall fall upon them by fire and sword, the absolute conquest and desolation of the provinces being determined on by the ministry. These things are very grievous and distressing to me, yet am obliged to hear them daily and hourly, and render it very difficult to determine what course

to steer, both in private conversation and public prayers, so as not to wound my own conscience nor to give offence to any." \* \* \* "There have between thirty and forty thousand land forces sailed for America this spring, a great part of whom are Germans, besides many ships of war. Yet the Americans are making a brave, noble defence, and they have met with great losses, and have hitherto had great success. Great pains is also taken to divide them among themselves, and, though there are not wanting traitors and ministerial tools amongst them, yet there is a most amazing and surprising unanimity. The English and Irish are much averse to this horrid war. The base and degenerate part of the Scots are the principal tools employed to enslave the brave Americans, which forbodes awful things to this poor back-slidden land, of whom there are yet, blessed be God, many brave and free spirits who write nobly in defence of the American cause." His journal is full of these allusions to American affairs, and his prayers were earnest and frequent for the success of the colonies. On the 25th of April, 1778, he is "surprised to see such numbers of people on the beach and the town in a great commotion. On inquiry, learned that Capt. Crawford, of one of the king's cutters, had brought in account that yesterday morning, somewhere off the Loch of Belfast, an American privateer had taken a small sloop of war named the Drake; that the captain, first lieutenant, and twenty-six men were killed; that it had happened so near this river, that Capt. Crawford being in some of the lochs, heard the firing, and that he went out, but the firing was over. We had received accounts yesterday that the same privateer, about the middle of the week, had gone to Lord Selkirk's house, near Kilcudbright, and plundered it of all the plate, but took nothing else. His lordship at London; that they had behaved with great politeness to Lady Selkirk, refusing her gold watch and jewels though offered them, and that on the same night of April the 23d they had landed two of their boats with a number of their men at Whitehaven, spiked up some of the cannon, and set fire to some ships there; but that one of their number deserting, gave the alarm, and that only two of the ships were much damaged, the rest were got out in time, and the crew made off to their ship. \* \* \* Thus we are unhappily destroying one another, and all Europe is amazed at our folly and madness." The reference thus made is to the noted expedition of John Paul Jones in the *Ranger*, who alarmed the whole coast of Scotland, and returned to Brest with two hundred prisoners of war.

Meanwhile the CHURCH OF STONEY CREEK seems to have done what lay in their power to provide for their outward prosperity and spiritual wants. On the 8th of December, 1772, there is found on their minutes a new deed, which recites that Mr. Simpson had left; that the trustees had neglected the interests of the church and refused to account. This deed confirms the old one in some particulars, and amends it in some few. The terms of membership are extended to all Protestant residents in the parish residing within twenty miles of Stoney Creek who shall subscribe the deed and contribute two pounds current money per annum for three years, both unmarried women above twenty and men above twenty-one: provided that no vote should be valid which tended to alter the character of the church as an Independent dissenting church.\* (These terms have recently been altered so as to give, in secular matters, a vote to all who contribute ten dollars per annum, with the same proviso.—MS. Sketch of the History of Stoney Creek Church, by Wm. F. Hutson.)

On the 8th of February, 1773, the treasurer's account shows that a Mr. Kirkpatrick began to preach for them on trial, for of that date is this entry: "To a light half joe, and a guinea given Mr. Kirkpatrick for the two first sermons preached upon trial, £19 19s." By various entries, such as cash paid him, negro-hire, house-rent, store-bills, &c., paid for him, it seems he remained until June, 1774. Among these entries occurs the following: "To cash p<sup>d</sup> Jacob Vanbibber for a gal. of wine had for funeral of Mr. Kirkpatrick's child."—(MS. Sketch.) In Mr. Simpson's Diary, Saturday, June 5th, he says, "Last night received a letter from Dr. Cuthbert of Carolina, informing me of the sale of Indian Land parsonage-negroes, and of the parsonage-house and lands, where I enjoyed so many comforts and met with so many trials: and that the whole funds, now turned into money at interest, were about £7000 currency, or £1000 sterling; whereas, when Dr. Cuthbert and I took the care of them when I first settled among them, they were worth

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\* The deed of 1772 is signed by Wm. Maine, Charles Browne, Thomas Hutson, Wm. Ferguson, sen<sup>r</sup>, Chas. Palmer, Wm. Lambright, Ulysses McPherson, Joseph Brailsford, Thomas Cater, John Fenwick, Jacob Vanbibber, Jas. Patterson, Patrick Bower, Jno. McDougall, Stephen Bull, John Perkins, Josh. McPherson, Alex. Fitzgerald, Seth John Cuthbert, David Toomer, Rachael McPherson, Jean Metril, Martha Shaw, John McTeer, John Vanden, James Miles, George Threadcroft, William Starling, Stephen Bull, jr, Jno. Keating, Esther Prescott, Jno. Prioleau, Jno. Frero, Thomas De Saussure, Henry De Saussure, John Simmons, John McPherson, and Aaron Gillet—being 39 in number.

little or nothing at all. And that in February last they had a hearing of one Mr. Kirkpatrick from Ireland, a Presbyterian minister, who came in with some Irish emigrants; and being in want of a place, it was thought he would settle there, tho' none of the old standards were for it. This account of Indian Land gave me great satisfaction in every particular, except," etc.

The exception is, that he feared that the control of the congregation was falling into hands less favorable to vital godliness. Mr. Kirkpatrick occupied the pulpit from February, 1773, to June, 1774. June 7th, 1774, there was paid by the treasurer to Mr. Jos. Cooke, for two sermons, £20 7s.; Dec. 24th, 1774, to Mr. James Edmonds, for two sermons, £10. Some time in the year 1774 Mr. James Gourlay came into the parish, and probably preached a few times on trial, but the first formal mention of him is an entry in the minute-book of the trustees: "Jan. 1, 1775, Mr. James Gourlay preached for the first time as the regular minister of the church."—(MS. Sketch.) The Rev. James Gourlay was sometime minister of the parish of Tullicoultry, in the county of Clackmannan, Scotland. He had also been tutor in the family of Lord Cathcart, his majesty's commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. He came to America, bearing letters of recommendation from Hugh Williamson of Edinburgh to Dr. Francis Alison of Philadelphia, and from Dr. Ewing to Rev. Joseph Montgomery of Delaware, bearing high testimony to his excellent character and his ability as a preacher. These recommendations were supported by the high testimony of Lord Cathcart. Mr. Gourlay was received by the presbytery of New Brunswick from the presbytery of Stirling in 1774-5. The presbytery was required to present to the synod of New York and Philadelphia the certificate on which they received him.—(Minutes, pp. 462-3.)

Mr. Simpson was consulted by the friends of Mr. Gourlay about his going to America, and something may have been said in this consultation which directed the attention of Mr. Gourlay to the church of Stoney Creek. He was about forty-two years of age when he became pastor of this church, and remained in this relation for twenty-eight years.

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### CHAPTER III.

OF the other Presbyterian churches of the Low Country we must have much less to say, the materials being so exceedingly scanty. Even the little we have has been gleaned chiefly

from the voluminous journal of Mr. Simpson, who was pastor of an Independent church.

Of the FRENCH PROTESTANT CHURCH in CHARLESTON, we only know from his church register that Barthelemi Henri Himeli remained its pastor down to 1773, when he returned to his own country on a visit, which continued to November, 1785. His last entry is on the 24th of May, when he married Jean Robertson to Anne McGra. There are three entries by Pierre Levrier, pasteur de l'église François, of the 19th of January, 1775; the 20th of August, 1776; and the 2d of August, 1778. A list, since furnished by Daniel Ravenel, Esq., gives his pastorate as extending from 1774 to 1785.

Mr. Ravenel is of the opinion, "from proceedings in the lost minutes, that he was never the pastor of this church, but had served it temporarily, and perhaps at different periods when the church was vacant. I remember," says he, "when a boy, having seen him very aged and infirm, with thin flowing hair perfectly white. He had long been a teacher of French in Charleston. The proceeding to which I have referred arose out of an inquiry connected with his need of assistance. For a considerable time he received from the church four dollars per week, and an order on the minutes directed that 'half-a-dozen of the best old Madeira wine should be sent him occasionally.'"

The Presbyterian Church on EDISTO ISLAND was served by Rev. Thomas Henderson (Ramsay, vol. ii., Appendix, p. 559), of whom some account was given in the diary we have quoted on p. 378. It is there said that he came out to this country as chaplain to the Royal Scots, then stationed at St. Augustine, that his testimonials from Scotland were ample, and that he was at this time about thirty years of age. The first impression he made on Mr. Simpson was very favorable. He succeeded Rev. John McLeod, who came out also, as we have seen, as chaplain to a Highland regiment. We do not know how long Mr. Henderson continued in connection with this church. Early in 1775 he was dwelling in Rev. Mr. Simpson's house, and ministering as a lately ordained minister to the Salt Ketcher church.—(Journal, Feb. 23d, 1775.) Whether he continued still to serve the congregation on Edisto we have no means of ascertaining. The probability is that his connection with Edisto terminated soon after this, unless he served a plurality of churches, for he ministered to Wilton church in 1776, 1777, and 1780.

JAMES ISLAND.—In May, 1770, Mr. Simpson speaks of Mr.

Hugh Alison as pastor of the Presbyterian church on James Island. "Hugh Alison can come to town in three quarters of an hour from his own house." He again alludes to him when he preached in "the White or New England Meeting" in Charleston; he says, "took tea at Daniel Legare's, where was a considerable company present, and among others, Rev. Mr. Hugh Alison the Presbyterian minister of James Island was there. He dispatched service at his own meeting-house early, and came over time enough for this afternoon's sermon. Had some conversation with him about presbytery."

Of the subsequent history of Mr. Alison and of the Presbyterian church on James Island we have but little knowledge. He left the island, it is said, on the advent of the British, and resided with his family in Charleston, where he died.

Fort Johnson, about three miles from Charleston and on the most northern extremity of the island, was taken possession of by the revolutionary committee on the 15th of September, 1775, and in the course of that year an additional battery was erected. It was on this fort that the blue flag with a silver crescent in the corner, devised by Moultrie, was unfurled. The British, under Prevost, took possession of the island after his unsuccessful expedition against the city of Charleston, in May, 1779, but soon after abandoned it. All their churches must have been much broken up and interrupted during the war of the Revolution.

Presbyterian Church on JOHN'S ISLAND.—Of this church Rev. James Latta was pastor, and attended the presbytery of South Carolina from that church in May, 1770. Mr. Simpson blaming the irregularity with which members convene at presbytery, says, "Mr. Latta on John's Island can be in town in four hours from his house." Mr. Latta was at that time clerk of presbytery. He sided with Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Hewat generally, in opposition to Mr. Simpson, and those who sympathized with him.

Towards the latter part of the period of which we now write, John's Island was involved in the troubles of the war of the Revolution. The following extract from a MS. history of the Legare family by Mrs. Flud, one of the descendants of the emigrant Solomon Legare, shows what these troubles were, and mentions some interesting incidents in the life of Thomas Legare, an influential and pious member of the Independent church in Charleston, and a worshipper and supporter of the Presbyterian congregation on the island.

"He was a zealous patriot and good soldier during the revolution. His son

James served also at a very early age as an officer. His family suffered greatly from the depredations of the British soldiery, but were all preserved by the remarkable providence of God.\* Soon after the commencement of hostilities he was ordered with a party of gentlemen, his neighbors, on John's Island, to Chaplin's Point, on Kiawaw river, near Stono Inlet, as a look-out guard on that portion of the coast. Thither their families assembled to spend a day with them at the encampment. Mrs. Legare refused to accompany them, as it was no time, in her view, for merry-making, when their country was in so great distress. After reaching the place and depositing the viands they had brought with them, they descried in the distance, as they supposed, their husbands returning from a reconnoitering excursion in a boat, with another in pursuit which they took to belong to the British. This occasioned an immediate stampede of the ladies, who left all the provisions behind them and fled in the greatest trepidation. It proved, however, that the first boat was manned with negroes, and the hindermost boat containing the gentlemen, were pursuing them for mere amusement. Soon after this the British troops actually landed on Simmons' Island, which is separated from John's Island by a small creek, and the gentlemen, in great alarm, removed their families to Charleston. On this occasion, the silver and other valuables were buried by Mrs. Humphreys, the overseer's wife, and two negroes, and remained in concealment till peace was declared, and though one of the negroes afterwards joined the British the treasure never was betrayed. His trunk of papers, which was left on the piazza of Mr. John Freer, was kept safely for him, he having taken British protection. Mr. Legare returned for the papers, but hearing from a negro that the British were already on the island and were at the Presbyterian meeting-house, he went no farther. He asked the black man to take a note for him to Mr. Freer. 'No, sir,' said he, 'for the English will take it from me; but they cannot make me talk unless I choose: so if you tell me what you want I will go and tell Mr. Freer.' To this wise proposition Mr. Legare gladly assented. The negro was faithful and the papers were safely kept till the close of the war. The British took possession of Mr. Legare's horses which were tied at the ferry.

"The families afterwards returned, and were quiet for a season; but when General Prevost took possession of Wappoo Cut and James Island, in 1779,

\* Thomas Legare, second son of Solomon Legare, and Mary Stock, at seven years of age, was brought under conviction of sin, and became pious at fifteen. He married Eliza Basnett, daughter of Mr. John Basnett, sent out by George III. as king's councillor in chancery. Miss Basnett was brought up in worldliness. Yet on her marriage she promised to conform to his religious opinions and customs. She became deeply convicted of sin under Whitefield's preaching, and continued in deep spiritual despondency till she obtained peace under a sermon of Dr. Percy's on Rev. ii. 17, "I will give you a white stone," etc. Mr. Legare was a sincere Christian but a desponding one. Mr. Whitefield on one occasion tried for hours to convince him it was his duty to make a profession of religion, but without success. At last he started up exclaiming, "Well, well, my friend, if you *will be damned*, then go on fighting and striving to the end, and hell will be all the cooler for it at the last." This speech had an electrical effect upon Mr. Legare's mind, for he instantly perceived that his very struggles against sin was evidence of his being in a gracious state. Mr. Legare, notwithstanding his fear of making a profession of religion without possessing it, was very faithful as a Christian in reproving the profane and maintaining the honor of religion. He was instrumental in the conversion of Bernard Elliott, brother-in-law of Dr. Percy, from his deistical opinions, as Mr. Elliott gratefully owned to him on his dying bed.

their troubles commenced. A company of militia, composed chiefly of the inhabitants of John's and the neighboring islands, commanded by Capt. Benjamin Matthews, and a company of Port Royal militia, led by Capt. Robert Barnwell, were stationed at Raven's settlement, now [in 1855] owned by Mr. Burden. A little north of them, on James Island, was the British encampment. Capt. Matthews marched his men down to the bank of the Stono, parading them in view of the enemy. Mr. Legare remonstrated with Capt. M., who resented the interference.

"Mr. Legare addressed Capt. M. after the parade was over, telling him 'tomorrow would prove whether he had acted wisely or not. The British on James Island have, with the aid of their glasses, counted every man you have. They will cross the river to-night, surprise your sentinels, and take you all prisoners of war. Now, as I have no wish to fall so ingloriously into their hands, I request you to send me to join the guards at Chaplin's Point.' After laughing at Mr. Legare's unnecessary fears, he acceded to the proposition. His son, Lieut. James Legare, who became a commissioned officer at the early age of sixteen, remained with Capt. M., and the whole party were surprised and taken, as Mr. L. predicted.

"Thomas Fenwick, not known then to be a Tory, visited the party at Raven's settlement, supped with them, and elicited many particulars from them. After he left, the officers placed two sentinels on guard and retired to rest. About midnight, one party of the British crossed in boats, another came by the way of Fenwick's, and advanced by land under his guidance. When the British appeared at the door of the apartment in which Capt. Barnwell and a number of his men were, and demanded their surrender, Capt. B. called out to know what quarter they were to have. 'No quarter to rebels,' was the reply. 'Then, men, defend yourselves to the last—Charge!' exclaimed Capt. B. In an instant the click of every gun was heard as it was cocked and presented in the faces of the enemy, who immediately fell back. Presently a sergeant of the British put his head into the door, exclaiming, 'Surrender yourselves prisoners of war, and you shall have honorable quarters.' 'What grade do you hold?' asked Barnwell; 'and what authority have you for the promise, if we accept the terms?' 'I am but a sergeant in command, but my word is as good as any officer's in his majesty's service.' On this assurance Capt. B. and his men surrendered their arms, but the British soldiers commenced an attack upon them with their bayonets, wounding them cruelly, especially Barnwell and Barns, who were each pierced by seventeen bayonet wounds.

"After the surprise John's Island was left to the mercy of the British army. The prisoners were taken to the British camp, and the rest of the men paroled on their plantations, which they were not to leave, on pain of death. The king's officers billeted themselves on families which they found most agreeable, generally selecting those where they found pleasant or pretty young ladies. Mr. Legare's house was often plundered; but the room of his old aunt Ellis, who was in the habit of going to prayer for divine protection whenever the alarm of their approach was given, though her room was on the first floor and had many valuables stored away in it, it was never invaded. \* \* \*

"Mr. Legare, learning that misrepresentations were made to Governor Rutledge unfavorable to him, left the island in the night at the peril of his life, went to Charleston to have an interview with the governor, and returned before day. On his way home he encountered the British guards, but was wonderfully delivered."—(MS. Hist. of the Legare Family, by Mrs. Flud.)

The last pastor whose name we have met with as connected with the John's Island church during this period was the Rev. James Latta.

**WILTON CHURCH.**—On page 319 we have made mention of a call extended by this church through the old presbytery of South Carolina to Rev. John Maltby, dated at Charleston, May 17th, 1769. This is probably the time and place of the meeting of presbytery authorizing this call. From Mr. Simpson's journal of Monday, January 1st, 1770, we learn that Mr. Maltby had been installed over this church about the middle of December, 1769. He has spoken of him as early as October 15th, 1769. He was reported in 1770 as having been dismissed from the presbytery of New York to join the presbytery of South Carolina. Rev. John Maltby was the son of Capt. William Maltby, of New Haven, Connecticut. His mother was a sister of James Davenport, and daughter of Rev. John Davenport of Stamford, Connecticut, and a descendant of Rev. Abraham Pierson, first minister of Newark. Being early left a widow, she married in 1735 the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock of Lebanon, Connecticut, the founder of Moore's Indian Charity School and of Dartmouth College. Mr. Maltby was graduated at Yale in 1747, and was a tutor in Nassau Hall from 1749 to 1752. He probably studied divinity with President Burr. From MS. letters of Mr. Maltby to Rev. Josiah Smith of Charleston, now in our possession, we learn that he was ordained by the presbytery of New York at Elizabeth Town, April 9th, 1751, and that the sermon was preached by Caleb Smith, the charge given by Mr. Pierson, and the right-hand of fellowship by Aaron Burr. These letters are written from Bermuda, where Mr. Smith had been pastor before him. We are informed by Webster (Hist. of the Presbyterian Church, p. 676) that application being made by the people of Bermuda to Ebenezer Pemberton of Boston for a minister, he applied to Bellamy and Wheelock to recommend a suitable person, and that he was in this way introduced to their notice. He married in the Island of Bermuda, Susannah, the daughter of Capt. John Darrell.—(Letter to Rev. Josiah Smith, November 6th, 1762.) Mr. Simpson speaks of her as a very amiable woman, exceedingly engaging in her whole appearance and carriage. She died probably of climate fever in August, 1770, less than a year after the settlement of Mr. Maltby at Wilton, aged thirty-one years. Their daughter, born in Bermuda, July 9th, 1769, died July 17th, 1770, as their headstones, still standing at "the Burnt Church," declare. He was moderator of the presbytery of South Carolina at its sessions in Charleston, May, 1770. Mr. Simpson, April 21st, 1771, speaks of Mr. Maltby's own health as having been much impaired.

"He looks as if he would not live long in this world," and on November 4th he "is informed of his death in New England, his native land, whither he had gone for his health, and of the death of the Rev. Mr. Thomas, in the city of New York, both very gracious men and worthy ministers of Christ." On leaving Wiltown for his health, he went to his step-father's, Eleazer Wheelock, D. D., president of Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, where he died. His tombstone, the earliest in the cemetery at Dartmouth, bears the following inscription :

"Here rests the body of y<sup>e</sup> Rev'd JOHN MALTBY, born at New Haven in Connecticut, August y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup>, A. D. 1727. Graduated at Yale College A. D. 1747. Minister to a Presbyterian Church at Bermuda and then at Wilton, South Carolina. A strenuous assertor of the doctrines of Grace, convinced of original Guilt, and confiding in y<sup>e</sup> Sole Righteousness of Christ, Justifier of Lost Man before God. In preaching zealous and pathetic, in his devotions fervent, his sermons judicious, correct and instructive, his stile manly and solemn, of manners gentle, polite, and humane, of strong mental endowments, embellished with Sacred and Polite Literature. In his friendship cordial, sincere, and trusty. Detesting Craft, Dissimulation, and Fraud, he dy'd September 30, A. D. 1771, *ætat.* 45."

Mr. Maltby was succeeded by Rev. John Martin, of the church of Wappetaw. The first notice of Mr. Martin in the papers of Wilton church is in 1773, when he is incidentally mentioned as resident minister. He became pastor of that church early in 1772. Mr. Simpson, May 28th, 1772, speaks of proceeding "towards Wiltown," "and afterwards to the Rev. Mr. Martin's, lately removed here with his fine family." In one of the papers of the Wilton church it is stated Mr. Martin died in June, 1774.\* He left a son, Mr. Hawkins Martin, who hired the parsonage for one year. He was succeeded in 1775 by Oliver Reese, a licentiate of the presbytery of New Brunswick.—(Minutes, Synod of New York and Philada., p. 451.) Among the church papers are the minutes of a meeting of either the presbytery of South Carolina or a committee ap-

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\* "Death of the Rev. John Martin, A. M., minister at Wiltown.—He was an animated evangelical preacher. His abilities, natural and acquired, were very great, and all devoted to the service of God and his country. What he preached in the pulpit his life preached out of it; the tenor of his behavior being, as it were, a practical comment on that pure religion he warmly recommended to others. In his life there was not a good action scattered here and there, but, like the Milky Way, it was thick set with the genuine fruits of sincere piety and active benevolence. The doctrines of grace he firmly believed and invariably preached, and on them rested his soul's salvation. He welcomed death with such a heaven-born tranquillity as would have extorted a wish from the sons of vice and folly that they might die the death of the righteous, and their last end be like his."—(South Car. Gaz., July 4th, 1774.)

pointed by them, or most probably a council after the congregational order, to ordain him to the ministry and install him as pastor of the church. They bear date Pon Pon, 27th March, 1775. The ministers present were Rev. James Edmonds, Rev. J. J. Zubly, D. D., and Rev. William Tennent. They met at the house of Abram Haynes. Mr. Edmonds was the moderator. The examination of Mr. Reese having been sustained, they ordained him to the ministry and installed him as pastor of the church. He seems to have commenced his ministry under happy auspices. Among the accounts of the church is a bill of one Christian Mote against the trustees for a dinner furnished for "50 persons and 15 boys" (!), (amounting to £77), "at the ordination of the Rev. Oliver Reese." There is also a bill against "*the estate of Rev. Oliver Reese,*" of a tailor named Long, for "two suits of cloaths," at a cost of £20. These items give us a glimpse of the proceedings at the ordination of Mr. Reese. It is probable that he was a young man of promise. The congregation seem to have rejoiced at securing him as their pastor in these troublous times. But his connection with them and his work on earth were alike brief. He was soon summoned to his account. He died either in the same year or the succeeding, as mention is made of Rev. Thomas Henderson as ministering to the church in 1776.—(MS. Notes on Wilton Church, by J. L. Girardeau.) Of the introduction of Mr. Henderson to the presbytery of South Carolina we have spoken p. 379. In 1777 and 1780 he is mentioned as pastor of this church. Previous to his ministry it had lost three ministers by death in the short space of five years.

BEAUFORT.—The Presbyterian flock in this place had had the occasional services of Rev. Archibald Simpson down to the time of his return to Scotland in 1772. In his journal he speaks of visiting Beaufort March 19th, 1770, and having conversation with Dr. Cuthbert about erecting a new meeting-house in that place. It was proposed to make collections for it, "to get a congregation settled, and a dissenting minister fixed between this and the island of St. Helena. He stayed with Mr. Daniel de Saussure, who was the eldest son of Henry de Saussure of Lausanne, in France, who emigrated to Carolina in 1731 and settled near Coosawhatchie, where he lived and died and where his monument is still found. Daniel de Saussure was born at Pocotaligo, and removed to the town of Beaufort in 1767, where he conducted the largest commercial establishment in the province out of Charleston.

“Daniel de Saussure took an early and active part in the revolutionary struggle, and when the troubles broke out, was elected member of the Provincial Congress of South Carolina, from Beaufort, which he continued to represent until his removal to Charleston in 1779. In 1775, when the question of declaring independence was anxiously discussed, he was sent, in conjunction with Mr. Powell, to Georgia, to stimulate the energies of that people and confer with them as to the plan and means of resistance. When our relations with England were broken off, he was the first in South Carolina to open a trade with France. Early in 1777 he sailed in his own brig, with a cargo of rice and indigo, to Nantes, where he established a commercial correspondence, long afterwards kept up, and brought back a large and valuable cargo to Charleston. While in France he determined to visit the land of his fathers, and passed into Switzerland. Here he found numerous relations who received him with great cordiality and kindness. The authorities at Lausanne presented him with the medal of the Canton (still preserved in the family), to which every head of a family in the Canton was entitled. At their request he recorded the names of his children in the town books at Lausanne, which gave them the right of citizenship. Visiting Geneva, he became acquainted with his distinguished relative, Professor de Saussure, with whom he continued to correspond for years. He was a resident of Beaufort when the British, in December, 1778, advanced with a formidable armament to the attack of Savannah. A transport laden with troops and horses grounded on the shoals near St. Helena. Mr. de Saussure, at that time commanding a volunteer company in Beaufort, proceeded with a part of this company in a barge to reconnoitre the vessel. Finding her to belong to the enemy, they boarded her and brought her into Beaufort, with the troops and two British captains as prisoners of war.

“The founder of the De Saussure family was Antoine de Saussure, who lived in the sixteenth century in Lorraine. The family name is derived from the borough of Saussure, formerly in their possession. The father of Antoine was Mongin de Saussure, lord of Dommartin and Monteuil, Counsellor of State and Grand Falconer under the Duke of Lorraine. Anthony de Saussure embraced the reformed religion and abandoned Lorraine in 1551. He was one of the chief instruments in the establishment of Protestantism in Metz, Strasburgh, and Neuchâtel, where he successively resided. He lived for some time in Geneva, where he was on terms of intimacy with Calvin. Jean Louis de Saussure performed gallant service in 1712 in the battles of Bremgarten and Wilmergen, and the States of Berne erected his estate into a barony and conferred on him the title of ‘*noble and generous*.’

“The descendants of Henry de Saussure, the emigrant, in 1841 were one hundred and twenty-nine in number, all but ten residents of South Carolina. His third son, Louis, received a mortal wound at the siege of Savannah: His fourth son was killed in one of the skirmishes which preceded the capture of Cornwallis. His eldest son was the Daniel de Saussure, of whom we now speak, who bore arms at the siege of Charleston, was kept in close confinement in St. Augustine till the exchange of prisoners in 1781; was sent to Philadelphia, where he received an appointment in the bank of Robert Morris. He was afterwards president of the bank of the United States, in Charleston, till his death; was a member of the legislature from 1783 till 1791; was president of the Senate at its first session in Columbia, and died in July, 1798. His eldest child and only son was Henry William de Saussure, the distinguished chancellor, who was born at Pocotaligo, August 16th, 1763, and died on the 26th of March, 1839.”—(Judge Harper’s Memoir of Hon. Henry William de Saussure, Charleston, 1841.)

The Presbyterian church being out of repair, the use of the

Episcopal church was requested for Mr. Simpson to preach in on Lord's-day, April the 8th, but it was refused. April 8th, being Lord's-day, he preached to a large and interested audience, and says the effort to build a new church seems to prosper. He afterwards hears that the devil is stirring up great opposition to our designs at Beaufort. At the communion at his own church, which he characterizes as "a great day of the Lord," he says, "the Beaufort people were there;" and that he "received a letter from Dr. Cuthbert and Mr. Bowman acquainting presbytery of their doing." "With this letter the presbytery was well pleased, and appointed me to supply according to their requests, and to proceed in doing among them all the services I could. I also obtained the moderator (Mr. Maltby) to make them a visit, and other supplies were appointed." On his way home he obtained a subscription of £70 currency from Mr. Hutson, "a young man about twenty or twenty-four years old, eldest son of the minister, who lives partly in Charleston and partly at his plantation, about six miles from his own residence," and whom he describes as wealthy. There are repeated notices of his preaching at Beaufort. April 14th, 1771, he says, "as the church minister is gone to Charleston, had a large auditory." At this visit he "married a young couple, Robert Oar [Orr], a grandson of the Rev. William Oar [Orr], a Presbyterian minister who, many years ago, lived and preached for many years on this island, a worthy man, a good scholar, but of no very great preaching gifts; and Susan Dix, a descendant also of the Oar family, and a half cousin to the young man." "Mr. Bowman had the subscription for building the meeting-house and obtained some names to it." He understands there will be a letter to the presbytery from Port Royal requesting a continuance of his services. He preaches at Beaufort and interests himself in obtaining subscriptions for the new meeting-house down to his sailing for Scotland. From entries in his journal after he reaches Scotland it appears that they were anxious for his return and that his heart longed to be with them and his dear people of "Indian Land."

THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CHARLESTON.—From the preceding pages it will be seen that this was regarded as the central church of the Presbyterian order, and was the place where the meetings of presbytery were usually held. From 1770 to some time in 1776, the Rev. Dr. Hewat continued to be its pastor. In the year last named he returned to Europe, but the exact day on which he sailed has not been ascertained.

There is evidence on record that he presided at the meeting of the session on the 22d of November, 1773, and again on the 23d of May, 1774. On the 9th of May, 1775, it is recorded that the Rev. James Latta was married to Sarah Wilson by virtue of a license from his Honor the Lieutenant-governor (then the Hon. William Bull) directed to Rev. Alexander Hewat. On the 9th of May, 1775, he was therefore still in Charleston. It is highly probable he remained till some time in 1776; for, in vol. ii., p. 299, of his History, he states that the capital of the South Carolina Society in that year "had arisen to a sum not less than £68,787 10s. 3d.;" and it is by no means probable that he would have obtained this minute information after he left the country. A tradition exists that he was intimate in the family of Governor Bull, and was essentially assisted by him in obtaining the materials for his History. This History appeared in London in 1779. The near approach of the war between the colonies and the mother country is believed to have been the reason which induced him to leave Carolina. His attachment to those who had been his flock here continued, and was cordially reciprocated by them. When in 1792 the congregation sent to Scotland for a pastor, Dr. Hewat was associated with Rev. Drs. Robertson and Blair in the commission. His absence from Edinburgh alone prevented him from joining in its execution. From this time till the 28th of September, 1820, we have little information of Dr. Hewat on which we can rely, except what may be gleaned from his sermons, in two volumes, published in London in 1803-1805. He was married to a widow lady of Carolina (Mrs. Barksdale), who had visited Europe for the benefit of the health of two of her children. He continued to correspond with some of his former friends in Charleston. It is believed he had a pastoral charge near London, and spent the latter part of his life in or near that city. On the 28th of September, 1820, he addressed a letter to George Edwards of Charleston, South Carolina, from the Carolina Coffee-house, Birchen-lane, Cornhill—a resort formerly well known to all gentlemen of Carolina who visited London. He is believed to have died in 1828 or early in 1829. He remembered the people of his church in Charleston in his will, and left them a legacy of £50 sterling, which was received by the treasurer of the church October 4th, 1829. The History of Dr. Hewat is brought down to the period of the Revolution, the initial scenes of which it briefly describes, is written in a pleasing style, but exhibits towards its close the spirit of the Royalist. His

sermons are chiefly on duties rather than doctrines; but in the few doctrinal discourses we discover no proclivity towards those doctrinal errors (save perhaps in a single passage, and this of a doubtful character) of which Mr. Simpson seems to have suspected him. The notices we have before given of the meetings of presbytery show how considerable was his influence over his co-presbyters. We have not ascertained by whom the Presbyterian church in Charleston was supplied during the last four years of this decade. In the confusion of the times there was probably much irregularity in this as in other churches as to the ordinances of the gospel and the worship of God's house.—(Hon. Mitchell King, in Sprague's Annals, vol. iii., p. 250.)

The PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF CAINHOY was in existence in 1778. It is called in the Statutes at Large, vol. viii., p. 119, "The Presbyterian Church of Caintroy in St. Thomas's parish." The charter bears date the 9th day of October, 1778.

BETHEL, PON PON, was without a pastor in 1770, and on Lord's-day, April 15th, in this year, Mr. Simpson records his concern at hearing that presbytery designed to settle over that church a minister who it was thought would not be acceptable to the most serious part of the people. He was himself called to this pastorate, and in April, 1771, he says, "Mr. L[ambert] of Pon Pon brought up the call with him, signed by more than fifty people, and more to sign it, which is a very great number in the lower part of this province, and especially in a place where the dissenting interest was quite gone." He subsequently says the Pon Pon call is signed by more than seventy persons. It miscarried at presbytery, and Mr. Simpson was continued at Indian Land (Stoney Creek). Rev. James Gourlay appears to have divided his labors between this church and Stoney Creek through the remainder of this de-cennium. This church was incorporated under the new constitution of South Carolina in 1778.

THE SALTKETCHER CHURCH.—From the journal of its founder, June 20th, 1770, we learn that £900 were subscribed towards enlarging the church edifice; that at the sacrament of the Lord's supper, July 22d, there were eighty or eighty-one communicants; that on May 7th, 1771, one-half of the salary due him for the first four years was yet unpaid; that on the 6th of April, 1772, before he leaves for Scotland, he deposits a paper with the trustees, promising that if he did not return

before the following January he would leave his dwelling-house, books, and every necessary his plantation affords, for the use of the minister while he continues to serve both churches, Saltketcher and Indian Land (Stoney Creek). This he does to encourage his settlement. In closing his accounts with Saltketcher, May 12th, he relinquishes £200 out of the two last years' salary for the benefit of the congregation, and several hundred pounds of the salary of preceding years. He continues interested for his former charge while absent in Scotland, and writes urging upon Saltketcher and Beaufort to look no longer for him, but avail themselves of the services of some of those Irish ministers lately arrived in the province, with some thousand families from the north of Ireland who are so scattered about. In June, 1773, Mr. Henderson was occupying his house and preaching to the people of Saltketcher. He speaks of him in February, 1775, as lately ordained. Yet the people both of Indian Land and Saltketcher write earnestly desiring his return. Mr. Henderson seems to have commenced his ministry at Wilton in 1776. Whether he still visited Saltketcher and preached there occasionally we know not.

WILLIAMSBURG CHURCH.—As we have seen, p. 325, Rev. David McKey or McKee, of the presbytery of Bangor, in Ireland, was settled over this church by the old presbytery of South Carolina, in February, 1769. He did not continue long in this relation, but was succeeded by Rev. Thomas Kennedy in 1772. The date of his arrival in the colony is fixed with tolerable accuracy by the contemporary journal of Mr. Simpson. He was in Charleston during the week preceding the 25th of May, 1772, and says—"Heard a sermon (preparatory to Sacrament) at the Scots meeting, by a gentleman that came in about four weeks ago from Ireland for Williamsburg. Mr. Kennedy preached from Mic. v. 2. He spoke very low, and seems an easy, polite preacher." "Of Mr. Kennedy," says Mr. Wallace, "we know but little, except that he was a man of God, and faithful in his covenant work." Under his ministry the church prospered in a remarkable degree, both by additions from abroad and by genuine conversions. His labors are thought to have closed about the commencement of the Revolutionary war. The same conflicting statements are made respecting him as respecting his predecessor: one, that he went to Ireland to bring his mother to America, and the war broke out before his return; the other, that he closed his mortal career

here, and his dust sleeps beside that of Alison and Ray.\* His register of marriages extends to March 20th, 1774, perhaps to May 31st, 1775.

About the year 1770 there were large additions made to the church and the village of Kingstree by immigrations from Ireland. Poverty pressed heavily upon the lower classes of farmers, and many were goaded almost to desperation by the hardships of unequal laws, or by the oppressions of landlords. Thousands of them sought a home on this side the Atlantic, and a few years afterwards appeared in arms against the mother country, as assertors of the independence of the American Republic. It has been computed that in 1773 and the five preceding years, the north of Ireland was drained of one-fourth of its trading cash, and of the like proportion of manufacturing people. Some of the members of the synod of Ulster, where lax theological sentiments prevailed, joined the stream of emigration, and several ministers of the secession were shut up to the same alternative.—(Reid's History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, vol. iii., p. 449.) Dr. Wither-  
spoon thinks that the emigrants to Williamsburg at this period had far less of piety and devotion than those who preceded them.

It became necessary now to enlarge the house of worship, which was done by taking out the side opposite the pulpit, and adding to the building about one-half its original dimensions. The increased accommodations were not unblessed to those who sat under the ministry of the man of God; and many of those who made no profession and no pretensions to piety in their native land, became the hopeful subjects of saving grace.

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\* Wallace, p. 31. We have three letters of Rev. Thomas Kennedy to his friend Rev. Robert McClintock, to the care of Thomas Aston of Charleston, dated Knockmagoney, April 27th, 1785; Holywood, February 26th, 1786, and September 9th, 1786. In the first of these he speaks of McWhir (afterwards Dr. McWhir of Georgia), the two McKees, and Hidelson, as having gone to the northward, and Johnson of Comber as having sailed for Baltimore, of the death of his mother, and that nothing stands in the way of his return but his wife's consent, which he hopes to obtain. The second was sent by the hand of Samuel Kennedy, who was on a visit to Ireland, in which he expresses his fixed resolution to return. In the third he asks if his friend, Samuel Kennedy, continues in Williamsburg, and how the people are affected towards him. He says the stories of those who have returned to Ireland since the war, of the shocking state of the country, have cast a damp on Mrs. Kennedy so that he cannot prevail on her to go over. Still there is little to be done in that country for a rising family. "Our preachers are become still more and more despicable in the eyes of the people, and must live very poorly, especially those who have nothing to begin with." It is most probable that Mr. Kennedy did not return to America.

Of the state of this church during the Revolution we have little to say. In those stormy days its worship must often have been interrupted; yet there was a people here to serve the Lord and make mention of his name. The congregation in the period next subsequent to this, suffered much from the incursions of the enemy. But it acted a noble part in the struggles which secured our liberties, and more than one name on its roll is distinguished on the pages of history. The most conspicuous of these is that of John James, who, when the revolution commenced in 1775, was captain of the Williamsburg militia under George III. He subsequently held the office of major and served under Marion and Greene. He was born April 12th, 1732, and was the oldest son of William James, who had served King William in his wars in Ireland against James II. William James was originally from Wales, which country he left in consequence of a difficulty with his sovereign in reference to a mill-pond and the fish it contained. This property being wrested from him he removed to Scotland, where he married the daughter of John Witherspoon. He subsequently emigrated to Ireland and thence to America. He is said to have inherited, with the rest of the family, a barony of land in Wales, which they did not return to claim, and which consequently fell into the hands of other heirs. William James accompanied his father-in-law, John Witherspoon, to America in 1732 (his son, John James, being then an infant), and with this family were many of their neighbors and John James, the younger brother of William. The partiality of William James to the memory of William of Orange, in which his associates sympathized, is supposed to have originated the name Williamsburg, first given to the township but now borne by the district or county. Both William and John became herdsmen, like the patriarchs of old. William settled on "the Lake," and John on Broad Swamp. William had large flocks and herds which he kept on Bull's Savannah, about twelve miles above Kingstree, and here his son John, afterwards Major James, spent much of his boyhood herding the cattle of his father, and acquiring that athletic vigor and bold horsemanship which prepared him for his future exploits. Nor was the situation of the settlement, in his early life, absolutely free from danger. Among his early recollections were those of a stockade fort and of wars between the first settlers and the natives. His opportunities of obtaining more than a common English education were small. Opportunities for religious instruction were more ample. For not only was he

brought up by pious parents, but under the pastoral care of Rev. John Rae, whose labors were greatly blessed. Major James married, on the 18th of January, 1753, Miss Jean Dobine, became an elder in the church, and at the commencement of the Revolution, in 1775, had acquired a considerable portion both of property and military reputation, and was forty-three years of age, a period when men are most full of energy and enterprise. Probably the style of piety, as manifested in himself and others in the church, was less staid and sober than in these days is regarded as fitting those who represent the Christian name. When the first settlers located themselves, all around was wild and savage; they dwelt at first in rude houses of earth or in "shanties." Gradually they erected better dwellings, but it was but slowly that the free and jovial life of the woodsman was laid aside. The forests abounded in game and resounded with the crack of the rifle, much of life was spent on horseback and in hunting, and when the people met together the men would now try the speed of their horses in the race, and now engage with the fairer portion of society in the merry dance. Nor had the day of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks yet come; nor was it so very disgraceful to make merry with one's friends, and to reach that point when the worse wine could be set forth safely, the men having well drunk. The times of that ignorance many winked at. Nor would we be surprised to learn that the brave soldier and good elder sometimes was present and participated in those scenes. Stock was wild, and if a horse was wanted, one was caught from the woods, mounted, and made to obey the rein. In trials of horsemanship the young men delighted, and to ride the fleetest horse and subdue the most ungovernable was a point of emulation. There was not wanting to Major James some spice of humor. The belief in ghosts was common, and the spiritual world was not thought so separate as since it has been supposed from this our world of flesh and blood. Major James had as little dread of those imaginary beings as he had of the enemy on the field of battle. On one occasion he was driven into the session-house to escape the fury of a storm. Taking the saddle from his horse he lay down to rest, and using the saddle for a pillow, fell asleep. Night came on, and a neighbor entered to enjoy the same friendly shelter. In moving about he stumbled over him unawares, and took to his heels in pale affright. James aroused, uttered a loud and terrific cry, which gave new speed to the trembling fugitive. Out of this rather material incident a new ghost story was

now set on foot which filled the neighborhood with alarm, and continued current till the secret transpired, to the great mortification of the terrified neighbor. On another occasion Major James, passing his father's grave one night, saw what appeared to be a white sheet hanging over the cedar head-board which marked the spot. He supposed it placed there by design to inspire terror. He determined to see what it was. As he drew near he saw bare feet beneath the sheet, and soon a female form started up. It appeared that it was a lady who had been engaged at her private devotions, and belonged to a company of "movers," who had sought the churchyard as their camp for the night. She besought him not to disturb her, and he remonstrating with her for such exposure of herself, induced her to seek shelter within the walls of the church. These incidents probably belong to the earlier period of his life.

Major James was universally respected. He was under six feet in height, with full breast, broad shoulders, weighing about two hundred pounds, commanding in his look and gait, so as to attract attention in a crowd of men. He was in the battle of Eutaw, was at Snow Island with Marion, and held a seat in the first legislative body, to which he was elected shortly after the battle of Eutaw. Disapproving at the outset of the war the measures of the British government, he resigned his royal commission as captain of militia, but was reinstated by a popular vote in his former command. In the year 1776 he marched with his company to the defence of Charleston. In the year 1779 he was with General Moultrie on his retreat before General Prevost, and commanded one hundred and fifty riflemen at or near Tullifinny bridge, a few miles this side of Coosahatchie. Others in this church became distinguished by their heroism and their sufferings, but their history more appropriately belongs to the closing period of the war.

The only authentic account of this church for the period we have now reviewed consists of the following brief entries: "June 13th, 1773, the sacrament of the Lord's supper was administered here, the Rev. William Knox, assistant." "April 17th, 1774, the sacrament of the Lord's supper was celebrated here, the Rev. Wm. Knox and Robert McClintock assistants." "April 30th, 1775, the sacrament of the Lord's supper was dispensed here; the Rev. Robert McClintock, assistant." Had the records of this venerable church been kept to the present time with the same care and in the same form with which they were commenced in 1743, they would have been an invaluable

historic treasure. All that can be known is that, subsequent to the departure of Mr. Kennedy, the church continued for many years without a pastor or the means of grace, except such as were occasionally received from the Rev. James Edmonds and the Rev. Thomas Hill, originally an English Independent and a missionary of Lady Huntington's establishment, and Rev. Samuel Hunter of the Black Mingo church.—(Dr. Witherspoon's MS. Hist.)

BLACK MINGO.—The Rev. William Knox continued to be the pastor of this church. He assisted the Rev. Thos. Kennedy at the Williamsburg church, as we have seen, on the 13th of June, 1773, and the 17th of April, 1774. He was the moderator of the old presbytery of South Carolina in 1769-70, and was detained by sickness from the meeting of the presbytery held in Charleston in May, 1770, which he otherwise would have opened with a sermon.—(Simpson's Diary.) His labors were enjoyed by this church through the period of which we now treat. The absence of all historical documents prevents us from any more particular notice. It is evident, however, that Mr. Knox was a much respected minister, and probably labored in other neighborhoods as opportunity offered. "He preached for many years," says Dr. J. R. Witherspoon, "in the old brick church near Black Mingo, and to a small congregation near Lynche's Lake."—(Letter to Dr. Thornwell, October 2d, 1848.) This church was sometimes called the Lake church, or Knox's church.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

THE SALEM CHURCH, which was an offshoot from the Williamsburg church, as the Black Mingo also may have been, received early in this period, it is believed, a fuller organization than it had hitherto enjoyed. In May, 1770, application was made to Rev. William Richardson of Waxhaw who in obedience to their request visited this congregation and ordained seven ruling elders, viz., Robert Carter, William Wilson, Roger Wilson, James Armstrong, Moses Gordon, Samuel Bradley, and James Bradley. All these names are found in the Register of Baptisms and Marriages of the Williamsburg church. In 1759 mention is made in that register of the baptism of a child of "Robert Carter and his wife Mary," and of a child of "William Wilson and his wife Elizabeth, in the upper parts of Black river."

Immediately after the ordination of these elders in the month of June, a Mr. McClelland, from the north of Ireland, preached for them and remained until the following September or October, when he sickened and died. He was buried in the cemetery of the Salem church, and in the year 1829 a monument to his memory was erected by the congregation. He was first buried in 1770, near the former church edifice, but about the year 1829 his ashes were removed to their present location. The inscription on his tombstone is as follows :

"Sacred to the memory of the Rev. James McClelland, a licentiate of the Presbyterian church, who in the providence of God was called to preach his last sermon in this place.

"A respect for the Christian ministry and the ashes of a stranger, induce Salem congregation to erect this monument to his remembrance. 'The dead shall be raised incorruptible,' 1829."

Mr. Wallace, in his History of the Williamsburg Church, says that Mr. McKee, after laboring in that church for two or three years, was called to the Salem church, where he died about the year 1770, and was buried on the spot where the Brick church now stands. This tradition is probably somewhat at fault, since Mr. McKee was not settled over the Williamsburg church till February, 1769 (old minutes). The Rev. Elam Potter, who had visited this church at an earlier date, wrote to the synod of New York and Philadelphia, signifying his readiness to go to Virginia and Carolina upon a mission. On the 21st of May, 1771, Mr. Potter was appointed to visit the southern vacancies of North and South Carolina and Georgia, and to spend at least six months in the mission, and to tarry in every important congregation he shall visit three weeks or a month, and carefully catechise the people. Mr. Potter remained a season with this congregation, and preached his farewell sermon in November, 1771. After this the church was occasionally supplied by the Rev. James Edmonds. The earnest application of the congregation to Mr. Edmonds to obtain for them a pastor led him to send the Rev. Thomas Reese, whose services the church enjoyed for many years. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1742. In his early youth he removed with his parents to Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, where he commenced his classical studies under Rev. Joseph Alexander and a Mr. Benedict, who had charge of an academy, said to be the only one within the distance of one hundred miles. He then entered the junior class in Princeton college, and graduated under the presidency of Dr.

John Witherspoon in 1768. He returned to South Carolina, and having devoted some time to the study of theology, was licensed to preach by the presbytery of Orange, in 1773, and was ordained and installed over the Salem church in the same year. Doctor Reese was greatly revered by his own people, was a man of distinguished ability and studious habits, but was at length compelled to take refuge in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, by the troubles of the times, whether before or after the period of which we now treat we cannot say.

The interests of education received attention in this region, at an early day. On the 5th of March, 1778, the Catholic society was incorporated by the legislature, in the district of Camden, east of the Wateree river, for the support of a school. Of this society Rev. Thomas Hill was president, and Adam McDonall and John James, Esquires, wardens. This society was empowered to hold property for the support of the school and the education of poor and orphan children. Five hundred acres of vacant pine land was given to the society, bounded on the west by John Anderson's land and on the northwest by lands given to the society by James Bradley.—(Statutes at Large, vol. viii., p. 115.)

**WACCAMAW PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.**—We cannot trace this church, which was at Conwaysboro, formerly Kingston, in Horry district. On page 282 we have spoken of Mr. Donaldson's settlement there. And there is, even now, in 1863, some traditions that a Presbyterian church once existed at that place, and some portion of what was probably its pulpit is still preserved.

Previous to the year 1760 a number of removals had taken place which formed the germs of several new organizations. The first colony from the swarming hive of Williamsburg, among whom were Major John James, William Wilson, Robert Wilson, and David Wilson, formed the church of Indian Town. The second colony planted the church of Aimwell, on the Pedee, eight miles from Witherspoon's Ferry, on Lynche's Creek, which became merged subsequently in Hopewell. Of these the most prominent names were those of John Witherspoon, Gavin Witherspoon, John Irwin, and Hugh Irwin. The third colony settled in the township of Salem, and planted the church there. Among these were Samuel and James Bradley, with names we have before mentioned. The fourth colony eventually formed the Mount Zion church. Among these were Capt. William Erwin, Roger Wilson, and

James Wilson, the two last of whom had been connected with the Salem church and been elders in it. A fifth, among whom were Messrs. Plowden, Nelson, and Gamble, settled in the fork of Black river, and with their coadjutors formed the church of Brewington. Two other colonies at a period long subsequent moved to Tennessee, and gave rise to two churches in that State. Several of these churches are of later date, but Indian Town, and probably Aimwell, and possibly Hopewell, were organized before the revolution.

The origin of INDIAN TOWN CHURCH is not recorded in any contemporaneous documents. Major John James, and Robert and David Wilson, were its principal founders and its first elders. It was founded probably as early as 1760. Other names recollected as belonging to the congregation are those of Wm. Cooper, senior., Wm. Cooper, junior., Robert McCottry, Robert Dick, John Gordon, James Daniel, Roger McGill, George McCutchen, George Barr, Thomas McCrea, also John James of Lynche's Lake, Robert Witherspoon of Lynche's Creek, and some twelve or fifteen others.—(MS. Letter of Dr. J. S. Witherspoon of Brookland, Alabama, a native of Williamsburg district.) We have seen in the statement of Rev. Elam Potter, in the Stiles MS., (see page 363,) that in 1768 the congregation at Indian Town consisted of fifty families, and was ministered to by Rev. Mr. Knox. Other ministers are mentioned as having preached to this people before the war, as Rev. James Edmonds of Charleston, and Rev. Thomas Reese, while during the war Rev. Thomas Hill, a missionary of Lady Huntingdon's establishment, acted as pastor.

THE AIMWELL CHURCH, PEDEE, was situated about a mile from the Pedee river and about ten miles above the junction of Lynche's Creek. It was probably organized early in this period (from 1770-1780). It was founded by families from either Williamsburg or Indian Town, or both. The families, we have said, were those of Hugh Ervin, John Ervin, Gavin Witherspoon, and John Witherspoon, and a few others. These families were living on the Pedee in the revolutionary war and took an active part in it. John Baxter preached previously in this neighborhood at the house of Mrs. Britton, and on Britton's Neck before 1765, as his register shows.

HOPEWELL CHURCH, PEDEE, is about four miles from the Pedee, twenty miles above Aimwell, and on the road from Cheraw to Georgetown. It was organized about the year 1770, perhaps some few years earlier, and some considerable time after the organization of the Indian Town church, from which

most of the families came.—(MS. Sketch by William T. Wilson.) Others, however, think the first foundation of the church was laid by emigrants direct from Ireland.—(Wallace's Hist. of the Williamsburg Church.) The Greggs from Indian Town were among its first members. John Gregg, sen., was a member of Indian Town church, brought up his family in that neighborhood, and his children married within the bounds of that church. But he removed with four of his sons and his son-in-law, and settled on Jeffries' Creek, within the limits of the Hopewell congregation. These four sons, James, John, William, and Robert Gregg, and his son-in-law, William Gordon, were members of this congregation. The will of John Gregg, sen., was executed in 1774, and in this will he bequeathed to each of these sons and his son-in-law the lands they were possessed of at the date of the will. The church was probably organized a few years before, perhaps by Rev. James Edmonds of Charleston, who made frequent visits to those places that were destitute, for the purpose of organizing churches in the more thickly settled neighborhoods. It is believed that James and John Gregg were among the first elders, and that during the war of the Revolution William Wilson of Salem Church, Black river, moved into the bounds of this church and became an elder.

The first house of worship was burnt down, by accident, not many years after it was built. The second house remained standing till 1842. The old building stood in the centre of the graveyard, and not on the site of the present church.

Among the laborers in this general field during a portion of this decennium, we may mention the Rev. Robert McClintock, as yet but a licentiate. He was born of highly respectable and pious parentage—(his father, Timothy McClintock, and his mother, Eleanor Hamilton), of the county Antrim, Ireland. He went to America in 1772 with ample credentials from the presbytery of Ballymena. It is testified of him by the presbytery of Bangor in 1781 that he was known to several of that presbytery before he was licensed, that he bore a fair character, and was attentive to improvement in every branch of learning. It is probable that he received his theological education, in whole or in part, in Scotland. His son, Robert McClintock, in 1858, gives this as the current tradition of his family, confirmed in part by a portion of a manuscript sermon still in his possession, belonging to his father, on which is the *approbatum est* of "William Leechman," believed to be a professor in that day of some Scotch university. He settled in some

capacity on the Santee, probably on the Williamsburg side, where he remained till 1775, when he returned to Ireland to settle some affairs and probably to obtain ordination. The war breaking out between Great Britain and the colonies prevented his return. He placed himself under the care of the presbytery of Bangor, and was by it ordained, after which he performed the several duties of the gospel ministry to the entire satisfaction of the different congregations in which he officiated till his return to South Carolina in 1781. One of his MS. sermons still preserved bears the names of Dunconald, Bangor, Donaghader, Moira, and Dunmulry, where it was preached in the years 1779, 1780, and 1781.—(Certificate on parchment of the presbytery of Bangor, given at Belfast, November 6th, 1781, and letter of Robert McClintock, the son, April 2d, 1858.) Mr. Simpson, in his diary, also mentions, in his usual shorthand orthography, a Rev. Mr. Mc[ ]ndy, who had been a Presbyterian missionary in the Highlands of Scotland, but of an indifferent character. He came to Charleston in July, 1772, preached several times in the Scots congregation, and in other Presbyterian congregations to the northward of Charleston, but he resided mostly in Charleston. Poor man, intemperance was his worst enemy. Him he found in great poverty; befriended him, gave him money, sent him forward to Isaac Hayne's at Pon Pon, advised them to invite him to preach next Sabbath, as he was yet in orders; but could say nothing for him.

The BLUFF CHURCH in North Carolina—which, with Longstreet and Barbacue congregations, were represented in the old presbytery of South Carolina, through their pastor, Rev. James Campbell,—became connected with Orange presbytery under the synod of New York and Philadelphia in 1773.—(Minutes, p. 451.)

As we advance towards the-up country of South Carolina, we find Presbyterianism extending itself with the increasing population. Mills, in his statistics, says, "The Presbyterians were the first religious society established in the district of Richland; they erected a church on the banks of CEDAR CREEK, RICHLAND, anterior to the Revolution. No traces of this church now remain. Rev. William Dubard was its pastor. It was, it is believed, of the German Reformed branch of Presbyterians, which claims Ulric Zuingle as their founder, and whose chief symbol is the Heidelberg Catechism."

Some time between the years 1770-1780, the beginnings of the church of LEBANON, on JACKSON'S CREEK, Fairfield district,

probably took place. David McCreight, William Hamilton, John and Alexander Robertson, who were brothers, James Grey, and John Phillips, elders, from Ireland, collected the people, and they determined that they would become united as a church and congregation. According to one tradition, the Rev. [John] Logue came from Ireland, examined the people, and installed the elders, and ordained two or three who had been elected.—(Mrs. Mary Barclay of Winnsboro.) According to another tradition, the church was organized by Rev. John Simpson of Fishing Creek. The first meeting for preaching was held in the house of John Robertson, one of the elders before named. The meetings for preaching were from time to time in such private houses as convenience might dictate. After some time had elapsed, a log house was built for public worship on the land of John Robertson, which was occupied for this purpose until after his death. Some misunderstanding arising with the widow as to church dues, this house was abandoned, and another of similar materials was erected on the lands of Joseph Chapman.

BEAVER CREEK CHURCH and congregation, in the upper part of Kershaw district, was formed, and the first house of worship built, in the year 1772. The principal families forming the congregation were those of Hugh Summerfield, Adam Thompson, and William Russel. During the first ten years of its existence it was supplied with preaching by transient ministers.

WAXHAW CHURCH.—The Rev. William Richardson ministered to this church at the beginning of this decade. His valuable life was suddenly and sadly terminated on the 20th of July, 1771. His labors in the ministry were incessant, involving travel and exposure in passing from one congregation to another. He was abstemious in his habits, and tall and slender in his person; though another authority says he was of strong and robust make. He had frequent seasons of fasting and prayer; and if he erred on either side, it was on the side of denying himself beyond what his powers of nature could well endure. He was kind and social in his prevailing disposition; but at home, and in the last years of his life, he was given to melancholy. He had no children of his own; but his adopted son, William Richardson Davie, had been his solace. The requirements of his education had induced Mr. Richardson to send him from his side to pursue more successfully his studies. He was sent to an academy in Charlotte, North Carolina, where he remained till fitted for college.

About this time he became a student of Princeton college, under the presidency of the venerable and celebrated Dr. Witherspoon.

The circumstances of his death are differently rehearsed by the popular traditions. According to one story, which has the appearance of truth, Mrs. Richardson had gone early in the day to a social gathering, "a quilting," leaving him alone. He had recently fitted up a room as a library and study in the upper story of his house, which was his constant resort. During the day his brother-in-law, Mr. Archibald Davie, had been at the house, and saw nothing unusual about him. Late in the evening, Mr. William Boyd, of Rocky Creek in Chester district, which had recently been settled by emigrants from the north of Ireland, came to the house, requesting, on the part of that people, that he would make an appointment among them for religious service. At the same time Mrs. Richardson returned, and to Mr. Boyd's inquiry for Mr. Richardson, replied that he was probably in his study, and immediately withdrew to prepare dinner for her visitor. Mr. Boyd being desirous of an interview with Mr. Richardson, knocked at the study door, and receiving no reply, ventured to look through the key-hole, and saw him, as he supposed, on his knees at his devotions. After waiting a considerable time, Mr. Boyd expressed to Mrs. Richardson some anxiety for an interview with him, and she ascended the stairs, and on opening the door, uttered a piercing scream which brought Mr. Boyd to her side. They found Mr. Richardson dead, in a kneeling position, and a bridle around his neck. The neighbors were called, and the facts made known. An apprehension prevailed among these friends that the interests of religion and the fair fame of so eminent a minister would suffer if he should be known as a *felo de se*. The circumstance of the bridle was therefore suppressed, and he was said to have died at his devotions. Mrs. Richardson, who was a lady of much personal beauty, married in the course of the year Mr. George Dunlap, a gentleman of worth. The marriage was perhaps regarded as more hasty than a proper respect for Mr. Richardson's memory would justify. The circumstances of Mr. Richardson's death became more and more public, various tales and unfounded suspicions grew into greater consistency as they passed from mouth to mouth, until the cruel suspicion arose that Mrs. Richardson herself had a hand in her husband's death. This proceeded so far, that a most superstitious and revolting test of her innocence or guilt was at length resorted

to. About a year after his interment, the whole community was collected around his grave, the body of Mr. Richardson was exhumed and exposed to view, and Mrs. Richardson was subjected to the shocking ordeal of touching his corpse, on the absurd idea which at that time prevailed, that blood would flow if the murderer should touch the corpse of his victim. She was compelled by the cruel necessity of the case to lay her hand on the forehead of her deceased husband, and tradition says that Archy Davie, the brother-in-law of Mr. Richardson, pressed her hand down upon it. The afflicted woman could not restrain her tears, but wept aloud. Yet nothing unusual followed; no divine interposition resolved the mystery, and the transaction was ridiculed or sadly deplored by the majority of the people as a farce discreditable to those who had been the chief actors in it. The belief, however, continued in the minds of some that Mr. Richardson had died by other hands than his own. His death is referred to in the manuscript history of this church prepared at the request of the first presbytery of South Carolina, and sent to the General Assembly in 1794. "He continued our minister," says the narrative, "for twelve years, died an untimely death, by what instrumental cause we cannot determine, and the delicacy of the case forbids a conjecture. His death was most deeply lamented by the people of his congregations. He was a warm and lively preacher, remarkable for his piety and devotion to God, and charity to the poor. His memory is still very dear to those who were the people of his charge."

These doubts were all founded on the popular belief among Christians, that God would never so forsake his children as to leave them to the awful death of a suicide. It is forgotten in all this, that the people of God and his ministers are not exempted in this life from any of the forms of human disease—that the diseases of the mind are as real as those of the body, and are often connected with them—and that one of the most frequent results of mental malady is the attempt to put an end to one's own life. The disease is as real and as certain in its termination, often, as the fever, or any other fatal malady, and God's people and ministers are no more exempt from the one than the other. Mr. Archibald Simpson, the early friend and comrade of Mr. Richardson, makes a contemporary and rational record of his lamented death. In his manuscript diary, under date of August 26th, 1771, he says: "On Friday night, when I came to town (Charleston), was informed by report of the death of my dear friend and comrade, the Rev. Mr. Richardson,

and this day had it confirmed. This has afflicted me much, and is, in many respects, the loudest call I ever met with to prepare for the eternal world. Oh! that I may be ready and may give up my accounts with joy! His death is a very great loss to the part of the country where he lived. He was a burning and a shining light, a star of the first magnitude, a great Christian, a most eminent minister of Jesus Christ. He has left a disconsolate widow, but no children. His death was something remarkable. He was of a strong and robust make, and in general healthy, but of a heavy, melancholic disposition, subject from his very youth to vapory disorders. His labors for some years were very great. About three or four years ago he began to decline; his vapory disorders increased, his intellect seemed to fail. He turned very deaf, and lost much of his spirits and liveliness in preaching, but was still very useful to his own people. About three months ago he seemed sickly, but his people and family thought he fancied himself worse than he was, as he did not keep his bed, but appeared as usual, and only kept his house. Some time in June one of his elders was visiting him, and in order to divert him had entered into some argument with him, in which Mr. R. talked with a good deal of spirit, and afterwards went up stairs to his room, but was to be down to dinner as usual. Accordingly, when dinner had waited for some time, they went up stairs and found him dead on his knees, one hand holding the back of a chair and the other lifted up as in prayer. So that he seemed to have expired in the act of devotion, and to all appearance had been dead some time: a most desirable death indeed. O Lord God! let me die the death of the righteous, and let my latter end be like his." Such is the story of his death which Mr. Simpson, pastor of the church of Indian Land (Stoney Creek, Beaufort district), and his co-presbyter in the old presbytery of Charleston, received and records. As far as it goes, it leaves the presumption that he died the victim of a mental malady which had been gaining strength unobserved by his friends for a length of time.

Mrs. Richardson, after her marriage to George Dunlap, bore him five children, and survived the stormy scenes of the American revolution.

The following is the inscription on his headstone in the northeast corner of the churchyard:

*Volumus et Valemus.*

Here lies  
the body of the much lamented  
Rev. William Richardson,  
Pastor of the Waxhaw Congregation for 12 years ;  
and rested from his labors on the 20th day  
July, of A. D. 1771. Aged 42 years.

Rev. William Richardson.

He lived to purpose ;  
He preached with fidelity ;  
He prayed for his people ;  
And being dead he speaks.

He left  
To the amount of  
£340 Sterg.  
To purchase religious books for  
The Poor.

It is not known where the will of Mr. Richardson is on record. Tradition makes him to have bequeathed his plantation and eight or ten negroes to Mrs. Richardson, and there she lived and died. To William Richardson Davie he left ample means of completing his education at Princeton, where he graduated in 1776, and of preparing for the ministry in the Scottish universities. He is said to have reached Charleston on his way thither, but to have been deterred from proceeding further by the troubles of the times.\* The legacy of Mr. Richardson for the distribution of religious books was carried into effect in 1800, when books were procured and put into circulation in the church and congregation.† That Mr.

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\* Mr. Richardson having died before Davie returned to South Carolina, he was left to his own discretion in the choice of a profession. He chose that of the law, and commenced his legal studies at Salisbury, N. C. In December, 1777, he threw aside his books and joined a detachment of 1200 men under General Jones, who marched for the defence of Charleston, but proceeded no further than Camden, where they learned their services were no longer needed. In April, 1779, he was commissioned as lieutenant of a company of dragoons, of which Mr. Barnett was captain, but whose age and infirmities compelled him to retire from the field, leaving Davie in command. This troop was attached to Pulaski's Legion, in which corps Davie rose to the rank of major. He was with this corps while stationed at Dorchester, and was wounded in the thigh in the battle of Stono, on the 20th of June, 1779, and fell from his horse, but was replaced and led from the field by a dismounted soldier, and so rescued from the hands of the enemy. He acted a conspicuous part in other engagements which belong to a later period.

† The books bore the following label : " It is desired that no person will offer to sell this book, but as it is freely given, first read it with serious attention and earnest prayer to God for his blessing upon it, as a direction to heavenly wisdom and happiness, and then lend or give it to their friend and neighbor for the same kind purposes. This book is given by the Society in London for promoting religious knowledge among the poor, agreeably to a

Richardson should be possessed of a handsome competence need not be surprising. His expenses were small, living was cheap, and his large congregation, extending over a country reaching some twenty miles from his residence in different directions, freely supplied him with everything needful, and took a laudable pride in supporting a minister so much beloved.

After the death of Mr. Richardson the church was occasionally supplied by Rev. Messrs. John Simpson of Fishing Creek, James Edmonds, and Joseph Alexander of Bullock's Creek, who administered the ordinances, baptized the children, and kept alive the spirit of piety until the year 1778. In the year 1772, after the death of Mr. Richardson, the church had become disconnected with the presbytery of Charleston, and put itself under the care of the Orange presbytery, and looked to this body for supplies.\* In the year 1778, Thomas B. Craighead, a probationer of the presbytery, commenced his labors in the Waxhaw church, and was ordained its pastor in 1779.†

The FAIRFOREST CONGREGATION continued to increase in numbers. For a long time it was regarded as almost the "Ultima Thule" of civilization. But the poetry of its name and the advantages it offered to new settlers attracted attention to it, and tended to its increase. They were not, however, duly organized as a church and congregation till the year 1771, when at their request the Rev. Josiah Lewis ordained elders among them:—(MS. Hist. in hands of Stated Clerk of General Assembly.) This Mr. Josiah Lewis had been sent out as a licensed candidate of Newcastle presbytery to supply in the vacancies of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in 1769, was called by several churches in the following year, and was again sent out in 1770 to labor for nine months. During this mission he seems to have organized this Fairforest church in regular form. After this time they were more frequently supplied, on application to Orange presbytery. We learn, from the testimony of one who came into the congregation as a lad, ten

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legacy left to the society by the will of the late William Richardson of South Carolina, for purchasing bibles and other religious books to be distributed among the poor in America."

\* Narrative by John Davis.

† The first elders of Waxhaw church were Robert Ramsay, died before 1800; John Stephenson, died July 17, 1785, aged 67; Robert Dunlap, died December 14, 1773, aged 65; Robert Davis, died before 1774; Samuel Dunlap, died April 5, 1791, aged 70; John Latta, died January 9, 1795, aged 68; Henry White.

years of age, in 1776, that the church edifice at that time was a spacious log building, standing on the eminence where the western wall of the old cemetery now passes, and that it had the appearance of having been built some ten or fifteen years before. The elders were James Mayes, James McIlwain, William Patton, Joseph Kelso, and John Davidson. Other heads of families were George Story, Anthony Story, the widow of James Means, William Means, Richard Saye, William Hodge, George Park, John Park, and Arthur Park (the latter removed the same year to Kentucky), Andrew Mayes, Robert Harris, Nicholas Harris, Mrs. Kennedy, a family named Shaw, Thomas Barron, Patrick Harbison, John Thomas, sen., John Thomas, jun., Josiah Culbertson, Samuel Culbertson, Thomas Hayney, John Elder, Robert Faris, James Crawford, Edward Denny, James Elder, Samuel Clowney, James Faris, John Thompson, Arthur Simpson, William Simpson, and the widow Armstrong. These families, and perhaps others, were connected with the congregation when the Declaration of Independence was made. Some Presbyterian families are known to have resided within the bounds, and to have removed elsewhere prior to that event. Among them were Joab Mitchell, father of the late Mrs. Angelica Nott, a family named Dugan, and one named Foster.

The church remained without a pastor during the ten years of which we now treat. Its religious life was maintained by a diligent attention to family religion, and by "society meetings," which were meetings for prayer, praise, catechising, and reading the holy Scriptures and approved sermons. Rev. John Simpson visited it occasionally after his settlement at Fishing Creek, in 1774; James Edmonds also, who had become connected with Orange presbytery previous to May, 1774. The Rev. Joseph Alexander at one time made arrangements to settle within its bounds and divide his labors between it and Nazareth congregation, but it was ordered otherwise, and he was only an occasional supply. In 1778 the Lord's supper was administered here for the first time by Mr. Simpson and himself.

The American Revolution was agitating this whole country during this decennium, but though members of the church and congregation were serving their country under arms previous to 1780, the war was not brought to their own doors until after the fall of Charleston. Richard Saye, however, fell at the siege of Savannah, 22d September to the 20th of October, 1779, leaving his widow, Mary Hodge, and several young children, to go through the perils and hardships of following

years. She, however, put her trust in God, and like a true woman and true Christian, as she was, addressed herself to her work. With a little friendly aid from neighbors and friends she reared and educated her family. Before the close of the century she removed with them to Georgia, where she died in June, 1830, having been a communicant of the Presbyterian church for a period of seventy years. Her descendants are now scattered through that country which extends from Black river, South Carolina, to the Pacific ocean, and so far as is known, breathe the spirit which animated the people of Fairforest in 1780.—(MS. Hist. by Rev. James H. Saye.)

The churches of INDIAN CREEK and GRASSY SPRING.—About the year 1768 the people here on Indian Creek formed a society and built a meeting-house, of which body the church of Grassy Spring was a branch. The Rev. Messrs. Roe, Close, Duffield, and Campbell visited and preached to them in succession until 1773, and ordained elders. From this time the visits and ministerial labors of the Rev. (afterwards Dr.) Joseph Alexander were frequently afforded and enjoyed.—(MS. Hist. of the Second Presbytery of South Carolina, prepared by Rev. J. B. Kennedy and Dr. Waddel, by order of the Presbytery.)

UNION CHURCH (formerly BROWN'S CREEK).—Religion seemed greatly to revive about 1770, especially among the Baptists, and great harmony prevailed between them and the Presbyterians. Additions were made to the Union congregation by the immigration of several families of the same religious sentiments with themselves. They continued to enjoy the public means of grace, not stately but occasionally, until the commencement of the Revolutionary war. Although surrounded by loyalists, the members of this little society took an early, unanimous, and decided part on the side of liberty. They endured indescribable hardships from the Indians on the one side, and the British and loyalists on the other. Through the confusion of the times there was almost an entire destitution of the ordinances of the gospel here till the close of the war.

FISHING CREEK.—Previous to 1700, or as early as this date, there were at least two congregations and two places of worship. The most ancient of these was now called Lower Fishing Creek, and the more recent, Upper Fishing Creek. The convenience of the inhabitants, whose settlements were extending themselves, and the growing congregation, led to this new arrangement. Lower Fishing Creek embraced in the

bounds of its congregation the northeast corner of Chester district, and was separated from Waxhaw church by the Catawba river. Upper Fishing Creek was higher up the stream from which the church is named, and is the one now known as the Fishing Creek Church. It was organized about the year 1770. The new church soon eclipsed the original organization. After the death of Mr. Richardson, in 1771, the two congregations on Fishing Creek united in a call to Rev. John Simpson. The piety and noble character of this minister of Christ entitle him to a place in the memory of his countrymen.

Mr. Simpson was born in the State of New Jersey, in 1740. His parents were Presbyterians of Irish descent, and he was educated strictly in accordance with the training which conscientious parents of this church gave their children. After receiving at his father's hands a good English education he commenced a course of classical study, engaging in teaching meanwhile to procure the means. In 1765 he entered Princeton college, marrying during the same year Miss Mary Remer, to whom he had some time previously become attached. Pursuing his studies with diligence, he graduated with high honor in 1768. After two years spent in the study of theology he was licensed by the presbytery of New Brunswick in 1770, at Easton or in its vicinity, where he preached for some two years. In 1772 he was appointed by the synod of New York and Philadelphia, in connection with Caleb Wallace of the same presbytery, to supply six months in Virginia and Carolina, beginning in the fall. He removed his family, then consisting of his wife and three children, to Philadelphia, and travelled southward, preaching as he journeyed, till he reached the neighborhood of Upper and Lower Fishing Creek (afterwards called Richardson, from its founder). He spent seven months on this mission in the South, mostly in the Fishing Creek congregations and others in that portion of the State. Mr. Wallace did not at this time fulfil his mission. But in the following year Mr. Simpson and Mr. Wallace were appointed anew (*Minutes*, pp. 434, 439, 448), and on the 20th of September, 1773, Mr. Simpson left Philadelphia with his family, and arrived at Fishing Creek on the 26th of November following, after a journey of seven weeks. He immediately took charge of the two churches, and the labors of his first year resulted in the hopeful conversion of many souls. He was ordained on the 6th of April, 1774, by the presbytery of Orange, at its meeting at Poplar Tent, North Carolina. The presbytery of Orange

had been set off from the presbytery of Hanover in 1770. He was present as a member of the synod of New York and Philadelphia, which met on the 18th of May in that year. Soon after this his connection with the church of Lower Fishing Creek was dissolved, though he continued to preach to the congregation occasionally till the Revolution. He took the Bethesda church, York district, under his charge in connection with Upper Fishing Creek, from which it is distant about ten miles, and continued the joint pastor of the two churches upwards of sixteen years.

The first ruling elders in the church of Upper Fishing Creek, in which congregation Mr. Simpson resided, were Samuel Neely, John Latta, and Robert Lusk. The most active of these was the elder first named. He was distinguished for his piety and his untiring interest in the welfare of the church. The other elders were "good men and true."

The ministry of Mr. Simpson was peaceful and harmonious for the most part, save the troubles which arose from the war of the Revolution, in which he shared very prominently, as we shall hereafter show. The question of psalmody being the only other disturbing element.

When Mr. Simpson first settled at Fishing Creek, and for some time after, the congregation used Rouse's version of the psalms solely in their public worship. To this they were attached, not only from habit and the sacred associations they had long connected with the words of the version, but they learned to defend this exclusive use by the assertion, that no divine warrant was to be found authorizing any psalmody to be used but the psalms of David in a perfectly literal version, which, though wrongly, it was alleged the version of Rouse is, for there can be no perfectly literal version of even rhythmic poetry from one language into another, in which number and measure is attempted. And there is neither rhyme nor measure, as is well known, in the ancient poetry of the Hebrews. When Mr. Simpson introduced Watts' Psalms and Hymns, as he did early in his ministry, he was met by an almost universal opposition. All clung to the old version, and looked upon Watts as they would upon an enemy in their midst who was determined to lead them astray. "Hence," says Mr. Stinson, "during his stay with the people of some eighteen years, Mr. Simpson only succeeded in using Watts half the day."—(MS. Hist. from Materials by D. G. Stinson, Esq., So. Pres. Rev., vol. vi.) The Rev. J. B. Davies, subsequently the pastor of this church, dates the controversy on

psalmody at a period subsequent to Mr. Simpson's removal from this church, and says that the feelings and prejudices of those who opposed the measure were not duly consulted; nor were those temperate and conciliatory methods adopted which were necessary to preserve confidence.—(Historical Sketch of the Churches in Bethel Presbytery, Southern Christian Herald.) Simultaneously with the controversy on the subject of psalmody was another on the subject of church music. With the new psalmody the attempt was made to introduce new tunes in addition to the "old twelve." Among these twelve were Old Hundred, Dublin, Isle of Wight, London, Mear, Bangor, and others of that class. The *new tunes* were violently opposed, numbers frequently leaving the house when a new tune was attempted to be sung. But gradually this opposition ceased, and new tunes were sung at pleasure. Opposition was made, too, for a long time, to *carrying* the different *parts* of music instead of the simple *air* to which they and their fathers had been accustomed. This opposition at length wore out, and the various parts of the tune came eventually to be sung without causing any displeasure. The custom had prevailed of "lining out" but one line at a time in singing. The attempt to change this custom also met with strong opposition, which was very gradually overcome.

The stormy period of the Revolutionary war swallowed up every other controversy. The church and congregation of Lower Fishing Creek, especially, became sadly divided between the Whig and Tory parties, and this with other causes laid the foundation of its decline.

The church of DUNCAN'S CREEK, during the ten years from 1770-1780, was supplied by James Creswell, John Harris, and Joseph Alexander, down to the period of the Revolution, and, according to the local tradition, to its close.—(MS. Sketch of the Church of the Second Presbytery of South Carolina, by a Committee of the same appointed in 1802; MS. of E. F. Hyde, compiled in 1850.)

CATHOLIC CHURCH.—The account we gave, pp. 297 and 336, was taken from a brief sketch in the archives of the General Assembly, which makes Rev. William Richardson to have gathered it in May, 1759, and to have supplied it one-third of his time till his death in 1771. He also gave to it its name, hoping perhaps it might embrace all the Presbyterian brotherhood who found their home in that neighborhood, whether of the original church or the Reformed. Rev. J. B. Davies and others represent it to have been formed in 1770 by the emi-

grants from Virginia and Pennsylvania and others, who applied to Mr. Richardson for gospel ordinances, and were told that if they would build a house he would preach for them on a week-day, his Sabbaths being occupied under the orders of presbytery. The meeting-house was accordingly built, a log-house seated with hewn puncheons, and Mr. Richardson preached to them on Mondays once in three months.

Soon after Mr. Richardson's death—says an old account in the hands of the stated clerk of the General Assembly,—in the year 1772, says another—Rev. James Campbell of Cape Fear—then a member of Orange presbytery, to which he had removed his relations from the old presbytery of South Carolina—in his travels through the State came to this settlement, and being called by this congregation in conjunction with the congregation of Purity, became their pastor, and continued to serve them for the space of twelve months. Mr. Davies says for three or four years. With him agrees Mr. Stinson, who says he baptized Zachariah Hicklin, born in 1777, and William Hicklin, born in 1780, so that he probably preached here from the spring of 1776 to some time in 1780, unless these baptisms were performed on a casual visit. Two elders were chosen and ordained, viz., Abram Miller and Thomas Garret. The latter was converted under the ministry of Mr. Richardson and was baptized by him. He was a man of many virtues and great influence, and was called, says Mr. Stinson, "the head" of Catholic. Mr. Campbell had then been in the ministry some fifty years, and his age and infirmities rendering him less acceptable to the people, he returned to North Carolina, where he died on the Cape Fear in 1781. The congregation being destitute of preaching, the Rev. William Martin, a *covenanter* minister, who had come from Ireland a few years before, was invited to occupy the pulpit. Mr. Davies dates the ministry of Mr. Martin in this church in 1775 or 1776, others in 1773. The other account says it was soon after Mr. Campbell's removal. Mr. Davies says Mr. Martin preached in the congregation two or three years and was then dismissed for intemperance. His adherents built a house of worship about two miles east of Catholic, where he continued his ministry till the house was burnt by the British and Tories in 1780. The tradition in the McDill family is that their grandfather, Thomas McDill, and David McQueston were elders in Ireland, and assisted at the first communion held at Catholic. They subsequently became members of Hopewell, an associate Reformed church some eight miles west of Catholic. There is a discrep-

any in the statements as to whether Campbell or Martin came first in order. The accounts sent up to the General Assembly put Campbell first. The other account says he preached one year, and then left because of the dissatisfaction of the people ; that they then continued almost destitute until the presbytery of South Carolina was set off from the presbytery of Orange. About the time of Mr. Martin's coming to preach among them, and for years afterwards, there was a wonderful addition made to the number of inhabitants within the bounds of the congregation by emigrants from Ireland. But the influx of these emigrants tended rather to weaken than to increase the strength of this congregation. Some were Covenanters, a few were Seceders, and some were what were called "New Lights," who entertained those loose and latitudinarian views of doctrinal truth which had prevailed to such a degree in Scotland and Ireland.

PURITY CHURCH is situated nearly in the centre of Chester district, about two miles from the court-house, borders upon the congregation of Catholic church, and has been united with it under the same pastorate in times past. It was originally known by the name Bull Run. As a congregation it presented to the presbytery of Orange a call for the labors of James Campbell, which call he accepted in connection with one from Catholic congregation. He remained with Catholic one year and with Purity one year and six months, according to the statement we have before rehearsed. After the removal of Mr. Campbell the congregation continued in a very broken and crippled state, owing greatly to the war, nor did it at all revive until the return of peace.

LITTLE RIVER CHURCH, in Laurens district, near the line of Newberry, continued to be served during the early part of this period by Rev. James Creswell, who also labored in the congregation of Duncan's Creek, in the northeastern part of the district, and in Fairforest church, in the edge of Union. He was an occasional preacher at Rocky Creek, now Rock church, Abbeville, till the time of his death. He was licensed by Hanover presbytery at Tinkling Spring, May 2d, 1764, and ordained at Lower Hico, North Carolina, October 6th, 1765. He settled near Island Ford on the Saluda. Mr. Tennent, in his journal, August 24th, 1775, speaks of him also as minister at Ninety-Six. He was a man of more than ordinary activity in his calling, if we may judge from the pulpits he filled, their distances apart, and the large number of carefully-written sermons left at his death. These were kept by his son in perfect

preservation for more than half a century, and at last were destroyed by those mischievous enemies of old manuscripts, the rats. A few exist, not much mutilated, in the hands of his grandson, D. Creswell, of Eutaw, Alabama, written in a small, compact, and beautiful handwriting, and in an easy and scholarly style. In the memorable tour of William Henry Drayton and Rev. William Tennent, Mr. Tennent preached at Little River, August 25th, 1775, to a large and concerned audience, and afterwards spoke for two and a half hours on the subject which then agitated the people. He spoke of this congregation as the centre of the opposition in Fletchall's (a wealthy and influential Royalist) regiment. While in this region Mr. Creswell's house was for some days Mr. Tennent's place of rendezvous.

Mr. Tennent also preached, August 27th, at Ninety-Six, from Nehemiah, ii. 3—"Let the King live forever; why should not my countenance be sad, when the city, the place of my fathers' sepulchres, lieth waste, and the gates thereof are consumed with fire." It is easy to see how this text could have been made the occasion of patriotic appeals which should have moved the hearts of the men of that day.

On the 1st of July, 1776, the Cherokees fell upon the frontier settlements, massacring the inhabitants without distinction. They butchered the family of Aaron Smith, killing him, his wife, five children, and five negro men; Mr. Stringer and one child, and three or four of Gilaspy's family. The inhabitants along the Saluda and Rabun's Creek took refuge in Lindley's Fort, where a part of Col. Williams's regiment were assembled. They were attacked by eighty-two Indians and one hundred and two white men, many of whom were painted and dressed as Indians. They were repulsed by the garrison, and in the rout thirteen of the white Indians were made prisoners, nine of whom were painted. They were sent to Ninety-Six for safe keeping. A letter of Rev. James Creswell to Hon. William Henry Drayton, dated July 27th, 1776, details these and other facts connected with the times. "Such of us," says he, "as are in forts have neither suitable guns nor ammunition for the defence of our lives and little ones, as we were obliged to furnish our army with our best arms."

In Mr. Creswell the advocates of a free government found a congenial spirit, and he continued to exert himself against the Tory influence which was so powerful in that region, and had his life been spared, would have been an actor probably in the scenes which shortly ensued. He died, it is believed, in

the fall of 1776, and was removed from those scenes of suffering through which the country was about to pass. But his warm advocacy of Republican doctrines and his public deliverances on the liberty of the people subjected his widow and family, through the war, to frequent petty annoyances from the Tories. On one occasion a marauding party came to her house and demanded a well-known horse belonging to her. Her eldest son, a lad of about twelve years of age, overheard the conversation, betook himself quietly to the lot, bridled and mounted the animal, was seen galloping off, was pursued and fired at as he swam across the Saluda. The early death of Mr. Creswell was a great loss to Presbyterianism at that day—as he was a man of ardent character, of good abilities, and thorough education—and irreparable to his widow and four little children, whom he left with scanty means of support. She managed without assistance to give them the best education the times and the country afforded, and could testify that she had never seen the righteous forsaken nor his seed begging bread. She lived to a good old age, a model of piety. The descendants of this worthy pair are all either members or supporters of the Presbyterian church.—(MS. Letter of D. Creswell of Eutaw, Alabama.) His name is variously spelled in our ecclesiastical minutes:—James *Crisswell*, among the absentees of Hanover presbytery, p. 400 of the minutes of the synod of New York and Philadelphia; James *Criswell*, in the order erecting the presbytery of Orange in 1770, p. 409, of which presbytery he was one of the original members. For Mr. Creswell's interest in education, see p. 340.

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## CHAPTER V.

BULLOCK'S CREEK Church in York district was favored in obtaining, in the year 1774, the ministerial labors of the Rev. (afterwards Dr.) Joseph Alexander. He was a native of Pennsylvania, and graduated at the college of New Jersey in 1760; was licensed by the presbytery of Newcastle in 1767, and was appointed by the synod of New York and Philadelphia to visit the vacancies in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, and to remain if possible a half-year, and as much longer as he might think proper. On the 11th of October in the same year, he produced his testimonials to the presbytery of Hanover, of his having been licensed and of his having accepted a call f<sup>r</sup>

Sugar Creek, North Carolina, with a recommendation from the presbytery of Newcastle for his ordination. He was ordained at Buffalo, Guilford county, North Carolina, by the presbytery met to install Rev. David Caldwell, March 4th, 1768. In May following Mr. Caldwell performed the service of his installation as pastor of Sugar Creek, where he remained till he took charge of Bullock's Creek in York (then Camden) district in 1774. He was a man of fine education and commanding talents, an animated speaker and renowned as a teacher of youth, and his influence extended far beyond the bounds of his own charge. He greatly aided the churches around him in their destitute condition. Among the places which enjoyed his labors was a church on Thicketty Creek in Union district. In Mr. Tennent's journal, August 22d, 1775, there is the following passage: "Set out from Capt. Beers' on Fishing Creek and rode thirteen miles (crossing Broad river at Smith's ford) to a meeting-house of Mr. Alexander on *Thicketty*, where I found him preaching to a crowd of people assembled to meet me." He was an ardent and fearless patriot. Filled with a sense of his country's wrongs, he did not scruple to advocate its cause in public and private. He was obnoxious therefore to those who favored the royal authorities, but at all times possessed the warm affections of his own people. The few men that were at home and the lads that were not absent from home at the time on public service, habitually repaired to church on Sabbath mornings with their rifles in hand, and around what was known in the next generation as the "Old Log meeting-house," guarded the minister and the worshipping congregation while he preached. Besides serving his own people he is said also to have organized the Nazareth church in Spartanburg district.

BEERSHEBA seems to have been associated very closely with the neighboring church of Bullock's Creek. It also was visited by Mr. Tennent on the same tour. "Went five miles to Beersheba meeting-house, found assembled a large body of people indeed; preached from Rom. v. 5. Afterwards spoke largely on public affairs. The people seemed entirely satisfied and signed the association almost universally. This, I hope, will bring over Col. —'s regiment, *let his intentions be what they will.*" This shows us that the church was flourishing during the early period of the Revolution and the population in general true to the Republican cause. Mr. Alexander, in all probability, officiated at this church through the period of which we speak.

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**BETHESDA CHURCH, YORK DISTRICT.**—The Rev. Hezekiah Balch, who became pastor of Bethel church in 1770, preached also, at least as an occasional supply, in this church till the time of his removal to East Tennessee. In the year 1774-1775 the church was without the ministry of the Word. At this time the Rev. John Simpson gave up the charge of Lower Fishing Creek and engaged to supply the church of Bethesda half his time in connection with Upper Fishing Creek church, of which he remained the pastor. The eldership of the church remained the same as at its first organization during these ten years.

**BETHEL CHURCH, YORK DISTRICT,** was ministered to, it is believed, for a short time by Rev. John Cossan, a missionary sent over from Europe by Lady Huntington. But its first regular pastor was the Rev. Hezekiah Balch, who accepted a call from this congregation in 1770 (it being then under the care of Orange presbytery), and remained in charge of it about four years. Mr. Balch was born in Harford county, Maryland, in the year 1741. His father removed to Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, in his early childhood. He was admitted to Princeton college at the recommendation of Dr. Rodgers, and was graduated in 1762. He was licensed to preach by the presbytery of Newcastle in 1768-69, and labored as a missionary in the bounds of the presbytery of Hanover, which extended indefinitely south and west. He was ordained an evangelist on the 8th of March, 1770. In the following May, with six others, he was set off by the synod of New York and Philadelphia as the presbytery of Orange. During his connection with this church he was married to Miss Hannah Lewis, a lady of fine intellect and of great personal attractions, but who afterwards exhibited some degree of mental aberration, to the great grief and embarrassment of her husband. Before this occurred, however, and soon after the beginning of the war, Mr. Balch resigned his charge and removed over the mountains to East Tennessee, and became widely known, for various reasons, in the church.

During his pastorship the following persons were ordained to the eldership: viz., Joseph Bradner, Col. Samuel Watson, John Howe, Samuel Craig, and John Baird. After the departure of Mr. Balch, Bethel was for some time vacant, receiving occasional supplies from the presbytery of Orange. The Rev. Mr. Cosson, the Rev. James McRee of Mecklenburg, North Carolina, and Mr. Cummins, a licentiate of the presbytery above named, were among those who ministered to them.

The congregation sympathized deeply with the patriots of that period. Colonel Thomas Neel, one of the elders, commanded a regiment against the Cherokees in 1776. He died in 1779. One of his sons, a captain, was killed in battle by the Indians, and another, a colonel, by the Tories.

NAZARETH CHURCH, SPARTANBURG DISTRICT.—On a previous page we have said that Nazareth congregation obtained supplies in 1766, and was organized soon after. This is said on the authority of a brief MS. history prepared for the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church under the direction of the second presbytery of South Carolina in 1808-9. The investigations of its pastor, the Rev. Robert H. Reid, have led him to fix, on reliable evidence, the organization of the church in the spring of 1772. That there was Presbyterian preaching earlier than this is to be inferred from the previous existence of a house of worship. It stood near the site of the present building, at the lower side of the graveyard. Its location was thus determined: two of the older men of the congregation stepped the distance between what was then known as the upper and lower settlements, and this spot being equidistant from both, was selected as the site. There were a few persons living in 1860 who could remember to have attended worship in that house soon after, and one before, the war of independence. The latter person was fourteen years old at the declaration of independence, and in health and in possession of her faculties of mind at the time of which we speak. The house of worship was small, built of logs, the pulpit constructed of clapboards, and the seats of the same material, without backs. "It was built without a subscription paper or presence of an architect." The occasional visits of evangelists like Hugh McAden and others, in all probability, led to the building of the first house of worship. At the organization of the church, so great was the reverence of the congregation for the office of ruling elder, they thought there was scarcely one among them fit to discharge its duties, and they had great difficulty in making a selection. The officiating minister who organized the church overruled their scruples: "*If yere canna get hevn stones, yere must take donna,*" i. e., *rough ones*. A new difficulty then arose. The candidates elect had such exalted views of the character and qualifications requisite for the office, that they refused for some time to be ordained. The first elders elected were Capt. Andrew Barry, Mr. Robert Nesbit, Mr. John Muckelwrath, and Mr. Thomas Peden. The appearance of the congregation when assembled for worship in these early

times, as in all our pioneer settlements, was widely different from that of modern assemblies. The ladies were chiefly their own merchants, milliners, and mantua-makers. They wore hats and wrappers of their own manufacture. The men were clad in knee-breeches and long waistcoats, and low-crowned and broad-brimmed hats, and in summer usually appeared in church without coats. They always came either on foot or horseback. No carriages encircled the sanctuary during their hours of worship. It was common for young men and women to walk four and five miles to church.

But they excelled in all the virtues of the Christian and the man. They revered the house and worship of God. They honored the Sabbath. Preparation was made on Saturday that this should be a quiet day in all their dwellings. If there was no public worship, the day was spent in private duties of religion. The family altar was set up, God's holy word was read daily, and his name invoked. The praises of God were sung out of Rouse's version of the Psalms to the air of Mear, Dublin, Dundee, or Old Hundred; family mercies were acknowledged, family sins confessed, and family blessings supplicated. In nearly all the first dwellings on these rivers the scenes were realized so beautifully described in the "Cotter's Saturday Night" of the Scotch poet Burns, a truthful representation of the simple piety of a Presbyterian family whether in the old country or in this:—

"The cheerfu' supper done, wi' serious face,  
They round the ingle form a circle wide;  
The sire turns o'er wi' patriarchal grace,  
The big Ha'-Bible, ance his father's pride:  
His bonnet rev'rently is laid aside,  
His lyart haffets wearin' thin and bare;  
Those strains that once did sweet in Zion glide,  
He wales a portion with judicious care,  
And 'Let us worship God!' he says, with solemn air.

"They chant their artless notes in simple guise;  
They tune their hearts, by far the noblest aim;  
Perhaps Dundee's wild warbling measures rise,  
Or plaintive Martyrs, worthy o' the name;  
Or noble Elgin beats the heav'nward flame,  
The sweetest far of Scotia's holy lays:

"The priest-like father reads the sacred page,  
Then kneeling down to Heaven's Eternal King,  
The saint, the father, and the husband prays:  
Hope 'springs exulting on triumphant wing,'  
That thus they all shall meet in future days;  
There, ever bask in uncreated rays,  
No more to sigh, or shed the bitter tear,  
Together hymning their Creator's praise."

The church was organized by the Rev. Joseph (afterwards Dr.) Alexander, who continued to preach to them as stated supply until after the war of the Revolution. The road that leads from the church to Pinckneyville, on Broad river, was first opened by the congregation as a bridle-way for Dr. Alexander to travel when he came to preach to them.

But this otherwise peaceful and godly congregation were not free from molestation. They were not long settled in their new house ere they discovered that they were not secure from Indian depredations and violence. While at work in the field they were exposed to the rifles of their deadly foe, and when travelling abroad their wives and children at home were not secure from the tomahawk and scalping-knife. The Enoree river was the line between the Cherokees and the white settlements, and the travel of a few hours would bring the Indian among them. Within a single night the savage enemy might come and perpetrate his deeds of blood and return before the dawn. The frequent murders and robberies of the Indians led to the building of three forts: one near Timmon's Old Field, called Prince's Fort; another in the fork of Middle and North river, on the plantation owned (in 1854) by Mr. David Anderson, called Nichol's Fort, from the name of the resident of the place; the third on Fairforest, at what was then called Poole's Iron-works, but now Bivingsville. They were block-houses, consisting of a few log cabins, notched down so closely and otherwise secured as to be impervious to a rifle-ball save at the port-holes. These forts were built previous to the declaration of independence.

At the beginning of the revolution the Indians became peculiarly troublesome. John Stuart, who was in fort Loudon in the year 1760, when it surrendered to the Cherokees, and who escaped barely with his life when the garrison was massacred, had in commiseration of his sufferings received from the General Assembly of South Carolina a present of £1500 currency, and a recommendation to the king, in consequence of which he had been appointed superintendent of Indian affairs. Though indebted to the colonial legislature for his position, he felt himself drawn to his sovereign by stronger obligations, and exerted all his influence to exasperate the Indians against the friends of congress. Under the representations of his emissaries the Cherokees began their massacres in the back settlements at the very time the British fleet attacked Sullivan's Island.

In the spring and summer of 1776 the Indians annoyed

exceedingly the settlements on Tyger river. The inhabitants were able to bestow but small attention upon the crops, they and their families having sought shelter in the forts. When they did work they carried their rifles to the field, and while some were engaged in labor others acted as sentinels to give notice of danger. Notwithstanding these precautions many lives were lost. In some few instances whole families were found murdered and scalped, and were buried in the same grave without shroud or coffin. On the south side of Middle river lived the family of Hampton.

"Anothony Hampton, the father, with his wife and daughter, Mrs. James Harrison, and his sons, Preston, Henry, and Edward, moved to Spartanburg district about the year 1774. At the commencement of the troubles between the colonies and the mother country, it was a matter of deep concern to the inhabitants on the frontiers of South Carolina that the Cherokee eIndians should not engage in the war. In order to secure their peace, Preston and Edward Hampton made them a visit, and formed an acquaintance with their chiefs and head men. But they had already been seduced by the British government, and the time that Henry Clinton and Sir Peter Parker made their attack on Charleston, they commenced their incursions on the frontier of the State.

"The Indians approached Mr. Hampton's house, and some of the head men were recognized by Preston Hampton, who had hastened home to give warning of the intended rising. The elder children of Mrs. Harrison had been dispatched to warn the neighbors, and Mrs. Harrison and her husband were also at the moment absent. The Indians were met cordially, and old Mr. Hampton had already taken the hand of one of the chiefs in his friendly grasp when he saw the gun of another fire, and his son Preston fall to the ground. The very hand which he held a moment before now sent a tomahawk through his skull. His wife was dispatched in the same way. The infant son of Mrs. Harrison was dashed against the wall of the house, which was spattered with its blood and brains. John Bynum, a grandson of old Mr. Hampton, from whom these particulars were afterwards gathered, stood petrified with horror, and a warrior had raised his hand to strike him when the blow was arrested by a chief who took the lad under his protection. He remained many years with them, but was restored under the treaty of 1777. Mrs. Harrison on coming up saw her father's house in flames, and would have rushed into the midst of their enemies. Her husband held her back, and they hid in the weeds and thicket on the verge of the river till the savages were gone.

"Immediately after this massacre, Colonel Williamson raised a large body of militia, and marched into the Cherokee nation, and destroyed a large number of their towns and settlements. Henry Hampton killed with his own hand an Indian warrior who had his brother Preston Hampton's coat on in the engagement. Edward Hampton, at the time of the massacre, was at Baylis Earle's, on Pacolet, whose daughter he married. In this way he escaped the massacre. He was a bold cavalier, and one of the best horsemen of his age in South Carolina. In the second fight of Williamson with the Indians they began killing their prisoners. Following hard upon their trail he came to the body of a white woman, recently murdered and shockingly exposed. He dismounted, tore off his shirt, covered the body, drew it under a bush, and resumed the pursuit. He was afterwards killed by the Tories of "the bloody scout" in 1781. Gen. Wade Hampton was then in North Caro-

lina. He fought in the battles of the Revolution, exhibited extraordinary gallantry in the battle of Eutaw, and commanded at Plattsburg in 1813. His son Wade received the plaudits of Jackson at the battle of New Orleans, where he fought as a volunteer. The services of his grandson in our recent conflicts and his private virtues need no rehearsal."

Nearly at the same time James Reid, of North Carolina, who was come on business connected with the safety of the settlement, was attacked at the old ford on North river, a short distance below Snoddy's bridge. He was shot through his breast and thigh. He snatched the tomakawk out of the Indian's hand that came up to scalp him. The Indian being disarmed now fled. Reid escaped to Prince's fort, where he remained till his wounds were healed.

"At this time Mr. John Miller, one of the first settlers, was killed. He had taken his family to the fort at Pool's Ironworks, but apprehending but little danger had returned home. While crossing the Middle river at Buffalo bridge, a short distance above the confluence, he was shot down upon the bridge and expired immediately. He had been to a neighbor's house and was returning in company with two other persons by the name of Orr and Leach. They attempted to escape by running up on the south side of the river. The Indians, who had been concealed under the bridge or near it, continued to fire at them. The fugitives came to a small lagoon or marsh which impeded their progress. Orr, being a strong active man, cleared it with a bound, but Leach fell in, and as he lay quiet the Indians supposed he had been shot. They therefore followed in pursuit of Orr, and Leach escaped down the river where they had passed. They killed Orr and took his scalp. Orr was buried by the neighbors in the bottom where he was killed, and Miller about a quarter of a mile from the river, in the fork of the two rivers on the plantation now (1854) owned by Mr. David Anderson. He was buried without coffin or shroud, in the dress he had on. A brick wall encircling his grave marks his last resting-place. He was a tall, prepossessing, amiable man. He carried a copy of the Scriptures always in his pocket, and his death was regarded as a serious loss to the infant settlement. It occurred just before the declaration of Independence. The excitement on the subject of the war was great, and it was believed at the time that white men as well as Indians were concerned in these murders. The Indians continued to annoy the settlement at times till the close of the Revolution."—(Rev. Robt. H. Reid, in the Spartanburg Express.)

The next trouble which came upon the congregation was from the Tories. First came "the plundering Scout." They visited and plundered various families. Mr. Timmons, an old man, they hung up by the neck, but the rope either broke or was cut, so that his life was preserved. They abused old Mr. Collins, hacking him with their swords. Next came "the bloody Scout." They killed a Capt. Steadman, who was lying sick at Mr. Charles Moore's. They wore the Whig badge of distinction, and came upon Mr. William Caldwell near the church and shot at him several times, wounding his horse. Yet by an ingenious stratagem of uttering the word of command to imaginary comrades, he escaped. His young brother

had been sent to the house of Frank Howel to apprise them of their danger. Mr. Howel and two by the name of Timmons escaped, one man was killed, and the lad John Caldwell was so cut to pieces with their swords that he died the next day. They killed John Wood in his own house. At James Wood's, his wife begged on her knees for the life of her husband, but they denied her request. She begged that she might not see him die. They took him out of her sight and shot him. They went on to Poole's Ironworks and killed John Snoddy. This party was led by the "Bloody Bill Cunningham."

LONG CANE CHURCH, Abbeville district.—This congregation had been unsuccessful hitherto in their efforts to obtain a pastor. But in 1770 they again presented a supplication, by their messenger, Mr. John Lusk, to the synod of New York and Philadelphia, requesting that Mr. Josiah Lewis, who had already labored among them as a missionary of the synod, or some other minister, be appointed to supply them for twelve months, with a view to settlement. Mr. Lewis was appointed for six months, but it does not appear that he fulfilled this appointment. The people were still as sheep without a shepherd, until early in the year 1771, to their great satisfaction, they were visited by the Rev. Azel Roe and John Close of New Jersey, who were sent forth by the synod with plenary evangelistic powers "to preach the gospel, ordain elders, and administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's-supper."—(Minutes, pp. 403, 404, 412.) These brethren accepted the appointment, and made arrangements with Messrs. Russel and McAlpin, the bearers of the petition, to prepare for their reception. These gentlemen made their report to those who had sent them, who heartily set on foot appropriate measures for the reception of the missionaries.

The missionaries tarried some weeks, ordained elders, baptized children, and administered the Lord's-supper for the first time in these settlements. There is good reason to believe that this was a time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord, and that some "such as should be saved were added to the church."

We are not able to state who were the elders that were appointed, no records being found which will give the requisite information. Soon after the return of Messrs. Roe and Close the Rev. Joseph Alexander, then of the presbytery of Orange and pastor of Sugar Creek, North Carolina, made them a transient visit. A call, very ardently expressed, and signed by a

large number of persons, was sent for Mr. Roe, but was unsuccessful. Notwithstanding the anxious desire of the people to obtain a pastor from the synod of New York and Philadelphia, they remained still longer without one, to the great danger of the peace, harmony, and strength of the church.

About the fall of 1771 the Rev. Messrs. Josiah Lewis of the presbytery of Newcastle, and Hezekiah Balch of Orange presbytery, came and administered the Lord's-supper at ROCKY CREEK, a little church (or subdivision of the church) which had been planted and organized by Messrs. Roe and Close in the spring before. On this occasion there appears to have been a considerable stir in religious things among the people, and from this time the congregations at the four places of preaching seem to have settled down into a more distinct ecclesiastical order, and to have assumed more the form of regular churches; but they were all still destitute of a stated pastor. A considerable body of emigrants, immediately from Ireland, had become dispersed among the congregations, and although many of these were of the most orderly and reputable character, as is always the case, their predilections were different from those of the earlier settlers, and there was less harmony in public taste and sentiment. The new comers preferred ministers direct from Ireland. This circumstance, connected with the long vacancy in the church or churches, and the fact that their efforts to obtain ministers from the North were defeated, began to cool their zeal and cast a cloud over their prospects. Some of the late emigrants, with whom others joined by reason of these disappointments, sent to Ireland to the presbytery of Down for a minister whom they named.

About this time the Rev. John Harris, who had been appointed with other ministers in 1769 to visit and supply the vacancies in Virginia and North and South Carolina, but who appears not to have reached the upper settlements of South Carolina till now, came on a visit to the churches here, and in November, 1772, took the pastoral charge as stated supply of the congregations which by this time were known as Fort Boone, Bull Town, and Long Cane.—(MS. Hist. by Dr. Cummins and others as Committee of Presbytery of South Carolina.) About the same time with the first arrival of Mr. Harris these congregations were visited by the Rev. James Creswell of the presbytery of Orange, who settled in the congregation of Little river, Laurens district. Mr. Harris was born on the 29th of September, 1725, of Welsh parents, who settled on the eastern shore of Maryland early in the eighteenth century, and was

graduated at Nassau Hall (Princeton) in 1753, and soon after, October 12th, was taken on trial for licensure by the presbytery of Newcastle. He was ordained as pastor of Indian river, near Lewes, Delaware, in 1756.—(Webster, pp. 669, 670.) When the presbytery of Newcastle was divided he was set off to the presbytery of Lewestown. He seems to have preached to the churches of Wicomico and Monokin, names familiar to the earliest records of the colonial church. He resigned his pastoral charge in 1769. In 1774 he became a member of the presbytery of Orange, which then embraced all south of the presbytery of Hanover, in which connection he remained till he was set off with five others to constitute the presbytery of South Carolina, which held its first meeting at the Waxhaws, April 11th, 1785. In 1775 he accepted the regular call of the people, and labored among them as their stated pastor until October, 1779. At this time he was released from his pastoral charge on the ground of bodily indisposition, still serving the churches as occasional supply until they could obtain the services of another pastor. Mr. Harris lived till near the close of the next period of our history, but his most important ministerial labors were performed in this. In person Mr. Harris was not above the medium stature, but his sturdy frame and erect carriage commanded respect, and the severe but honest determination of his countenance tempered the pleasantries which often sparkled from his dark eye. By all his acquaintances he was acknowledged to have been a very judicious, pious, and exemplary minister of the gospel. But having (to use his own words) a hesitancy in his speech, his delivery was not of the popular kind; yet his solid sense and convincing argument gave him influence in the pulpit and in the judicatories of the church.—(MS. Hist.) In his missionary labors he was zealous and indefatigable, and ready to dispense the word wherever practicable, under a spreading tree, or in the log-cabin, and he had a word of encouragement and rebuke for all. An aged lady, born in 1769, recollects hearing him preach under a large chestnut-tree near the residence of Gen. Pickens, which was then the "Block-house," on the site now occupied by Abbeville village. In this discourse he inveighed against the use of tobacco and some other species of intemperance then prevalent, though the staple of his preaching was Jesus Christ and his righteousness. The three preaching stations before mentioned grew, under his care, to be regularly organized churches, a condition to which they had attained at the close of the war.

Bold, enthusiastic, and independent, he was peculiarly fitted for the stirring times in which he lived, and he labored as a true patriot to stamp his own principles of Republican liberty upon others. And it was his boast that every man in his congregations was a Whig. But, though the Scotch-Irish were of the right mintage, there were not a few "red-coats" in the country around. As early as 1773 he had formed a settlement in the "Flat Woods" on the waters of McKinly's creek and Little river, and as a landowner and planter he bore no small share of the losses and sufferings inflicted by the Indians and Tories. The Savannah river, too, being near at hand, it became necessary for the well-affected to seek protection in forts against marauding parties from the Georgia side. Much of his catechetical and other instructions were given in these forts, which were scattered along the Savannah river, or in those nearer his preaching stations, which had been built for protection against the Indians. About three miles from the spot where the church was built, which was afterwards called Hopewell, a palisade fort with port-holes, and supplied within with a school-house, minister's residence, and other log dwellings, had been constructed after the return of the settlers to their homes. It was called Fort Boone, most probably in honor of Thomas Boone, then provincial governor. The father of Rev. Dr. Gray, now [1861] of La Grange, Tenn., and the venerable lady before mentioned, his sister, were pupils in the school at Fort Boone, and catechumens of John Harris.

His republicanism and influential position rendered him specially obnoxious to the Tories. When he went forth alone on his errands of mercy he was often obliged to flee before them and take refuge for the time in some thicket. As they could not lay hands on him they took revenge on his property, driving off at one time nearly all his slaves to Florida, where the British established a depôt for them. At Bull Town was a fort, in the vicinity of Mr. Harris's plantation. In this neighborhood the Indians and Tories were particularly active. A negro woman was chased by them for three days with her child in her arms. At last she was caught and carried to the Indian nation, but made good her escape, leaving her child behind. The child was finally rescued by Colonels Pickens and Anderson, and is still (in 1861) living.

In the midst of these scenes it must not be supposed that the public worship of God was wholly suspended. The devout worshippers often bowed before him *on their arms*; and a veritable tradition asserts that Rev. John Harris often preached

with his gun in the pulpit beside him, and his ammunition suspended from his neck after the fashion of the times.

An anecdote is also told of him, evincing his determination and his insight into character. Colonel A——, a worthy man but of a pliant temper, lived far down on the Savannah, in a region much subject to Tory aggression. He was a personal friend of Mr. Harris and a member of one of his congregations, but having held a commission under the royal government, it was feared he would compromise his principles for British protection. This suspicion no sooner entered the mind of his friend than he mounted his horse, and taking his saddle-bags for a long visit, determined not to leave him till he took a decided stand on the right side. He stayed with him several days, and on his return reported that "all is right."

As an evidence of his position as a citizen, he was at one time a member of the provincial congress of South Carolina; and besides, in that frontier life was very useful to his people in a medical capacity. Aged persons remember that their parents spoke of him as old Doctor Harris; and tradition has preserved some instances of his success in the healing art.

Although very genial and tolerant, he was an uncompromising champion of the faith. And it was even thought that he would not hesitate to demonstrate his belief by physical as well as rational arguments. At the close of the war he was the only Presbyterian minister in what was afterwards known as Abbeville district; but he had something of a competitor in a brother of the Associate Reformed church, who, offended at the fearless independence of the Presbyterian and at some innovations in psalmody, often gave vent to sentiments more warlike than Christian.\* It was said to him, "You had better take care; old Dr. Harris will get hold of you." "I dinna care," he replied; "he may hae the better of me in hither and yan, but I hae the advantage in length." Such were the men of that rude and practical age.

For these notices of Rev. John Harris we are chiefly indebted to the pen of Mrs. Mary E. Davis (of the family of Moragne, of the old Huguenot colony), who has kindly furnished them for the purposes of this history.†

\* A son of Mr. Harris, a gallant and spirited youth, having learned something of music from an Englishman in Virginia, ventured to introduce Watts, and to give his father's congregation some new tunes to vary the routine of the old *Scotch dozen*, but received his reward by drawing down upon him the indignation of the conscientious singers of Rouse. The Associate Reformed clergyman alluded to above was the Rev. Peter McMullen.

† Printed also in Southern Presbyterian Review, vol. xv., p. 78.

The church edifices of this day were rude log-houses. "A traveller," says the same authority, "on the road leading from Charleston through the 'flat woods' of western Carolina, might have passed near enough to hear the songs of praise issuing from the log-building which was the first house of worship of the church of LOWER LONG CANE." It was situated in the midst of a rich country, on a level spot, in which the large trees stood up like columns in some mighty temple. The land on which it stood was given by a colonist from Ireland on the express condition that no grave-yard should ever be made there—a condition which has not been violated except in the burial of two or three foreigners. It was in this log-house that the Rev. Mr. Harris preached with his rifle at his side, and here he ordained the first elders, William Calhoun, senior, and A. Barksdale; and here, as early as 1777, he baptized several infant children, who, when they arrived at manhood, became elders in the same church.

There thus arose in due time the five churches of (1) Upper Long Cane, two miles north of Abbeville village, which is still called by the name Long Cane; (2) Lower Long Cane, embracing the territory now included in Hopewell church and congregation; (3) Rocky Creek, now known as Rock church, a few miles from the village of Greenwood; (4) Bull Town, now Rocky River, in the western part of what is now Abbeville district; and again (5) Saluda, now Greenville. The full adjustment of the bounds of these congregations belongs, however, to the next decade.

Nearly contemporary with the occupancy of these churches by Mr. Harris was the advent of Rev. William Raynoldson from Ireland. Though he was not the person named in the call sent to the presbytery of Down, he came over and settled among the people, although the churches were enjoying the labors of a pastor.

Such was Mr. Raynoldson's moral, or rather, in some things, immoral character (for he was charged with drunkenness), schismatic temper and pursuits, so unlike anything that had before existed, that it put a period to the harmony that had before graced and strengthened the people. Though he professed otherwise at first, he proved afterwards to be of the Secession church.

When the war grew hot between England and America, he turned Tory, went off and died among the British, leaving grievous maladies, of which he was the author, to survive him in the church.—(Materials for the History of the Presbyterian

Church in Abbeville county, South Carolina, compiled by Dr. Cummins by order of presbytery.)

In August, 1772, Rev. Joseph Smith, who was dismissed August 26th from the pastoral charge of the church of Lower Brandywine, Maryland, received a call from Rocky Creek and Long Cane. He had probably visited those regions soon after he was licensed, by the appointment of the presbytery of Newcastle, as Dr. Power and Dr. McMillan are reported to have done. This call he declined. He was born in 1736, graduated at Princeton in 1764, and died on the 19th of April, 1792. He was one of the noble pioneer ministers of Western Pennsylvania.—(See Old Redstone, by Joseph Smith, D.D., p. 56. Philadelphia, 1854.)

FRENCH PROTESTANT CHURCH AT NEW BORDEAUX, ABBEVILLE DISTRICT.—This church continued to maintain the worship of God in their native tongue, under the guidance of their pastors, Rev. Jean Louis Gibert and M. Boutiton, a worship all the more dear to them as it reminded them of their transatlantic homes, and all they had suffered there for the testimony of Jesus Christ. If unintelligible to their neighbors, it must have affectingly reminded these of that worship for which their own fathers also had suffered on other shores, where they too were denied "freedom to worship God." In August, 1773, they experienced an irreparable loss in the death of their pastor, the founder of the colony, Jean Louis Gibert, in the vigor of life and in the midst of seemingly good health. He was cut off, by a sudden stroke, at the age of fifty-one years. Of his labors and sufferings as one of the *pasteurs du dessert* in his native land we have spoken in preceding pages, pp. 344-352. Tradition supplies the place of conjecture and fully establishes his character for learning and ability. These were displayed in directing the early movements of the colony, and afterwards, chiefly in catechising their youth, and in the general discharge of his ministerial and pastoral functions. His life, though not long, was an eventful one, characterized with great energy and devoted zeal. To have braved the bitter persecutions of malignant enemies for so many years—to have sustained the faith of the afflicted children of "the Church beneath the Cross" in his own native land—to have escaped the snares laid for him there—to have transplanted a colony of those persecuted saints to the American wilderness, where their descendants still reside, and to have watched over this colony during the first years of its existence—was accomplishing far more than

falls ordinarily to the most chosen servants of God. The choice library which he brought with him was distributed, after his death, among his descendants, and though his manuscripts and many valuable volumes have perished, enough yet remains as memorials of a man to be had in long remembrance. He left a widow and three small children, a son and two daughters. The son died unmarried. His youngest daughter, Louise, who was about six years old at her father's death, married William Petigru, and was the mother of Capt. Thomas Petigru, of the United States navy, recently deceased, and of Hon. James L. Petigru, of Charleston, whose family are the only lineal descendants of the Rev. J. L. Gibert. The other daughter married Mr. Thomas Finley, and died leaving an infant son, John Louis. He grew up a young man of great promise, but died while a student of the South Carolina college, and his remains were recently removed by the students of that college to the Elmwood cemetery, near Columbia, out of respect to an honorable family and to that distinguished "pastor of the desert," of the "Church under the Cross," Jean Louis Gibert.

John Louis Gibert was buried at Badwell, where he had lived, and the epitaph on his tombstone, erected by his grandson, will be read with interest. It is the composition of Hugh Swinton Legaré.

H. S. E.

JOHANNES LUDOVICUS GIBERTUS,  
 Sævientem in Religionis Reformatæ Professores,  
 Patriam fugiens  
 Sociis Discipulisque Comitatus,  
 Pius Exul,  
 Littora heu longinqua petit,  
 Auspice, Vero  
 Cui se suaque omnia voverat,  
 Deo,  
 Mare Oceanum permensus  
 Has silvas quantumvis eo tempore horridas  
 Cultis illis quidem sed præ superstitione scelestis  
 Civibus suis nuper, Gallis  
 Hospitiores expertus,  
 Hic pauperem domum posuit;  
 Et quavis Fortunæ sorte contentus  
 Modo Fidem incorruptam servare  
 Atque Libertate frui liceret,  
 Hæc Arva  
 Pro dulcibus Natis colebat.  
 Sed præpropero Fato abreptus,  
 Vitam hanc integerrime  
 Et non infructuose actam

Cum illa celesti ac sempiterna  
 Commutavit  
 Aug., 1773—Æt. 52.  
 Hoc monumentum sepulchrale  
 Avo Sanctissimo,  
 Nepos Pius  
 Jacobus Ludovicus Petigru  
 Ponendum curavit.  
 MDCCCXIX.

The nephew of John Louis Gibert [according to Coquerel, but "his brother," according to Moragne,\*] Etienne Gibert, who was also educated at Lausanne, migrated to England, and was minister of the Chapel Royal. A volume of his sermons, and a book of criticisms on the writings of Voltaire were there published, and mark him as a man of ability and learning. Pierre Gibert, nephew of Jean Louis (according to Moragne) and of Etienne Gibert was taken to England by the latter, and partially educated there. He was brought to the colony by his uncle, Jean Louis Gibert. His English education gave him superior advantages in his new home, and the youth of the colony were chiefly indebted to him for their instruction, first in French, and then also in English. In the public affairs of the colony he became its acknowledged leader. He espoused the cause of the American colonies with great enthusiasm, and raised the standard of Independence among his people. The town-hall of New Bordeaux rang with his stirring appeals to his countrymen, to make common cause with their fellow-colonists of different descent against British oppression. They promptly espoused the Whig cause to a man, and in the war of the Revolution did good service to their adopted country. They were not unused to military organizations, for before they left Charleston, July 16th, 1764, the men capable of bearing arms were organized into a company, of which Daniel Due was captain, Pierre Leoron, lieutenant; and ——— Le Violette, ensign. This organization was perpetuated or renewed during their conflicts with the Tories.

There is no reason to believe that the pulpit of Rev. Mr. Gibert was ever regularly filled by another. It has been thought that Mr. Boutiton, his brother-in-law, preached to the colony, though no one affirms with certainty that he performed divine service as his successor. His sojourn with the colony

\* We are indebted for the American history of this family to the excellent address of W. C. Moragne, Esq., delivered at New Bordeaux, November 11th, 1854, being the ninetieth anniversary of the arrival of the French Protestants at that place.

preceded the arrival of Mr. Gibert, as in 1765 he consecrated, after a threefold publication of the banns, the first marriage which occurred at New Bordeaux, that of "Pierre Moragne, natural and legitimate son of Pierre Moragne and Marie Paris on the one side, and Cecile Bayle, natural and legitimate daughter of Jean Bayle and Marie Seyral on the other." There is a tradition preserved in the family that Rev. Mr. Boutton suffered under some mental malady in the latter part of his life which disqualified him for public duty. As the colony advanced, the restricted limits of the town of New Bordeaux were found too narrow, and the colonists dispersed more widely over the adjoining country. Indeed the English scheme of towns and townships laid out upon navigable streams, according to a definite plan, was over-ruled throughout the province by the nature of a new, unsettled country, and the necessities of the first inhabitants. The house or place of worship was removed from the town to a site on the banks of the river, not far from the present site of Gibert's Mills. Here they conducted their simple service without a pastor, the reading of sermons and singing of psalms being conducted chiefly by Pierre Moragne, sen., and the prayers by Pierre Gibert, Esq., as anciens or elders, in fact, if not by official ordination, of the Huguenot church of New Bordeaux.

Our Jerusalem was built, through all this period, "in troublous times." The Presbyterian population, with few exceptions, were marshalled on the side of liberty. They had to contend with the Royalists in their midst, their Indian neighbors, and the armies which Britain arrayed against them. The Royalists, led on by Kirkland, Fletchall, the Cunninghams, and Pearis, were confronted by Colonels Thompson, Richardson, and Williamson in numerous engagements. In one of these, known popularly as "The Snow-camp's," in December, 1775, our men suffered much, being illy provided, and scantily provisioned. They were rewarded by the temporary subjugation of the Royalists, many of whom never again assumed a hostile attitude. The Presbyterians especially took an active part in these contests, and the names of Andrew Pickens, of Major Joseph McJunkin, and others, elders in the church, became conspicuous as military leaders. After the gallant defence of Fort Moultrie, June 28th, 1776, which gave a respite to the State for two years from foreign invasion, Charleston enjoyed a lucrative commerce and supplied the north, as far as New Jersey, with foreign goods. The up-country was harassed still by the Indians and the

Tories, some of whom disguised themselves as Indians to wreak their vengeance upon the patriots. "The Tories," says Mr. Saye, "set up peeled poles at *their* houses, around which white clothes were wrapped. These were called passovers. On the 28th of June, 1776, the Indians commenced the work of death among the Whigs, but the Tories sat under their passovers in safety." Colonels Williamson, Hammond, and Lieutenant Hampton conducted expeditions against the Cherokees, whom they routed, laying waste their settlements, destroying their crops, and compelling them to cede the present districts of Greenville, Anderson, and Pickens. A full and interesting account of this expedition is found in Mr. Saye's history of Major McJunkin, in the Watchman and Observer of 1847, and in the Magnolia, which we regret that our limits forbid us to introduce. The fruitless expeditions of General Lee against Florida and of General Robert Howe, in which he lost five hundred men, chiefly by the malign influence of climate, and then was defeated at Savannah in December, 1778, and the miserable and sanguinary defeat of General Ashe on Briar Creek, in Georgia, March 16th, 1779, in which the bayonets of the Highlanders were turned upon the patriots after their surrender, exhausted greatly the resources of the country, and emboldened Prevost to advance upon Charleston. He was obliged to retire to Savannah, where he was unsuccessfully besieged by Gen. Lincoln and Count d'Estaing, in which we lost more than a thousand men. In the retreat of Prevost, besides a system of universal and rich plunder, some four thousand slaves were lost to their masters with the empty promise of freedom, three thousand of whom were sold in the West Indies. Of those who were left, some clung to the boats as they pushed off till their fingers were cut off with cutlasses. Many perished in the woods. Those who were got off with the army were left on Otter Island, where they died with camp fever, their bodies being devoured by birds and beasts, and the island strewed with their bones. The British were active at Augusta, and were joined by many infamous characters who were freebooters and bandits, and marched through the settlements perpetrating acts of dreadful cruelty and robbery. Andrew Pickens, an elder of the Long Canes church, collected the Whig militia of the district of Ninety-Six, and with about three hundred men, pursued them into Georgia, came up with them near Kettle Creek, in Wilkes county, on the 14th of February, 1779, and dispersed them with great slaughter, in which Col. Boyd, their leader, was slain. The

prisoners were tried as traitors. Seventy were condemned to death, but their leaders only were executed. This second insurrection of the Tories was thus quelled. In all these conflicts our Presbyterian brethren suffered either by wounds, disease, imprisonment, or death, and the houses and plantations of those who lived in the march of the invading and retreating enemy were plundered and desolated.

Yet in the midst of these scenes of conflict our people were by no means neglecting the interests of learning and religion. The Mount Zion society was established in the city of Charleston January 9th, and incorporated February 12th, 1777, "for the purpose of founding, endowing, and supporting a public school in the district of Camden for the education and instruction of youth." The preamble of the constitution is prefaced by Isaiah, lx. 1, and lxi. 3—"Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. To appoint unto them that mourn in Zion, to give unto them beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; that they might be called the trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that he might be glorified." The very language is jubilant with hope and courage, and the quotation may have suggested the name the society adopted. Its members were dispersed over the State. It was to have weekly, quarterly, and annual meetings, and these, for the convenience of the most numerous body of members, were held in Charleston. It was to have local committees in the country, and thirteen governors or directors, seven in the country and six in the city. The first president was Col. John Winn, and its wardens Gen. William Strother and Capt. Robert Ellison. Col. Thomas Taylor, Capt. Thomas Woodward, and other patriots, were among the first signers of its constitution. Its membership the first year was fifty-eight in number. In 1778 ninety-six were added; in 1779, eighty-seven; so that at the close of this decennium two hundred and sixty-four names were found upon its roll. In the second year of its existence we find among the names Andrew Pickens, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, four sons of Anthony Hampton, Henry, Edward, Richard, and Wade, and the brother of Anthony, John Hampton. About this time a school was taught in Winnsboro by William Humphreys, who, it is believed, was placed there by the Mount Zion society. This Mr. Humphreys was a member of the society and owned lots in Winnsboro, which he sold about 1800. At what time this school was discontinued is not known, but it

was probably about the time when Lord Cornwallis moved his headquarters to Winnsboro, in 1780. What connection this society had with the interests of the church will be seen hereafter.

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## BOOK TWELFTH.

1780-1790.

### CHAPTER I.

THE period on which we now enter covers that of Carolina's greatest suffering. The three first years of this decade to the peace of Paris, on the 30th of November, 1782, and more especially the two first of these years, were filled with sanguinary conflicts of greater or less importance, bringing untold calamities to this afflicted State. From the seaboard to the mountains its soil was stained with the blood of its sons. The mere enumeration of the various battles and contests shows how replete with alarms and how full of deeds of endurance and heroism were these days of trial. The battle of Lenud's Ferry, the fall of Charleston, the battle of Beckhamville, and of Mobley's Meeting-house in Chester district, of the Waxhaw in Lancaster, of Hammond's Store, of Williamson's in York, of Rocky Mount, of Cedar Springs, of Hanging Rock, of Wateree Ford, of Camden, of Fishing Creek, of Musgrove's Mills, of Nelson's Ferry, of Stallions, of Fort Cornwallis at Augusta, of Wahab, of Bigger's Ferry, of King's Mountain, of Tarcote Swamp, of White's Bridge, of Fish-dam Ford, of Blackstock, of Rugely's Mills, of Cowpens, of Georgetown, of Socastee Swamp, of Friday's Fort, of Thompson's on the Congaree, of White's Bridge near Sampit, of Wiboo Swamp, of Mount Hope, of Big Savannah, of Scape Hoar, of Sampit Bridge, of Fort Balfour on the Pocotaligo, of Fort Watson, of Hobkirk Hill, of Orangeburg, of Fort Motte, of Nelson's Ferry, of Fort Granby, of Fort Galphin, the siege of Ninety-Six, the battle of Georgetown, of Congaree Ford, of Watboo, of Parker's Ferry, of Eutaw, of Fair Lawn, of Black Mingo, of Hays Station, of Strawberry Ferry near Monk's Corner, of Combahee, of Wombaw, of John's Island,—all these engagements, in many of which, it is true, large numbers were not involved, spread as they were over the whole State, show the

agitations of the times and the severe trials of our revolutionary fathers.

During the remaining seven years of this period the State was organizing its civil government, and the church spreading itself more and more over that field of usefulness which it has ever since occupied.

In resuming our history of the churches, we commence as before with the INDEPENDENT CHURCH IN CHARLESTON, it being the oldest in the State, except the Episcopal church of St. Philip's, for which the priority is claimed. In our last notice we found the congregation vacant, and inviting, July 18th, 1779, Rev. Mr. Edmonds and Dr. Percy, an Episcopalian of liberal views, to preach for them till the following October. They had two places of worship, the "*White Meeting*," in Meeting-street, and the church in Archdale-street, originated in 1772 by the energy and influence of Rev. William Tennent. The walls of this house of worship had been completed, the whole covered in, and most of the pews put up; but it remained in this unfinished state during the eight years of the Revolution and for some time after its termination. The venerable Josiah Smith, the former pastor of this church, was still living, though disabled from ministerial duty, and it is most probable that the pulpit continued to be filled in the early months of 1780 by Rev. James Edmonds. On the 11th of February the British army landed within thirty miles of Charleston. The General Assembly of South Carolina being then in session, clothed John Rutledge with almost dictatorial powers, commissioning him to see that "the Republic sustained no harm." At Wappoo, on James Island, Sir Henry Clinton formed a depôt and erected fortifications. On the 1st of April he broke ground at the distance of eleven hundred yards from the city, and at successive periods erected five batteries on Charleston Neck. The garrison were equally assiduous. They strengthened and extended the works thrown up in the spring of 1779, and continued the line of defence from the Ashley to the Cooper river. A deep moat filled with water and an abbatiss extended from river to river. These lines were on the ridge of land where St. Paul's [Episcopal] church, the orphan-house, the citadel, and the second Presbyterian church now stand. The bombardment of the city commenced on the 12th of April, and was carried on with great pertinacity. The enemy threw shells, fire-balls, and carcasses, ingeniously contrived with combustibles, loaded pistol barrels, &c., by which many buildings were set on fire, and

some few lives were lost. The families living in the city sought protection in their cellars, and only about twenty are known to have been killed. One case of peculiar interest was that of a man serving at his post in the defence. He had been relieved, had just entered his house, and was just then embraced by his anxious wife with tears of gladness, when a ball passed through the house and instantly killed them both.—(Johnson's Traditions of the Revolution.) The Rev. Mr. Edmonds continued to perform divine service in the church, to a few worshippers, mostly women and invalids; for the men were by night and day on the lines. While on one occasion he was engaged in this duty, a bombshell fell in the churchyard; the worshippers instantly dispersed and retired to their usual places of abode. Divine service was wholly intermitted from that day, for the two years and eight months that followed.—(Ramsay's Hist. of the Circular Church.) At last the third parallel of the enemy was completed, the parties were within speaking distance of each other, and every object shown above the lines was riddled with bullets. On the 11th of May the British crossed the wet ditch by a sap which had drawn off its water, the city was no longer tenable, and on the 12th of May capitulated to the British general.

The Rev. Mr. Edmonds was sent with others on board the prison-ship *Torbay*, in May, 1781. In consequence of the war, the church was temporarily disorganized and dispersed. For six years it remained without a settled minister, and divine service was discontinued for half that period. The church building was used by the British as a hospital for their sick, and afterwards as a store-house for their provisions. The pulpit and pews were taken down and destroyed to make room for these purposes. Even the right of sepulture in the cemetery was denied to the families of worshippers who were in Charleston after their capitulation as prisoners of war. About thirty-eight heads of these families were exiled, partly to St. Augustine, in 1780, and partly to Philadelphia, in 1781, in direct contradiction to the terms of capitulation. Their influence doubtless restrained many from exchanging their parole as prisoners for the protection and privileges of British subjects. And Lord Cornwallis, soon after his victory at Camden, gave orders to send out of the province a number of the principal citizens. It had before been promised that they should remain in Charleston until exchanged or otherwise released from parole. Now the British claimed it as the right of victors to remove their prisoners wherever they pleased. They

were thus secluded from their wives and families, could not correspond with them without subjecting every letter to the inspection of their conquerors, were cut off from communication with their countrymen, and without funds. Others were debarred from trade and from exercising those professions by which a livelihood was obtained, and from "all mechanic arts, business, or occupation." And even when these prisoners were released, it was not to return to their own homes and meet their families in peace. The prisoners of St. Augustine were sent to Philadelphia, their families were banished thither also, and thrown on the charity of strangers for their support. Thus a bitter hatred was engendered by this war against the British people for their gratuitous cruelty.

"Three days," says one who was a sufferer, "three days after the exchange of the St. Augustine prisoners had been ratified in Charleston, the commandant of that place issued a proclamation ordering all those families to leave the city and the State by the 1st of August whose fathers had not taken protection. This was the unkindest cut of all. The fathers in St. Augustine did not know of this order and could not provide for the exigencies of their families. The mothers had all suffered great privations; many were destitute of support when their husbands were abroad, and were obliged to sacrifice their furniture, ornaments, and other property, for the means of removal. None knew when they might again meet their husbands, if ever, or find means of making known their situation and necessities." Among these was Mrs. Mary de Saussure, wife of Daniel de Saussure, of whom we have written, one of the most respectable merchants of Charleston, and one of the most exemplary citizens of the State. A copy of Mrs. de Saussure's petition to the commandant for permission to sell her furniture to obtain the means of removal has been preserved by her children and grandchildren.

On the 25th of July many of these families embarked for Philadelphia, in a brig commanded by Capt. Downham Newton, with a passport making her a flag of truce. "Among them," says the informant, Joseph Johnson, M. D., *Traditions of the Revolution*, pp. 331, 332, "were my mother and family; of the others, we can only recollect the families of Mr. Josiah Smith, in which was included his venerable father, the minister, so aged and infirm that he required constant personal attentions; also the families of Messrs. George A. Hall, Samuel Prioleau, William Lee, Logan, Cripps, Axson, and North. They had a prosperous voyage, entered the capes of Delaware

on the 2d of August, and, with a fair wind, continued their course up to Newcastle. Another brig had been in sight all day, pursuing the same course a little behind them. As they anchored in the evening the other brig anchored close alongside. My father being on the deck of this last brig, hailed the other without the use of the trumpet, and was answered 'from Charleston,' in the well-known voice of the captain. They immediately recognized each other. 'Is that you, Downham Newton?' 'Aye; is that you, William Johnson? We have your family on board.' Many other manly voices immediately and anxiously inquired each for his own family, and a joyful meeting then took place of many dear ones, thus providentially brought together. The pious effusions of their gratitude were offered up to *Him* who had so unexpectedly effected the meeting of relatives and friends, without preconcert or provision on their part."

The Rev. Josiah Smith, to whom allusion is above made, as we have seen in the earlier pages of this volume, held a conspicuous place among the ministers of South Carolina, until in God's mysterious providence he was stricken down by paralysis. The closing period of his life is thus described by Dr. Ramsay, who was contemporary with him long enough to know his worth and to be familiar with his history:—

"When independence was declared his age and infirmities put it out of his power to render his country any active service, but his heart and his prayers were with the friends of America in every period of the Revolution. When Charleston surrendered he became a prisoner of war, and was paroled as such. He discovered no disposition to return to his allegiance as a British subject, but honorably observed his parole. In the year 1781 the royal commanders compelled Mr. Smith, with his son's family, of which he was one, though in the seventy-seventh year of his age, to leave Charleston. He was with them safely landed in Philadelphia, and shortly after, in the month of October of the same year, died there. In the worst of times he repeatedly expressed a cheerful hope that he would live to see the troubles of America ended. This was so far realized that he survived for a short time the surrender of Cornwallis.

"His venerable age, distinguished eminence in the church as a man of learning and piety, his steady patriotism and personal sufferings in the cause of liberty, excited a general sympathy in his behalf. Though he died a stranger, in a strange land, he was particularly honored. His funeral was respectably attended by the citizens of Philadelphia, and by most of the Carolina exiles then in that city. The Presbyterians of Philadelphia directed that his body should be buried within the walls of their Arch-street church, and between the remains of his two friends, the Rev. Gilbert Tennent and Samuel Finley, D. D., late president of Princeton College.

"Mr. Smith left two sons, Josiah and George, and two daughters; one of the latter married Capt. Edward Darrel, the other Daniel Bordeaux, Esq. The issue of these four children of the Rev. Mr. Smith, now, in 1814, living, is forty-nine."

The history of Mr. Thomas Legare belongs both to the con-

gregation of the John's Island Presbyterian church and the Independent or Congregational church of Charleston. He was a worshipper in both, his summer residence, as in the case of his son of the same name, was in one congregation, his winter residence in the other. Mr. Legare had returned to Charleston to join his fellow-citizens in defending the town, and was there during the siege. After the fall of Charleston he first became a prisoner on parole, and his case illustrates the vicissitudes which befell the men of his day. As a paroled prisoner he was permitted to return to his plantation in St. John's, Berkley, near Monk's Corner. There they were visited and plundered by Tarleton. He removed his family to Charleston, and as his town residence was occupied by the British, he took refuge in the upper story of Mrs. Ellis's house, subsequently occupied by the Misses Ramsay, the British having possession of the lower. Dr. Ramsay was taken to the Provost prison, which was the basement or cellar story of the exchange, and Mr. Legare was made to rise from a sick bed and occupy the same place. In the autumn he was confined on board one of the prison-ships, with his son James, John B. Holmes, John Edwards, Rev. James Edmonds, Job Palmer, and others, until exchanged, when they were to be sent to some port on the Chesapeake or Delaware. Just as they were moving away from the shore, Miss Martin, afterwards Mrs. Ogier, ascended one of the fortifications, waved her bonnet in the air, and exclaimed, "Courage, my countrymen; keep up your spirits; better days ahead." She was answered by three cheers from the prisoners; but the British officers and soldiers were enraged, some of whom were for proceeding to violence, but were restrained by others. In May, 1781, a general exchange was agreed to. The prison-ship was ordered to Virginia in June, 1781. Mr. Freer visited Mr. Legare and endeavored to persuade him to take British protection. He told him of the illness of his wife and daughters, and that he probably would never see them again. Mr. L. was firm, and Mr. Freer got leave for him to make a hurried visit home before he left. They had scarcely recovered when they were ordered to Philadelphia, with other families, among them the family of Job Palmer, Mrs. P. being in hourly expectation of her accouchement. After a stormy, unpleasant passage in an unseaworthy vessel, they reached Philadelphia, where shortly after Rev. Dr. B. M. Palmer, sen., was born. When the prison-ship in which Mr. Legare was confined reached the mouth of James river, the prisoners were all landed on a desolate sand-

bank (probably Craney Island, on which a fort has since been built), separated from the main by a wide channel. The prisoners remonstrated, but the captain declared that such had been his private instructions, and there he left them, without a drop of water or a morsel of food. Having nothing before them but the horrors of starvation, most of the party sat down in despair. But Mr. Legare went searching about and discovered the end of a boat projecting out of the sand on the beach. This, with the help of his son James and Job Palmer, he dug out, and found to be sound, except a hole in the bottom, made by a ball fired through her. They caulked the hole with a part of their clothing, and conveyed themselves and associates to land. Mr. Legare, his son James, Mr. Palmer, and J. B. Holmes, obtained horses and set out for home, and had reached Goose Creek, where, meeting with Mrs. Wm. Elliott, she informed them that their families were in Philadelphia. They then retraced their weary way, meeting many singular adventures and surprising providences. He at last reached Philadelphia and found his family, but reduced to want. Here he was supplied with funds by Mr. Robertdean, on one occasion by Mr. Gilbert of New Jersey, whom Mr. Legare had permitted to build a ship from timber cut on Mr. L.'s land free of charge, then by a sum of money sent by Mr. Freer, who had claimed the crop on L.'s place, which was appropriated by the British, and made them pay for it, and now sent on the money. The news of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown was received late at night. Congress was then in session. The messenger of that body, on receiving the despatches with the news, ran to deliver them in the highest excitement and joy. He had scarcely entered the hall when he fell dead with apoplexy.—(Medical Lectures, by Dr. Rush.) Mr. Legare first heard the news by the cry of the city watchmen, who were all Dutchmen: "Half-past twelf o'clock, and Gornwallis es daken." Legare threw up the window and cried out, "What, ho! friend, do you say Cornwallis is taken prisoner?" "Yaw, Gornwallis es daken," and burst out into a Dutch song.\*

But the exiles in Philadelphia, while the royal army yet

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\* MS. account of the Legare family, compiled by Mrs. Flud, a great-great-grand-daughter of the Huguenot emigrant, Solomon Legare, from statements collected by her mother, Mrs. Burden, her uncles, James and Thomas Legare, Mrs. Thomas Ogier, senior, Mrs. Bascom, and others; also from files of papers searched out by Hugh S. Legare. See also Johnson's Traditions of the Revolution, p. 370.

occupied Charleston, anticipating a speedy departure of the foe, took provisional measures for the supply and reorganization of their church. The following procedure is found in the records of the congregation, under date March 25th, 1782:—

“The exiles in Philadelphia, ‘having through the good hand of God, a prospect of returning to our country again,’ made out a kind of circular call, to be presented first to the Rev. George Duffield; if he declines, then to the Rev. James Greer of Deep river; if he declines, then to the Rev. Mr. William Hollingshead of Cohansie, New Jersey, promising, in consequence of their altered circumstances, one hundred pounds as salary and a house as parsonage.” This call was signed by

Josiah Smith, *Trustee*,  
 Thomas Legare, “  
 Edward Darrel, “  
 David Ramsay, “  
 James Fisher,  
 Isaac Holmes,  
 Anthony Toomer,  
 Samuel Miller,

William Wilkie,  
 Charles McDonald,  
 James Wilkins,  
 J. H. Thompson,  
 Thomas Hughes,  
 Job Palmer,  
 S. Smith,  
 Samuel Baldwin.

Dr. Ramsay, one of the signers, was at this time one of the delegates to Congress, of which he continued a respected member till 1786, being for one year the president of that body.

An interesting letter of Josiah Smith's to Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Hollingshead is on record, dated January 1st, 1783.—(Records of Circular Church, p. 257.) Mr. Hollingshead declined this call under the recommendation of the presbytery.

The remnant of the church in Charleston, from the time of the evacuation by the British army, December 14th, 1782, began to devise means for the repair of their desecrated sanctuary. On the 1st of June, 1783, at the suggestion of Dr. Ramsay, they renew their call to Mr. Hollingshead and offer the salary given to Mr. Tennent before the war. Mr. Hollingshead accepted their call, and was dismissed by the first presbytery of Philadelphia in consequence of this acceptance, in July of that year.\* He arrived in Charleston on the 22d

\* William Hollingshead was born in Philadelphia, October 8th, 1748, and was the son of William Hollingshead, who was distinguished in civil life at the commencement of the Revolution. His father, Daniel Hollingshead, came from Lancashire, England, to Barbadoes, early in the eighteenth century, where he married Miss Hazell, daughter of a wealthy sugar planter, and some time after came to New Jersey and settled in the neighborhood of New Brunswick. William Hollingshead was the eldest of fifteen children. He became a member of the church at the age of fifteen, and was graduated at the university of Pennsylvania in 1770. He was licensed to preach by the presbytery of Philadelphia in 1772, and ordained and installed pastor of the

of November. The repairs of the church had been completed by a general subscription, to which members of other denominations contributed, at a cost of \$6,000, and the renovated edifice was opened and consecrated anew to divine worship on the 11th of December, 1783, with an excellent and appropriate sermon by the newly-arrived pastor, on the very day appointed by Congress as a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God for the blessings of peace and independence.

On June 11th, 1784, the Rev. Mr. Hollingshead received his full induction as pastor of this church, in their own peculiar way, Mr. John Scott addressing him in the name of the church, acknowledging him as their minister, the church giving him at the same time the right-hand of fellowship.

On the 25th of September, 1786, the congregation wrote to Rev. Ashbel Green, who had been licensed by the presbytery of New Brunswick the February before, to become the colleague of Mr. Hollingshead, and were encouraged to address him again, using the same argument before used with Dr. McWhorter. Shortly after, Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Green received a similar invitation from the Second Presbyterian church of Philadelphia to settle there as colleague to the Rev. Dr. Sproat. In view of the difference of age between the two men, Mr. Green, acting under the advice of Dr. Witherspoon, accepted the Philadelphia and declined the Charleston call. As they did not hear immediately from Mr. Green, they wrote to Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Morse, then of Liberty county, Georgia, to pass a few Sabbaths with them.

Foiled in their attempt to obtain a colleague pastor, they apply July 29th, 1787, to Drs. Sproat and Duffield of Philadelphia for counsel and aid. Meanwhile, they proceed with their measures for the repair and the completion of the collegiate church in Archdale street. In June, 1776, during the attack on Sullivan's Island, this church was occupied by the country militia, and the pews were at that time destroyed. It was further injured by the British in 1780. Its sashes were broken out, and it was otherwise dilapidated. In 1786, a contract was made with Messrs. Palmer and Miller for the restoration of the seventy pews, and for putting it into proper order for worship. The cost of this restoration was \$6,000; and it was opened for public worship by the Rev. Mr. Hollingshead

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Presbyterian church in Fairfield, New Jersey, the next year. Here he was greatly esteemed, and enjoyed a high degree of popularity through the whole region.—Sprague's Annals, ii., p. 58.

on the 25th of October, 1787, whose sermon on the occasion was published.

In December they received a reply from Drs. Sproat and Duffield, recommending to their attention three names, and the church forthwith made out a call, which was subscribed by sixty-five members and supporters, and at the same time all the members and supporters subscribed the new constitution of the church.

On the 16th of September, 1788, Isaac Stockton Keith became their collegiate pastor, in answer to the call before mentioned. He was the son of William and Mary Keith, and was born at Newton, Bucks county, Pennsylvania, January 20th, 1755. He was graduated under Dr. Witherspoon, at Princeton, at the age of twenty, in 1775, where also he had received his academic education. After graduation, he taught a Latin school at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, subsequently to which he pursued his theological studies under the general direction of the Rev. Robert Smith of Lancaster county, Pennsylvania. He was licensed by the presbytery of Philadelphia, in the autumn of 1778, and was engaged for a short season in missionary labors. In March, 1780, he was called to the church of Alexandria, District of Columbia, was ordained by the presbytery with a view to this pastoral charge, and was dismissed from that presbytery on the 30th of May, to the presbytery of Donegal, with which the church at Alexandria was connected. He continued to serve this church till the date above mentioned, in 1788, when he formally accepted the call, and received from the church the right-hand of fellowship. They voted him a salary of two hundred guineas. Shortly after this he was married to Hannah, daughter of Rev. Dr. Sproat of Philadelphia.

"The two pastors alternated, every morning and afternoon, in the two churches, each preaching the same sermon twice the same Sabbath. This arrangement was adopted by a large majority, but from it were the following highly respectable dissentients, viz.: Thomas Lamboll, Henry Peronneau, Arthur Peronneau, Charles Warham, Mark Morris, and Daniel Legare, junior, on the ground that it was in conflict with the spirit of Congregational polity, and particularly with the fundamental principle, that every church is a distinct, independent, self-governed society. This led to some dissensions and discussions, and, finally, to an examination of the records, and an investigation as to the real character of the church, in regard to denomination and church government. A committee reported the following as the substance of what had been unanimously adopted, February 5th, 1775.

"That this church never has adopted any one distinguished name, platform, or constitution, in a formal manner, nor declared of what denomination of dissenters it is, but suffered itself to be called either Presbyterian, Congregational, or Independent: sometimes by one of the names, sometimes by two of them, and at other times by all the three.

“ We do not find that this church is either Presbyterian, Congregational, or Independent, but somewhat distinct and singular from them all.

“ That the main thing this church has in view ever since the year 1732, was not so much to define exactly the particular mode of their discipline, and to bind their hands up to any one stiff form adopted either by Presbyterians, Congregationalists, or Independents, as to be upon a broad dissenting bottom, and to leave themselves as free as possible from all foreign shackles, that no moderate persons of either denomination might be afraid to join them.

“ This free and liberal plan has been so much in their view, that for many years they would not take any name at all, but considered themselves only as a certain society of Christians, worshipping in a brick meeting-house, and had no hesitation about the denomination of their minister, so be he was a Protestant Pædo-baptist dissenter from the Church of England, a moderate man, and willing to leave them free: and it appears that, if they have latterly adopted the word Congregational, it is with no other idea than that they acted as a congregation, disconnected from all others; not supposing themselves, on account of this name, bound up to every stiff rule laid down by a meeting at the Savoy, or at Cambridge, in New England; many of the rules there adopted could, perhaps, by no means be put into practice here, nor would ever be assented to by this church, who have never bound their hands by the forms of the Savoy or the Cambridge, more than by the Westminster directory; reserving it in their own hands, from time to time, to act as circumstances and conscience might require in their disconnected situation.

“ Its constitution is to have no absolute invariable form, but to act upon the freest and most liberal principles, as occasion may serve and edification direct.

“ And, although its lands were given, and legacies left to it at different times, under different names, according to the idea of the donors, yet those names have never been formally adopted by any act of the church, nor are we obliged to adopt or act upon any one of those forms.

“ But it also appears,

“ That although this Church is upon so broad a bottom, yet that it might not be liable to any interruptions in the disposal of its temporalities and in the choice of a minister, and might keep itself free in its actions, it has established Laws for the choice of manager,

“ the introduction of voting supporters—

“ election of ministers.

“ These laws do not interfere with the peculiarities of any denomination of dissenters.’

“ From this document, it appears that the church was a free ecclesiastical democracy, without vestrymen, elders, or any other order of human pre-eminence. In secular or pecuniary concerns, the payers of pew-rents, called *supporters*, had equal rights and votes with communicant members, called *members*; but the latter had the exclusive right to appoint deacons, and, in conjunction with the minister, to admit members to the communion. In the election of a minister the members had also the sole right of fixing the time of proceeding to an election; but they had only an equal *per capita* vote with the supporters. There was, also, a veto on the dismissal of a minister, their concurrence, on a separate vote by themselves, being an essential pre-requisite to any action on that subject, by the supporters—and, in all spiritual concerns, they voted, although paying no pew-rent. These, it is believed, are substantially among the rules and canons for the government of the church at the present time.”

On the 8th of March, 1789, the congregation resolved on the organization of “ The Society for the Relief of Elderly and

Disabled Ministers, and the Widows and Orphans of the Clergy of the Independent or Congregational church in the State of South Carolina." Dr. Ramsay says, "The providential affliction of the Rev. Mr. Smith suggested to the church, in its latter days of prosperity, the expediency of providing a permanent fund for the support of elderly and disabled ministers and their families. In this manner a kind Providence has overruled a partial temporary evil for a general permanent good." His paralytic affliction rendered him for more than thirty years incapable of performing the duties of his office, and the inadequate support he had received for the preceding twenty-three years of active service put it out of his power to provide for the extraordinary emergency. He was therefore in a great degree dependent on his eldest son, Josiah Smith, for the means of living.

This society was evidently intended for the relief of the disabled ministers of Congregational churches throughout the State, though it has for many years enured to the benefit of the ministers of this congregation alone, which is at the present time [1864] almost the only remaining representative of that ecclesiastical polity. The society was chartered by the General Assembly of South Carolina, on the 7th of March, 1789. It consisted in 1815 of forty-seven members, each of whom paid annually one pound sterling. Only three of its members at that time were clergymen, and its capital then amounted to \$30,000.\*—(Dr. Ramsay's *History of the Independent or Congregational Church.*)

THE INDEPENDENT OR CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH worshipping at WAPPETAU, in Christ Church parish.

Rev. Mr. Atkins was the pastor of this church at the commencement of this period. His history is unknown to us, save that he was murdered in the parsonage, near the church, by his negroes, as was supposed, at the instigation of the British,

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\* Among the prisoners sent to St. Augustine after the capitulation of Charleston was the Rev. James H. Thompson, who was a minister of the Congregational or Independent church; but was employed as the teacher of an academy, and was probably without charge. He and Rev. John Lewis, rector of St. Paul's Colleton, preached to the prisoners until forbidden by the Commandant, because they could not offer up prayers for king George, and "for his triumphs over all his enemies." While permitted to officiate, he read the prayers and conformed to the liturgy of the Episcopal church, and with them a printed sermon generally of the Church of England. After the peace he resumed his occupation as a teacher, and continued the principal of a classical seminary of great excellence. He married a daughter of Mr. Theodore Trezvandt, and left three daughters, who all married and left families.—(Johnson's *Traditions of the Revolution.*)

who then occupied the church as barracks. They burnt it when they were evacuating Charleston in 1782, and all the old books of the church are said to have been destroyed at the same time.—(The Claims of Wappetaw, &c.)

Of the history of this church from the evacuation of Charleston to the settlement of Dr. McCalla, in 1788, we find no other notice, save that of its incorporation as the Independent church in Christ Church parish in 1786. Daniel McCalla, D. D., was born at Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, in 1748, and received the rudiments of education at Fagg's Manor, in his native State, under the Rev. John Blair. He was admitted to the church at the early age of thirteen. He was graduated at the college of New Jersey, with a high reputation as a scholar. He opened an academy in Philadelphia, and during his labors as a teacher made himself familiar with the science of medicine, mastered several of the modern languages, and pursued also a course of theological study. He was licensed as a preacher by the first presbytery of Philadelphia, on the 20th of July, 1772. He was ordained and installed as pastor of the united congregations of New Providence and Charleston, in Pennsylvania, in 1774. Here he preached with great acceptance till the opening of the American Revolution. His heart was deeply interested in the cause of Independence, and at the commencement of hostilities, when the troops under General Thompson were ordered to Canada, he was appointed chaplain of that corps by Congress, the only chaplain Congress ever appointed, appointments to chaplaincies being subsequently devolved upon the commanding officers of each regiment. He was made a prisoner, with Gen. Thompson and other officers, at Three Rivers, and was confined for several months in a loathsome prison-ship and subjected to brutal treatment. Released at length on parole, he was restored to his congregations in the latter part of 1776. He was soon after charged with violating his parole in praying for his country. Finding himself involved in difficulty, he escaped to Virginia, where, after some time, he was released from his parole by an exchange of prisoners. Opening an academy in Hanover county, he enjoyed a high popularity as a teacher, and the congregation of which Rev. Samuel Davies had been pastor being vacant, he succeeded to the charge and preached with much acceptance. He here became connected in marriage with Eliza, second daughter of Rev. John Todd, of the county of Louisa, an amiable and accomplished woman. Mr. McCalla was eminently a social man and perhaps not always discreet. He mingled in scenes

of conviviality more than was pleasant to those who looked upon these things with severity. Finding himself the subject of censure, he left the position he occupied and became the minister of the church of Wappetaw, in 1788.—(Sprague's *Annals*, vol. iii., p. 320; *Memoir* prefixed to his works, published in 1810, in two volumes; *Hollingshead's Funeral Sermon*.) In the same year, on the 4th of May, the church adopted a constitution which, with some omissions, is identical with that of the Independent or Congregational church worshipping in Meeting and Archdale streets, Charleston. The church itself was incorporated as the Independent church in Christ Church parish, on the 2d of March, 1786.

#### THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF DORCHESTER AND BEECH HILL.

The worship of this church was rendered more irregular, if not wholly suspended, through the whole of this period, by the disturbances consequent on the war. Early in 1780 Dorchester and its vicinity were occupied by the American troops under Gen. Moultrie, who, by an order of Maj.-Gen. Lincoln, threw up a fortification commanding the approaches to Bacon's Bridge. It lay in the march of Lieut.-Col. Tarleton, and became a British post. The British army was encamped here after the battle of Eutaw, in September, 1781, but retired before the advance of Gen. Greene, burning all their stores. "The British occupied the Dorchester church and burnt its interior when they left. The walls, however, continued to stand, and the interior was restored towards the close of this century. But through the remainder of this decade it was a charred ruin in which no voice of praise was heard."—(Moultrie's *Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 46; *Lee's Memoirs*, p. 380, 450.) Wednesday, March 5th, 1788—"I passed Dorchester, where there are the remains of what appears to have been once a considerable town. There are the ruins of an elegant church, and the vestiges of several well-built houses."—(Bp. Asbury's *Journal*.) This church was perhaps the Episcopal church, the tower of which still stands, a picturesque ruin, bearing the date 1751.

THE INDEPENDENT PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF STONEY CREEK.—This church continued to enjoy the services of Rev. James Gourlay as its pastor through these ten years, so far as the war permitted, which spread its desolation over this congregation as well as elsewhere. Mr. Simpson, its former pastor, in his diary, while visiting this country after the peace, for the settlement of his affairs, says of Mr. Gourlay, that he "acted as private tutor to some gentlemen's children during the late

unhappy war, and is again preaching at Indian Land, where, as I am told, he has a very few hearers." There is in our possession a certificate, testifying to "the propriety and consistency of his behavior as a teacher of the gospel of Jesus Christ," signed February 22d, 1780, by Thos. Hutson and Jno. McPherson, trustees, specifying that he had been upwards of five years in that parish. The certificate was given to him on the probability that he may have occasion to go northwardly on account of the confusion of the times. It seems, however, that he continued to reside through the war within his charge. Mr. Simpson speaks of the sad influence the war had exerted over the land. "Was much pressed," he says, "by the friendly Dr. Ramsay, and by my former friends in this place [Charleston], to spend some weeks in town, as the country at present is sickly, as it always is at this season of the year [September, 1783]; and besides, the whole country at any distance from the seat of government is still in a very unhappy situation. Robberies are almost daily committed, and many murders are lately perpetrated by an armed banditti, who call themselves British Refugees, or Loyalists, and sometimes call themselves Americans, taking revenge for the evil treatment they have met with." The dangers of the road in part induced him, after he had remained some weeks in Charleston, to charter a small vessel to take him to his plantation. On the 3d of November, 1783, he "got to Mr. Hatcher's Landing, up St. Helena Sound; met Mrs. Hatcher, her nephew, James Ferguson, &c.; was much affected to hear of the dreadful, horrid ravages of war in this parish and neighborhood." He sends to his plantation for means of conveyance, and receives an ox-cart with six oxen and the best horse on the plantation, "which is indeed a small, poor, sorry creature, such an one as in former times he would be ashamed to ride. The British and American armies have carried off all his fine breed of horses and several hundred head of cattle." "Wednesday, Nov. 5th—I rode around by my old parsonage or manse, which is still standing; stopped on the road and viewed it for some time, with a heart ready to burst at the remembrance of the past. There my dear children were born; there they and their ever dear mother died; there I had many a sweet, pleasant and comfortable—many a sick, melancholy, and sorrowful hour. Proceeded all alone to my old meeting-house at Stoney Creek, which, to the surprise of many, is left standing, while they burned the grand Episcopal church at Sheldon, the most elegant country church in the State. Lighted from my horse;

viewed the tomb where the bodies of my dear Jeany Muir, Sacheverel, Archibald, and Jeany Simpson, the mother and the children, lie interred; was greatly affected, yet could not drop a tear, but heaved many a deep-fetched sigh from a troubled heart; went into my old study-house; sat some time in mournful silence; knelt down and offered up fervent prayers and praises to God—praised the Lord for his sparing mercy to me and mine, and for bringing me back again to this land; prayed for grace, mercy, and counsel for myself while in this country, and that I may again be made useful in it; prayed for the present minister, Mr. James Gourlay, whose circumstances in Scotland being somewhat peculiar, I prevailed with to come to America; proceeded with a heart full of the most tender feelings past the Stoney Creek store. All was desolation, and indeed all the way there was a gloomy solitariness. Every field, every plantation, showed marks of ruin and devastation. Not a person was to be met with in the roads. All was gloomy." He goes to his own house. "It is impossible to describe in words how altered these once beautiful fields are; no garden, no enclosure, no mulberry, no fruit trees, nothing but wild fennel, bushes, underwood, briars, to be seen.—and a very ruinous habitation. Some of my negroes were at work in the woods. They saw me and ran with transports of joy, holding me by the knees as I sat on horseback, and directly ran off to the plantation to give notice to Mr. Lambert. They asked me if I was going to leave them when they had stayed on the plantation when the British wanted them to go away; abused the two who had left me and gone with Col. Moncrieff." He visits Mr. Lambert, his manager, where he meets the Rev. Mr. Henderson. He understands "that his attorneys allowed Mr. Henderson to take away a good deal of bedding and furniture from his house, though he had lived in it some years, while preaching to the people, and that great liberties had been taken with his plantation. That in the late distressing times it was a common good, used for the public; and that not only the armies lived upon it, but that numbers of families driven from Georgia lived here on the produce of the plantation for many months together—sometimes sixteen or twenty families; and that when his dwelling-house, the machine house, the overseer's house, and all the negroes' houses were full, they camped and hutted in the fields to the number of two hundred persons at a time, and took what was at hand, so that besides the large quantities of rice, corn, potatoes, and peas they used, the number of cattle, sheep, and hogs killed is almost

incredible. "In these respects," says he, "I am thought to be the greatest sufferer by the war in all this large parish." A picture this of what we of the South have just now experienced. He speaks of the attachment of his servants shown by the presents they brought him. "They indeed live easy and comfortable to what many of their color do, and much more comfortably not only than many of the peasants in Britain, but much more than thousands of the farmers or country people of Scotland. Happy, very happy, should I be if I could be useful to their souls."

He says of Rev. Mr. Gourlay: "He is much altered, and old like, but is very brisk and lively to what he used to be when I saw him in Scotland. He lives at Mr. Main's plantation and has acted as teacher to a few boys as well as minister at Stoney Creek. He, like all other Presbyterian ministers, was prevented from preaching while the British army was in these parts." He again alludes to the exhaustion and distress of the country, and the demoralization of society. "I have not a horse to ride out anywhere. Every person, every family in both parishes, and through all this district of country, appears to be in the same situation. No one comes to see me, for none have horses. All society seems to be at an end. Every person keeps close on his own plantation. Robberies and murders are often committed on the public roads. The people that remain have been peeled, pillaged, and plundered. Poverty, want, and hardship appear in almost every countenance. A dark melancholy gloom appears everywhere, and the morals of the people are almost entirely extirpated. A general discontent, dissatisfaction, and distrust of their present rulers and of one another prevails throughout the country. In Charleston they appear to be more happy. I am greatly disappointed since I came to the country, and could not have believed that these distresses had been so great had I not seen. It is evident that the British army came here to plunder, and not to fight or conquer the people, far less to conciliate them to submit to the British government. The appearance of the whole country shows it here, and the vast fortunes that the officers of the British army have carried home with them and realized in Britain, shows it there. It is with great difficulty people can get to public worship. Hardly such a thing as a chair, or one-horse chaise, is to be seen, and these are so plain and coarse, and without paint, and made by negro carpenters, much like the covered carts we formerly used for carrying our children to school."

He alludes again to the losses he had sustained by great numbers of destitute families driven from Charleston, Sunbury, and Midway, in Georgia, and their own homes in both States, living for many months together on and about his plantation; and yet that he had spent too much time in reflecting and murmuring over the very shameful and extraordinary liberties that some of his professed friends had all along, both in peace and war, taken with his substance and interest, on which they had lived and helped themselves, while he and his poor children were reduced to great straits and hardships in Scotland. There he was running in debt, while they were advancing themselves by his interests; and now the devastation and destruction of the war has occasioned such a loss of papers, receipts, and vouchers, and such a general confusion, that little or nothing can be recovered, that it is much the same as if a general bankruptcy had taken place.

On November 25th he attends a vendue at Godfrey's, Savannah. "The vendue was of the clothes, books, medicines, and a horse, belonging to a Dr. Brown, who lodged at Mr. Dunnom's, the son of a Presbyterian minister in Virginia, who had given offence to a company of villains who prowl around the State, by his endeavoring to discover the murderers of another young man, Dr. Orr, murdered about four months ago; both shot, scalped, and otherwise most barbarously used, while riding in the public road in the way of his practice, by persons who lay in the woods waiting for him. Both these murders were committed within six miles of the house where I now live. Of the people a few were the children of my former friends, who knew me, and whom I could remember, and were the only persons who made a decent appearance. The two principal murderers, —— and ——, were said to be present. One of them was pointed out to me."

We have inserted these extracts from Mr. Simpson's journal chiefly because they exhibit the sad, desolating, brutalizing, and demoralizing effects of war. The war of the Revolution, especially in South Carolina, was a civil war in which, in many communities, neighbors were against neighbors and kinsmen against kinsmen. If the same results do not follow the war in which we are now embarked, it will be contrary to the whole experience of mankind, and a signal instance of the merciful intervention of the Most High. [Written in 1864.]

Mr. Simpson remained in this country until May, 1784, when he sailed from Savannah for Scotland, to rejoin his family. While in Savannah he writes to Mr. John Lambert as follows:

"SAVANNAH, May 3d, 1784.

"MY VERY DEAR SIR:—I take this opportunity of a gentleman going to Charleston, who has promised to leave this at Mr. Patterson's, to write you a few lines. I hope Hercules" [his servant] "returned safe with the horses, who would let you know that I got safe to Buryburg the day after I left you, but was very much fatigued. On the next morning, being the twentieth of April, I sent Hercules back, and got to this place about four o'clock that afternoon. I have been indisposed since I came here, but rather owing to my fatigue than otherwise. I have preached these two last Sabbaths to numerous and well-behaved audiences. Infidelity and wickedness prevail much in this town and the State in general; yet there is a considerable number of very serious people both in this place and the country, who show a great desire to obtain the gospel. There is at present no minister of any denomination in this place, and I am told there is not an ordained minister in the whole State. I am every day engaged in baptizing the children. I enclose you a memorandum of the books and offices in which the deeds, titles, and grants for my lands in the State of South Carolina are recorded. \* \* \* \* \* I am much hurried to sail to-morrow morning."

The following is the last record in Mr. Simpson's journal as contained in the volumes now preserved in the Charleston library: Saturday, March 13th—"Put my things aboard Capt. Rankin's vessel; am to pay ten guineas. Capt. Rankin goes first to Savannah." On March 22d he arrives at Savannah. "Walked into town, which has suffered much by the late war. Visited my old friend Mr. Zubly's meeting-house, which is in a very ruinous condition, and has a chimney in the middle of it, having been an hospital. Mr. Zubly died some years ago, having in his last days acted a very inconsistent part, changing sides from Congress to the British, and died despised by both; yet I am persuaded he was a real good man and that he is now in the kingdom of heaven. I also visited the Church of England, which is also in a very ruinous condition. \* \* \* March 28th, went up in the canoe of Mr. Mannus, who lives at Black Swamp, about thirty miles above Purysburg. Left four guineas and the key of his chest and trunks with Capt. Rankin, who provided him with two bottles of rum, a large piece of boiled beef, and several large biscuit; got to Purysburg about eight at night; stopped at a poor, miserable house at the north end of Purysburg, where Hercules and the horses were." Apparently Mr. Simpson makes a visit to his plantation while Capt. Rankin's vessel, bound for Scotland, waits at Savannah.

These are the last notices we have of Mr. Simpson in his relations to South Carolina. He still occasionally wrote to his friends here, as we learn from a letter of James O'Hear, of Charleston, to John Lambert, then of Newport, Liberty county, Georgia, whither he had removed. On Mr. Simpson's return to Scotland he was appointed to the church in the town

of Renfrew, where he is believed to have died near the close of the century. One of his daughters died in early life at Port Glasgow, where Mr. Simpson preached before his visit to America. The other married Adam Johnston, of H. B. Majesty's Customs, afterwards collector of the ports of Greenock and Port Glasgow. She also died young, leaving an only child, Archibald Simpson Johnston, who, upon arriving at age, came to South Carolina, and died in 1819, leaving one daughter and five sons who, in 1858, still survive. Mr. John Lambert, who first planted with Mr. Simpson on Mr. Simpson's land, and afterwards managed his plantation, left his estate in Liberty county, Georgia, whither he had removed, to trustees, for religious and charitable purposes, to be kept intact in all coming time, its interest only to be expended by the trustees. He also left to Rev. Mr. Gourlay a legacy of sixty pounds, of which he came into possession in 1799. Mr. Simpson was a godly man, an earnest preacher, laborious and faithful in all the duties of the ministry, and a blessing to the church while he lived.

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## CHAPTER II.

FRENCH PROTESTANT CHURCH, CHARLESTON.—The condition of this church during the period of the British occupation of Charleston is unknown to us. Probably its worship was suspended, as in the other churches. On the withdrawal of the British it must have been resumed. On the 12th of March, 1783, three months after the evacuation of Charleston, it was incorporated by the legislature, under the name of the "Calvinistic Church of French Protestants." The Rev. Bartholmi Henri Himeli, its former pastor, returned from his visit to Switzerland in 1785, and on the 23d of November was re-elected to the pastorate of this church. The record in the register of the church is as follows: "Le Ministre Himeli, ayant passé une douzaine d'annes dans sa Patrie, il est returné à Charleston, et il a été élu de nouveau Pasteur de l'Eglise française de cette ville, le 23me Novembre, 1785." He continued pastor of this church till 1789.

The PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH ON EDISTO ISLAND obtained a charter on the 26th day of March, 1784. In 1790, January 20th, the Rev. James Gourlay, William Knox, Thomas Cooley, and James Wilson, and the Presbyterian church of the city of

Charleston, the Presbyterian church of Edisto Island, the Presbyterian church of Black Mingo, and the Independent Presbyterian church of Prince William's, were incorporated by the legislature as "The Presbytery of Charleston," for the purpose of holding funds for the relief of the widows and children of the deceased Presbyterian ministers belonging thereto. Of the ministers named, the Rev. Thomas Cooley, a native of England, was pastor of the Presbyterian church of Edisto. He continued in this relation through this period and until 1790.—(Statutes at Large, vol. viii., p. 158; Ramsay, vol. ii, p. 559.)

The history of the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH ON JAMES ISLAND is hidden from us through this period. The last minister officiating in its pulpit named in any document before us is Hugh Alison, mentioned by Mr. Simpson in 1770. During the British occupation of Charleston the island lay at their mercy. Just before the occupation of the island by the British, Mr. Alison returned with his family to Charleston, where he died of consumption in 1781 or 1782. The church seems to have set up its banner after the war of the Revolution. It sought a charter from the State legislature, and obtained it on the 17th of March, 1785.—(Statutes, vol. viii., p. 127.)

The church and congregation of JOHN'S ISLAND were greatly disturbed by the movements of the British. The inhabitants, who resided on their plantations in the winter, in many instances lived in Charleston in the summer, and were counted as members of the congregations there. This, we have seen, was the case with Thomas Legare, the elder. As we have related one incident of his Revolutionary history, which occurred on John's Island, we will here relate another which befel his family while living elsewhere:—

"After Mr. Legare's capture on John's Island, and exchange, he removed his family for greater safety to one of his plantations in St. John's, Berkeley, near Monk's Corner. The Rev. Dr. Percy, of the Episcopal church, and his family. Mrs. Percy's sister, Miss Rinchea Elliott, and Miss Baker, accompanied them, and all lived together under Dr. Percy's care till after the fall of Charleston. The Rev. Dr. P., though an Englishman, was friendly to America, and even from the pulpit used his eloquence to encourage a spirit of patriotism among the people. While there residing, Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, in command of the regular cavalry of the American army, about *three* hundred in number, charged with covering the country and keeping open the communication between it and the town, was surprised by Colonels Tarleton and Webster on the 14th of April, 1780. About twenty-five Americans were killed or taken. As the attack was made about three o'clock in the morning, the fugitives, under cover of the darkness, fled to the neighboring swamps, in which they were hidden for days. A day or two after the defeat, a poor woman, Mrs. Gibson, went to Mr. Legare's and told them some

half-starved American soldiers, 'bloody as hogs,' as she said, had gone to her house and begged for food, but she had none to give. 'Then do send them here,' exclaimed Dr. Percy; 'we have enough and to spare!' The next day several heads were seen peeping from the bushes. Mr. Legare's house was at the fork of the road, and Dr. P. immediately put on his ministerial robes (which was the sign agreed on with Mrs. Gibson by which they should know him to be a friend), and walked into the road, hoping his garb would encourage the soldiers to approach him. An officer with two of his aids came out of the woods and asked assistance. Dr. P. asked them into the house, and the ladies met them at the door with kind greetings. Miss Rinchea Elliott, stepping forward, eagerly asked, 'Can you tell us, sir, what has become of dear Colonel Washington?' With a polite bow, the officer replied, 'I am that unfortunate man, madam.' 'O dear!' exclaimed Miss Elliott, blushing, and drawing back, for they were both unmarried at that time. Colonel Washington then said, 'I thank you for all your kindness to me, but most of my suffering men have not tasted food for three days, and now lie faint and exhausted in the woods.' 'Send and call them here,' said Dr. P.; 'we have had a large supply of food prepared already, and can relieve their wants.' On a given signal the soldiers came out of the woods in every direction, and while the ladies and servants busied themselves in serving out refreshments to the hungry and grateful soldiers, Dr. P. walked up and down the road as sentinel, to give the signal of alarm should the enemy appear in sight. Soon after this, as the family were sitting at breakfast, the approach of Mrs. Gibson was announced. She was always the bearer of ill news, and a feeling of anxiety seized the whole party. She exclaimed, 'Good people, have you heard the news? Charleston has fallen, and the devilish British soldiers have cut to pieces all the men, all the cats, all the dogs, and now they are coming to kill all the women and children!' Terrified by her incoherent statement, the ladies looked ready to faint, and Dr. P. cried, 'For shame! Mrs. G., do you not know that Mrs. Legare's husband and son are in Charleston, and you will frighten her to death by your wild talk.' 'Bless you, good woman,' replied Mrs. G., 'I have a husband and four sons there, too, and God only knows if any of them live.' In the course of a few days Mrs. G. received information that her husband and her four sons had been killed during the siege.

"After the fall of Charleston Mr. Legare again became a prisoner on parole. He obtained permission in the month of June to visit his family, from whom he had heard nothing for months. He walked up to St. John's, Berkley, and found them all well and still supplied with all the necessaries of life. The next morning a troop of Tarleton's brutal corps rode up to the house and took away every eatable they could find. In vain the ladies pleaded to have some of the provisions left for them; and Mr. Legare taking his and Dr. Percy's children, carried them to the commanding officer and asked if he would leave all of them to starve. Coldly eyeing the group of children, the officer replied, with an oath, 'Rebels had better starve than the king's troops.' They were thus obliged to remove to Charleston, where the small-pox was then prevailing. Before leaving they inoculated every member of the household who had not had the disease."<sup>\*</sup>

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\* Mrs. Flud's MS. Hist. of the Legare Family. The Col. William Washington referred to here, was born in Stafford county, Virginia. He commanded the cavalry at the battle of Cowpens, and contributed much to the victory, and received, in compliment, a sword from Congress. He was wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Eutaw Springs. He resided at Sandy Hill after the war, the residence of his wife, Jane Elliott. In 1798,

We have recorded the preceding as relating to a family whose possessions and home were for the most part on John's Island, although the incidents occurred in another locality, as illustrating the hardships of the times, and because they were honorable to Dr. Percy, a man of catholic spirit and a true patriot. After the war this church, like others, sought to reestablish itself, and obtained, March 17th, 1785, an act of incorporation from the legislature of the State, under the name of "The John's Island Presbyterian Congregation."

Previous to the Revolution, James Latta, jr., was minister of this church. When his ministry ceased is unknown. The next in succession was Rev. Mr. Drysdale, whose character was not wholly unexceptionable, and with whom there was great dissatisfaction, which probably terminated his connection with this church about 1790. Drysdale was of the Irish clergy mentioned by Dr. Witherspoon.—(See also the answer of Rev. Elipha White and Kinsey Burden, in the case of the John's Island church, in chancery, in 1840.)

**THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AT WILTON.**—Mr. Henderson continued to be the minister of this church through the war of the Revolution. According to Mr. Simpson, he took up arms against the British as a soldier in the ranks, but afterwards took British protection. "He is again," says he, "preaching at Wilton." In 1784 the church was incorporated under the style of "The Presbyterian Church at Wilton, in St. Paul's parish."—(Statutes at Large, viii., 126.) In January, 1786, Mr. Henderson died. In a letter from James O'Hear of Charleston, to John Lambert, dated January 28th, 1786, (now in possession of John B. Mallard, one of the trustees of the "Lambert estate," Liberty county, Georgia), Mr. O'Hear alludes to Mr. Henderson's death, and mentions other things connected with the religious history of that day:

"I am sorry," he says, "that I have to communicate to you the melancholy news of the Rev. Mr. Henderson's death, who departed this life at Willtown on the 18th of this month, of nervous fever. It seems he got his fatal fever by going over Pon Pon river, to marry Miss Glover. This, methinks, seems an awful dispensation of God's visible displeasure with our land in general, more especially the people of Willtown. God seems to be avenging upon them a slighted gospel, for I believe no set of people about this State showed more carelessness or indifference about the word preached than they have done of late. I speak from what I myself saw of them the two or three months I was up there just before the evacuation of Charleston, and if it was so then, when the ordinances of God's house had been almost everywhere a long

General Washington, of whom he was a relative, selected him as one of his staff, with the title of brigadier-general. He died in South Carolina in 1810.

while suspended, by the calamities of the war and wickedness, nothing better could be looked for from them since they have enjoyed peace and tranquillity; yea, I fear they have gone into a state of profound supineness and sinful ease in matters of so great concern. Here, in Charleston, we are more highly favored with the gospel sound (not because we are better or more deserving than those above described, but because God's grace is unrestrained. 'He showeth mercy on whom he will show mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth.') I may say every church in this place now has a stated ministry, besides which, there are several preachers of the Methodist sect, who lecture almost every night at the old Baptist meeting-house. At the new Baptist church they have a Mr. Furman, at present only on a visit, but I learn there is a great probability of his being settled with them, and it is much to be wished that he may, for he is certainly a most excellent gospel minister. He has an evening lecture every Wednesday and Thursday. I have heard him often, *and methinks never a better*, or at least, that I was ever more sensible of. Certainly, my dear sir, you will join with me in considering the state of the church here as an instance of God's merciful visitation,—the residue of the Spirit is with him. O, join with me, dear sir, in petitioning the Throne of Grace, that it may please the Lord of the Harvest that the word of the gospel may be accompanied with an abundant effusion of the Spirit, that many souls may be brought into Christ's vineyard." \* \* \*

The lamentation of Mr. O'Hear over Mr. Henderson's death leads us to presume that he was a true and faithful minister of Christ, for the loss of none other would be grieved over in such terms by so sincere a child of God. Mr. Henderson's pastoral connection with this church was long, in comparison with others.

In January, 1787, Mr. Paul Hamilton, in his report on the state of the church funds, informs us that Rev. James Wilson was employed, to whom the trustees allowed the use of the parsonage, negroes, £100, and the pew rents; and that on these terms Mr. Wilson continued for the years 1787 and 1788.—(Rev. J. L. Girardeau's MS. Hist.)

The Rev. James Wilson, sen., thus referred to, was received in 1785-1786 by the presbytery of New York as an ordained minister from Scotland, on testimonials produced by him from the presbytery of Irwine, and was dismissed in 1787-1788, in order to his settlement at Wilton in South Carolina.—(Minutes of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, pp. 516, 543.) In 1789 some strange resolutions were adopted by the congregation releasing Mr. Wilson from his connection with the church, on the ground of the inadequacy of his support; and the Rev. Mr. Taylor was employed on the same terms for the years 1789 and 1790.

Of the Presbyterian church of CAINHOY we have ascertained nothing, save that the house of worship was used as a hospital by the American forces at the siege of Charleston.—(Moultrie's Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 62.)

The PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH in BEAUFORT.—We are not able to trace this church through the ten years, from 1780 to 1790. One of its main supporters, Daniel de Saussure, had removed to Charleston, the troubles of the Revolution supervened, and this organization may not have survived them.

The FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH in the city of CHARLESTON.—We lack the means of tracing the history of this ancient church through the ten years that are before us. Mr. Simpson, on his arrival from Scotland, on the 8th of September, 1783, finds his friend, Daniel de Saussure, formerly of Beaufort, who had suffered severely during the war, living in Charleston, from whom and his family he received a hearty welcome. He is waited upon by Dr. Ramsay, with most pressing invitations to preach, in the name of the Independent church, which in this invitation he represented. This he engaged to do. In this connection he speaks of "the place of worship, formerly called the White, or New England meeting-house, belonging to what was then" [during his former residence in Carolina] "called the Independent Congregation, but now the Independent Church, as being almost in ruins. The Scotch meeting-house," says he, "has the pulpit standing and some pews left, and, though otherwise much abused, yet may be preached in with decency. The Presbyterian congregation who usually worshipped in this place are much broken up and scattered, the most of that congregation having joined the British and gone off with them when they evacuated this town. The Independents have applied to such of this congregation as remain and get the use of their meeting-house for me while I stay in the place." He notices with pain the increase of profaneness in the public streets of Charleston, and the general decadence of piety. He says the Independent church was first made a hospital, then a stable, during the British occupation. The Scotch church was a place for the Royalists from the country to live in, and is in some better order. The members of the Presbyterian church are few in number, and not yet concerned about public worship. Outside of the churches infidelity and deism prevail in the most open and avowed manner. As might be expected, he found Charleston much altered by the war, whole lanes and streets in ruins. Means were used, however, by the Independents first, whose numbers were least affected, to reorganize and restore their former order and worship. And in December, 1783, while in the country, he receives a letter from Mr. O'Hear, informing him that the Presbyterian church would be nearly ready by the 1st

of January, 1784, that his return to the city was most earnestly desired, and that the Rev. Mr. Hollingshead, the minister for the Independent church, is come with his family. Mr. Simpson returned to Scotland; and we are not informed at what exact time the First Presbyterian church of Charleston was able to resume its stated worship. In enumerating the ministers of this church, as far as they could be recollected, Dr. Ramsay's *Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 25, places the name of Graham between those of Hewatt and Wilson.

Mr. James Wilson, junior, to distinguish him from James Wilson who settled at Wilton, was taken under its care as a candidate from Scotland, by the presbytery of New York, in 1784-1785, and his credentials were laid before the synod of New York and Philadelphia in 1785, and approved. He was ordained and installed on the 10th of August, 1785, as collegiate pastor of the united churches of Wall-street, the Brick, and Rutgers-street churches in the city of New York, being a licentiate when he arrived in this country. He labored in this charge three years, when, being affected with a pulmonary complaint, he was dismissed by the presbytery before May, 1788, in consequence of his having accepted a call from this congregation.—(*Minutes of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia*, pp. 507, 516, 543; *American Quarterly Register*, by Bela B. Edwards, vol. viii., p. 325.) We may therefore locate, for want of more authentic information, the pastorate of Mr. Graham somewhere between the years 1784 and 1788.

The presbytery of Charleston, or as it is more often called, the presbytery of South Carolina, Dr. Ramsay represents as dissolved during the war of the Revolution. "It was constituted," he says, at an early period of the eighteenth century, agreeably to the principles and practice of the Church of Scotland, but during the Revolutionary war was unfortunately dissolved by the death or removal of the ministers constituting it, and all its books and records were lost or destroyed."—(*Hist.* ii., p. 26.)

BETHEL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND CONGREGATION OF PON PON, St. Bartholomew's parish, Colleton, enjoyed the ministerial labors of Rev. James Gourlay as their stated supply until 1786 or 1787. After this the church was probably dependent on casual supplies. Among the sufferers through the tyranny and bad faith of the British during the war was Col. Isaac Hayne, an influential and prominent member of this church and congregation. His father was also of the same name, and was first a deacon, then a worthy and prominent elder, from 1739 to 1751, when he died. Isaac Hayne, the son, married a

daughter of the Rev. William Hutson, pastor of Stoney Creek, and subsequently of the Independent church, Charleston. He was greatly beloved by the community in which he lived, and when a company of volunteers was raised near his residence in the beginning of the war, he was unanimously elected its captain. He was subsequently named as colonel of the regiment, but, as he believed, through the intrigues of others, failed of being elected. He resigned the commission he held in disgust, and returned to the ranks, where by his exemplary zeal and obedience he contributed much in a private capacity to its discipline and efficiency. After the surrender of Charleston he returned to his seat west of the Edisto, under the terms of the capitulation, which permitted the militia "to return to their respective homes as prisoners on parole; which parole, as long as they observe it, shall protect them in their property." Meanwhile Sir Henry Clinton had issued an extraordinary proclamation, ordering all militia prisoners on parole, not taken by capitulation or in confinement, to become British subjects or return instantly to the commandant of Charleston. Col. Ballingall of the royal militia, in the district of Hayne's residence, waited on him and communicated the orders he had received. Hayne plead his inviolability under the capitulation; represented that the small-pox was then raging in his family; that all his children were ill with it; that one of them had already died, and that his wife was on the verge of dissolution. He declared that no human force should separate him from his dying wife. A discussion followed, which was terminated by a written stipulation, by which Hayne agreed to "demean himself as a British subject so long as that country should be covered by a British army." Hayne repaired to Charleston, presented himself to Brigadier Patterson, with the written agreement of Ballingall, and solicited permission to return home. The request was sternly refused, and he was told that "he must become a British subject or submit to close confinement." To Dr. Ramsay, then a prisoner with the army, he communicated the conflicting emotions which agitated him, his unwillingness to submit to the tyrannical demand, and yet his wife and family were requiring his presence and support. He felt compelled, under this duress, for their sakes, to subscribe a declaration of his allegiance to the king of Great Britain, but not without expressly objecting to the clause requiring him to support the royal government with his arms. Patterson, the commandant, and Simpson, the intendant of police, assured him that such service would never be required;

and added, "when the regular forces cannot defend the country without the aid of its inhabitants, it will be high time for the royal army to quit it."

Under these circumstances he was permitted to return to his family, hoping to watch over it and carry it safely through the prevailing pestilence. In this he was disappointed. His wife and a second child fell victims to the disease. He was called upon to bear arms in the royal cause, and finally was threatened with close confinement should he continue to resist; and this in direct contravention of the conditions on which he subscribed the oath of allegiance. Meanwhile Gen. Greene had forced the enemy from the upper country, and retaken all of Carolina east of the Santee and north of the Congaree. A detachment of Marion's force had also passed west of the Edisto for the protection of their own homes. Paul Hamilton, one of his friends, called on him for his co-operation, and requested at least that he should furnish horses for the public service. True to his engagement he refused both, though his country's cause was near his heart. Soon after this the British were driven below the Edisto, and nearly the whole country between that river and Stono came under the American arms. Every person within the recovered country felt himself released from allegiance to British rule. Under this impression he repaired to the American camp, and was honored by the command of a regiment, including the militia of his district. Taking the field, Hayne conducted an expedition into the territory of the enemy, and some of his mounted men captured General Williamson, near the quarter-house in the vicinity of Charleston. Williamson had first fought against the loyalists of the up-country and done his country some service, and afterwards had taken British protection. Lieut.-Col. Balfour sent out his cavalry to recapture Williamson. They fell upon the camp of Hayne and were handsomely repulsed by Col. Harden. Col. Hayne, attended by Lieut.-Col. McLachlin and a small guard, had unfortunately gone to breakfast with a friend about two miles distant. The house was on the Charleston road, and the negligent guard had left his post in search of fruit to regale his appetite. As soon as Hayne caught sight of the foe, he mounted his horse, dashed through their line, but attempting to leap a fence his horse fell and he was taken by his pursuers. McLachlin, not able to reach his horse, fell, sword in hand, bravely contending against the enemy.

Col. Hayne was conveyed to Charleston and lodged in the Provost prison, being the central portion of the cellar of the

Exchange. The purity of his character and his habitual kindness to those who had fallen under his power ought to have plead eloquently in his behalf. On July 26th he was informed by the town-major that a council of officers would meet on the next day for his trial. On the 27th he was informed that a council of four staff-officers and five captains would be assembled the next day for the purpose of determining under what point of view he ought to be considered, and that he would be allowed pen, ink, and paper, and the assistance of counsel. Before this tribunal he was brought, but no such formalities were used as is usual in a case of life and death, nor did he entertain the idea that he was on trial for his life; but on the 29th of July he was informed that he would be executed on the 31st instant at six o'clock, on the authority of Lord Rawdon and Lieut.-Col. Balfour. To these gentlemen he addressed a letter protesting against the course pursued with him, demanding a fair trial, and if this is refused, that he have time to "take a last farewell of his children, and prepare for the dreadful change."

To this he received as a reply that their resolves were "fixed and unchangeable." In vain did the ladies of Charleston petition in his behalf. In vain did Mrs. Peronneau, his sister, accompanied by his children, all clad in the deepest mourning, and in an agony of grief, wait on Lord Rawdon, and on their knees entreat him to spare their brother and father. In vain did the royal Lieutenant-Governor Bull, and a great number of inhabitants, both loyalists and Americans, intercede for him. Lord Rawdon and Lieut.-Col. Balfour were inexorable. All he obtained was a respite of forty-eight hours. In a second letter he asks as a boon that he might die, not the death of a felon, but that of a soldier and an officer. On the last evening of his life, he told a friend "that he was no more alarmed at the thoughts of death than at any other occurrence that was necessary and unavoidable." And on the morning of the fatal day, on receiving his summons to proceed to the place of execution, he presented to his son (a lad of thirteen years of age) a packet in which he had arranged all the papers relating to his execution. "Present," said he, "these papers to Mrs. Edwards, with my request that she will forward them to her brother in Congress. Go then to the place of my execution,—receive my body, and see it decently interred with my forefathers." This done, he embraced him, imploring the blessing of Heaven upon his orphan children. Dressed with his accustomed neatness, accompanied by a few friends, he walked with

firmness, composure, and dignity, through a weeping crowd to the place of execution. He had hoped that his last request would be granted, but the sight of the gibbet, when he had passed the city barrier, dispelled this hope. For a moment he paused, but resuming his wonted firmness he moved forward. A faithful friend at his side said to him, "You will now exhibit an example of the manner in which an American can die." He answered with the utmost tranquillity, "I will endeavor to do so." He ascended the cart with a firm step and serene aspect. Finding the executioner attempting to get up to draw the cap over his eyes, he said to him, "I will save you that trouble," and pulled it over himself. He was asked if he wished to say anything. To which he answered, "I will only take leave of my friends." He then affectionately shook hands with three gentlemen, recommending his children to their care, and gave the signal for the cart to move.

Thus died, in the prime of life, one of Carolina's noblest sons and most upright citizens, a victim to the malignant revenge of British officers, without even the forms of justice.

Another Presbyterian church appears at the close of this decade at PURYSBURG, which obtained an incorporation from the legislature, and was the revival of an older organization. The act dates the 17th of March, 1789, and commences as follows: "Whereas, Hezekiah Roberts, Jacob Winkler, and Daniel Giroud, with sundry other members of the Presbyterian congregation in the town of Purysburg, in Saint Peter's parish, in the State of South Carolina, did, by their petition to the General Assembly, set forth that the church in the said town and parish was most wantonly destroyed by the British in the late war, whereby the petitioners have been since deprived of attending divine service, and from procuring a minister to perform public worship therein, according to the rites and ceremonies of their said church; and thereby praying to be incorporated under the name of the Presbyterian congregation in the town of Purysburg, in St. Peter's parish, in the said State. 1. *Be it therefore enacted,*" &c. Then follows the ordinary form of incorporation. This is all the information we can give concerning this church. We do not know by whom its pulpit was occupied or how long it continued.—(Statutes at Large, viii., 155.)

The CHURCH OF SALT KETCHER, founded by Rev. Mr. Simpson, must have shared in the interruptions the war occasioned. Rev. Mr. Gourlay of Stoney Creek was sufficiently near to have ministered to it either occasionally or regularly; but the

testimony of Mr. Simpson would lead us to suppose that the congregation was nearly or wholly disorganized. In his diary, written in Charleston in the fall of 1783, he says, "The settlement on the Salt Ketcher and in that neighborhood is almost wholly broke up."

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### CHAPTER III.

The PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF WILLIAMSBURG continued vacant through the remaining period of the Revolution. Its history during this time of trial is well told in the discourse of the Rev. James A. Wallace, its pastor, on July 4th, 1856, being the one hundred and twentieth anniversary of the Williamsburg church :

"It was not," says he, "until after the fall of Charleston that the full cup of bitterness was poured out to the people of Williamsburg, which, on account of their patriotism, they were doomed to drink to the dregs. Many of them marched down to the defence of the city, and at its surrender were made prisoners of war, and suffered to return home on parole. Major James had been ordered back by Governor Rutledge, to embody and train the militia of the district, and thus escaped the catastrophe.

"Following the first proclamation, offering security to all who would refrain from further opposition to the royal government, and full pardon of all past offences, there was promulgated another, calling on all 'prisoners not taken by capitulation, and who were not in confinement at the surrender of Charleston,' to take up arms in favor of the king. By this suicidal policy the British lost more than they gained by their arms.

"There remained a portion 'of that district,' says Ramsay, 'stretching from the Santee to the Pedee, containing the whole of the present Williamsburg and part of Marion, to which the British arms had not penetrated. And it was in consequence of this second proclamation, put forth by the invaders, that Major James was deputed by the citizens of Williamsburg to inquire of the commanding officer in Georgetown the precise terms of the requisition. The story of his encounter with Ardesoif is too well known to be repeated. Different versions of it have been given; all of which, including that of his sons who fought by his side, differ from that of Weems, who has attached both romance and immortality to it, by making him knock the Briton down. Another phase of the story was recently furnished us by a venerable elder, who remembers distinctly to have heard James himself relate it to his father, one of his neighbors. Major James rode up to the house where Ardesoif was lodged, with some apprehensions lest he should be detained as a prisoner when his unwelcome message was told; and as a wise precaution, hitched his horse near the door. As the discussion grew warm Ardesoif and James both rose to their feet, the latter unarmed, holding his chair between them, and keeping himself next the door where his horse was tied. Ardesoif slowly followed him, as he retired, still holding the chair, until he sprang from the door and mounted his horse. He did not strike Ardesoif, as Weems has stated; but held the chair in readiness to do so if necessary. And had the supercilious Briton approached near enough, though wearing

his sword, the stalwart arm of the fearless patriot would have made him repent his temerity by crushing him at a blow.

“‘Unconditional submission’ was a term too abhorrent to those who had been nurtured in the lap of freedom, to allow them for a moment to think of accepting. If forced to take up arms they would fight for their country. ‘Liberty or death’ now became the motto of every man; and it was the immutable sentiment of every heart. Four military companies were called into service, under as many captains: Henry Mouzon, William McCottry, John James (of the Lake), and John Macauley. This was the origin of that far-famed band that bore so conspicuous a part in the contest for liberty during the rest of the war, known as ‘Marion’s brigade.’ Whether the honorable fame of that body was due more to their distinguished general than to the men who composed it, might admit of discussion. No reasonable doubt can exist, that if they were honored in serving under the great Marion, they were worthy of such a commander. Whether all these companies had a previous existence, and were then merely called into active service, cannot now be ascertained. That, however, which was commanded by Capt. Mouzon (the Kingtree company) was organized before. It consisted of seventy-five men previous to the fall of Charleston; and to the honor of the company and the community, there was but one man that bore the epithet of Tory. This was John Hamilton, a petty merchant of Kingtree, who was more distinguished for his profanity and plundering propensities than for courage to assault the enemies of his royal master. And we have good authority for saying that he was the only decided royalist in the township of Williamsburg during the war. Others we know there were in different parts of the present district, but among the descendants of the Irish Presbyterian colonists of the township, the name of Tory was unknown.”

“Some of the men composing this celebrated corps were remarkable for their daring courage, not less than for great bodily strength and agility. This was the character of Major James and several others of the same name. One of them, Gavin James, was a veritable Horatius Cocles. At the passage of the Wiboo swamp he held in check and faced the volleys of the whole advance of the British army. The foremost dragoon fell by the fire of his musket, the second that assailed him was struck dead by his bayonet, the third shared the same fate; but laying hold of the weapon, he was dragged by James, at the heels of his noble steed, a distance of thirty or forty yards along the causeway.

“There seem to have been three distinct invasions of Williamsburg, all of which redounded neither to the profit nor military glory of the enemy.”

“The first was that of Tarleton. So soon as the rising of the Whigs in Williamsburg was reported, this celebrated cavalry officer was dispatched to quell it. Passing the Santee at Lenud’s ferry, Tarleton, with one hundred British dragoons and a large number of Tories under Col. Elias Ball, encamped at the plantation of Gavin Witherspoon, south of the lower bridge on Black river, early in August, 1780. Hearing of his advance, Major James, who was then at Witherspoon’s ferry, on Lynch’s Creek, pushed McCottry’s company forward with a view to surprise him at or near Kingtree. Henry Durant was dispatched to watch the movements of Tarleton, reconnoitre, etc., and report; but before reaching the lower bridge, at a sudden turn in the road

he met the enemy's advance, and immediately wheeling round, he fled as fast as his steed could carry him. Being closely pursued by about twenty of Tarleton's fleetest cavalry, he effected his escape by throwing himself from his horse, leaping a high fence in sight of Robert Witherspoon's house (now Mr. Shaw's), and running across the field, rustling with corn and matted with pea-vines, to the swamp of Black river. That evening Tarleton encamped at Kingstree, and was saved from surprise by being advised of McCottry's advance, with a reported force of five hundred men. At the reception of this intelligence he decamped early in the night, and McCottry arrived a few hours after.

"On his retreat towards Camden, Tarleton took the two Messrs. Samuel McGill and carried them along as prisoners of war. The same day, the 7th of August, he burnt down the dwelling and out-houses of Capt. Henry Mouzon, fourteen buildings in all, with all their valuable contents. A little further on he destroyed, in like manner, the houses of William and Edward Plowden. In Salem he went to the house of Mr. James Bradley, disguised as an American officer, and passed himself off as Colonel Washington."

"The inquiry naturally arises here, what the British expected to effect by these atrocities, and from what diabolical motive they perpetrated them. A principal one, doubtless, was *disappointed ambition*. These men looked upon the southern country as conquered, and regarded themselves as entitled to all the glory of the achievement. Dukedoms, marquisates, and baronies, into which this vast domain was to be divided, were already grasped in imagination by them. And when they found themselves disappointed by the rising of the people—and among the first to resist their demands of 'unconditional submission' were those of Williamsburg—their wrath knew no bounds, and they felt themselves justified in going to the most dire extremities in wreaking their vengeance on men whom they viewed in the light of rebels and insurgents, rather than enemies in war.

"The cruelties exercised on Mr. Bradley, by Rawdon and Tarleton, have been accounted for in this way:—"

"A little before this, Thomas and Mathew Bradley and John Roberts were basely murdered by the Tories under one of the Harrisons, and the graves of the two former may be seen near the town of Lynchburg.\* One of the murderers, named Holt, was afterwards apprehended by Samuel Bradley, a son of Moses Gordon, and others, and hung near the residence of the late William Bradley of Salem.

"In the attack on the Tory camp, near Black Mingo Bridge, Capt. Henry Mouzon and Lieut. Joseph Scott were both wounded, and were carried to White Marsh, in North Carolina, where they remained till their recovery. They were both lame for life. Lieut. Roger Gordon having been sent out to patrol on Lynch's Creek, was attacked by a large party of Tories under Captain Butler, and after capitulating, was basely murdered with all his men.'

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\* Judge James states erroneously that these men had joined neither party. They had been out on service and had just returned home on a visit.

The second invasion of Williamsburg was conducted by Major Wemyss, and was marked by atrocities unsurpassed, if not unequalled in the annals of civilized warfare.

“Major James was despatched with a party of select men to reconnoitre and ascertain his forces. Placing himself near the road, James, by the light of the moon, not only ascertained pretty accurately the forces of Wemyss as they passed, but dashing from his hiding-place, like a lion from his lair, he burst in thunder on his rear guard, and bore many of them away captives before their friends could render them the least assistance. The force of Wemyss was reported to Marion before the morning dawned, and a council was held by the officers near to James's plantation, as to what course should be pursued. The British force alone was double that of Marion's, beside five hundred Tories under Major Harrison. The result of the conference was announced in an order to retreat into North Carolina, which was responded to by a groan of anguish from the whole line—men who, for the first time, were to leave their wives and children, and their homes and property, to the tender mercies of a ruthless and exasperated enemy. On the 28th of August they took up their line of march, which ended at White Marsh, in North Carolina.

“Major Wemyss crossed Black river from the west side, at Benbow's Ferry. Above Kingstree he burned the houses of Major John Gamble, Capt. James Conyers, James Davis, Capt. John Nelson, Robert Frierson, John Frierson, Robert Gamble, and William Gamble. An immense tract of country along Black river, Lynch's Creek, and Pedee, seventy miles in length, and, in places fifteen miles wide, he left a complete picture of desolation and suffering. At the command of this officer the church of Indiantown was burnt, because he regarded all Presbyterian churches as ‘sedition shops.’ The Holy Bible, too, with ‘Rouse's Psalms,’ indicated the presence of the hated, rebellious sect, and was uniformly consigned to the flames. The house of Major James was burned, and his property swept away and destroyed, which was the common lot of Presbyterian patriots. As an evidence of the fiendish character of Wemyss, he exhibited a particular antipathy to loom-houses and sheep, for the important reason that these constituted a principal element in the support of the inhabitants, both in food and clothing. The first were uniformly reduced to ashes; and where the latter were not needed for the support of his men, they were bayoneted or shot, and left to putrefy on the ground.

“A party of Wemyss's men came to the house of Mr. John Frierson, on the place now owned by Mr. John Kinder. Mr. F. had just time to escape and conceal himself in the top of a tree, in full view of his house. The officer in command threatened Mrs. Frierson, in the most profane and insulting language, that unless she revealed the place of her husband's concealment he would BURN HER UP in the house. She was accordingly forced in, leading her little son, four years old, who yet lives to tell the tale of horror. The house was fired on the roof, and sentinels were placed at each door to prevent her exit. The roof was soon in flames, and flakes of fire fell fast and thick round the faithful wife, who sat still in view of death by faggot and fire; and it was not until the intense heat of the burning mansion drove the sentinels from the doors that she was suffered to escape. The bee-hives were knocked to pieces, and the honey poured on the ground in mere wantonness; pigs, poultry, and every living thing that could be caught, were thrown into the flames and burned to death.

“But some men's sins go before them to judgment, and the retributions of heaven follow fast on their career of crime. It was so with Wemyss. A few months after his march of devastation through Williamsburg, he was wounded and taken prisoner by Sumter, near Fishdam Ford, on Broad

river, and a list of the houses he had burned was found on his person. No wonder that he trembled when forced to show the document, and begged the American commander to protect him from the vengeance of the militia!

"The cruelties inflicted during this expedition, too, roused the lion in his lair, and called Marion from his retreat. And on his return the injured citizens whose premises had been burned, and property stolen and wantonly destroyed, flocked to his standard in hundreds.

"It is a well attested fact that after the return of Marion, and the flight of Hamilton, the congregation of Williamsburg, owing to the entire unanimity of the people, afforded an asylum for refugee Whigs from other portions of the country which were more exposed to the incursions of the enemy. The God of battles seemed to watch over this cradle of liberty and Christian influence."

The third invasion of Williamsburg occurred about the time that General Greene was performing his renowned retreat across North Carolina, which resulted in the battle of Guilford, in the spring of 1781.

"Sumter and Marion, then two hundred miles apart, commanded the only forces left in South Carolina. And Rawdon, who was directly between them, seized the opportunity to crush Marion in his retreat at Snow's Island. Col. Watson, with a British regiment and Harrison's Tories, was ordered to proceed down the Santee, and Col. Doyle along the east side of Lynch's Creek. But the vigilant scouts of Marion soon revealed the danger; and leaving Col. Erwin in command of his camp, the intrepid general, by a forced march, met Watson unexpectedly at Wiboo Swamp, about midway between Nelson's ferry and Murray's. It was at this pass that Gavin James performed the daring exploits already mentioned. Here Captain Conyers killed with his own hand a Tory officer, the Major Hamilton who had participated in the murder of the two Bradleys at Lynchburg.

"His direct route to Snow's Island lay through the heart of Williamsburg; and the struggle on the part of Marion now was to arrest his career. One of the two bridges on Black river was to be the Thermopylæ; and while there were lacking the Persian multitudes to overwhelm it, there was a Spartan band to dispute the passage. Watson chose the lower bridge, perhaps fearing an ambuscade on the west side of the river opposite Kingstree if he attempted to pass that way. Making a feint of continuing down the Santee, he fell below the Broomstraw road to deceive his enemy; but soon after, wheeling his columns, he made a rapid push for the lower bridge. Marion, anticipating his movement, despatched Major James with seventy men, thirty of whom were McCottry's riflemen, by a nearer route, who crossed the bridge, threw off the planks, and fired the string-pieces at the north-eastern end, to prevent the British infantry walking over on them. The rifles were then posted advantageously at the end of the bridge, and the rest above and below, so as to command the ford and all the approaches on the other side. Marion soon after arrived with the rest of his army, and disposed them in the rear, so as to support James's men. Scarcely was there time for these preparations when Watson appeared on the plain beyond, and opened the thunder of his artillery. But the little band of patriots, fighting, as it were, in sight of their own wives and children, homes and hearth-stones, were not the men to quail before this formidable array. An attempt was now made to carry the ford by storm. But the officer in command of the advance, approaching the brow of the hill, waving his sword over his head, was seen to clap his hand to his breast and fall. He was pierced by a bullet from McCottry's rifle, a signal for his men; and the deadly precedent was so skillfully followed up, that the

whole advance of the British was hurled back in confusion, from the fatal volleys poured into it. The motion of the whole army was checked. Four men ventured back to carry off their fallen commander, but they slept in death beside him. Watson was afterwards heard to say, 'that he never saw such shooting in his life.'

"This brilliant action decided the fate of Williamsburg. Col. Watson retired and took up his quarters at the house of John Witherspoon, about two miles south of the bridge, the place now owned by Mr. Lifrage. Here it was that Sergeant McDonald climbed a hickory tree at the end of Mr. Witherspoon's avenue, that overlooked the house and yard, and shot Lieut. Torriano through the knee, at the distance of three hundred yards—a feat of marksmanship not surpassed by Napoleon in the distant shot that mangled both the limbs of Moreau at Dresden.

"Abandoning the hopeless enterprise, Watson at length broke up his encampments, and proceeded by forced marches towards Georgetown, constantly annoyed by his ever-present foe; and at Sampit Bridge McCottry's rifles gave him a farewell in the form of a shower of bullets. In this expedition, so inglorious to himself, Watson commanded five hundred men, more than double the number of his enemies. Marion lost only one man, while the Briton, as tradition reports, was compelled to sink his slain in a deep hole in the river above the bridge, to conceal their numbers. He arrived at Georgetown with two wagon loads of wounded men. Thus Williamsburg was preserved, by the blessing of God on the bravery of its own men, from another march of devastation and suffering similar to that of Wemyss, the year before."

Here we must close our account of this band of Christian patriots, as their future operations were not connected with the territory of Williamsburg. The sword devoured in other localities; but here, peace reigned. Their deeds of valor have been recorded imperishably by abler hands.—It is enough to say, that they laid down then armor only when their country and liberty no longer required their services. And when the tocsin of war ceased to sound, the soldier again became a peaceful citizen, beating swords into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks, never to learn war any more.

But the field of justifiable strife is a school where the meek spirit of Christ is badly learned; and when men have no more war to wage, nor enemies to do battle with, they are prone to put their tactics in requisition by turning their arms against each other. This melancholy condition of things appeared in the Williamsburg church soon after the close of the war. During that period the church was without the stated means of grace, except as it was occasionally supplied by the Rev. James Edmonds of Charleston, Rev. Thomas Hill of Indian Town, and Rev. Mr. Hunter of the Black Minge church. In 1783, when the scattered fragments were again collected together, a large number of its best members were no more to be seen; they had gone to their rest, and their seats in the sanctuary were vacant. A few war-worn

veterans who had carried their Bibles in their knapsacks, it is true, were left to praise God in his own house, as they had trusted to him in the strife of death ; but a large proportion of the congregation were without hope and without God.

At this time a minister by the name of Samuel Kennedy, a native of Ireland, presented himself, and was engaged to supply the church for a period of three years.

He had not been here long, however, until it appeared that he was guilty of unministerial conduct, and unsound in doctrine ; and at length throwing off the mask, he avowed the doctrines of Socinianism. It must not be supposed that the pious portion of the congregation were unconcerned as to the preaching and life of their minister ; and a large proportion of them insisted on his being removed. But the majority sustained Mr. Kennedy ; partly it may be supposed from the circumstance that, like themselves, he was but recently from the "old country," and partly because they were less strictly puritanical in doctrine and life than those who had founded the church near fifty years before. Besides the demoralizing effects of the recent war, we must take into the account the fact that many of these persons were strangers to vital piety, and not even professors of religion, while their rights as pew-holders conferred on them the privilege of voting for the pastor.

The Mr. Kennedy of whom we are speaking arrived in this country from Ireland as early as the year 1772, as we find him before the synod of that year. For some time he did not connect himself with any presbytery ; but obtaining letters of recommendation from the second presbytery of Philadelphia, he went into the bounds of the Donegal presbytery, and labored there without leave. This latter body, in consequence of some irregularities of Mr. Kennedy, brought the matter to the notice of the synod, at its sessions in 1772. The synod ordered Mr. Kennedy to put himself under the care of the presbytery of Donegal, and answer to that body for his future conduct, which he refused to do, but continued to preach in its bounds as before. Mr. Kennedy appeared before the synod the following year, offering reasons for not obeying its order ; and, at the same time, so inculpated the conduct of the presbytery as to call forth a reply. The synod determined the case by rebuking Mr. Kennedy for his contumacy, and directing the presbytery to bring him regularly to trial. The following year the presbytery reported to synod, that the case had been issued, and Mr. Kennedy ordered to desist from preaching. Mr. Kennedy at the same

time complained to synod of the decision of the presbytery; when, for want of time to issue the case, it was deferred to the following year. The minutes of that year (1775), dismissing the complaint of the accused as "groundless and frivolous," furnishes the last information of him found in the printed records.\*

In consequence of the irregularities of Mr. Kennedy, the Rev. John Roan offered an overture, restraining presbyteries from receiving foreign ministers and candidates, or even giving them leave to labor in their bounds, until their credentials had been duly examined by the synod at its earliest meeting next after their arrival. This overture passed into a law only by a small majority of synod, and was protested against by the whole second presbytery of Philadelphia present, and dissented from by a number of other members.†

This protest furnishes us with an important clue to the subsequent course of Mr. Kennedy. This same body had given Mr. Kennedy testimonials which enabled him to gain access to the churches in Donegal presbytery; and the course of its members on trial indicates how deeply they still sympathized with him. A manuscript written by one who was a witness of the melancholy scenes which occurred here, says that Mr. Kennedy bore testimonials from the "presbytery of Philadelphia," not specifying the number. In the Bellamy papers, it is stated that Mr. Kennedy was unsound in doctrine, and in consequence was unable to form a settlement in any of the churches, and wandered along the sea-coast to the south.

Every characteristic of the Mr. Kennedy who labored here, given by those who well remember him, goes to identify him as the same individual who appeared as a troubler of our Israel of the North. In the records of synod he is called a "candidate;" but whether we are to infer from this that he was not an ordained minister is uncertain. He had, however, now been in this country more than eleven years before coming to this place. He had married, and was again single from the death of his wife, and had a son with him who died and was buried in the bounds of this congregation. During his sojourn here he married Miss Elizabeth Hamilton, a member of his church. After leaving he removed into North Carolina, in the vicinity of Charlotte, where he died.

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\* Records Presbyterian Church, pp. 485, 441, 442, 452, 460, 470.

† *Ib.*, pp. 443, 444.

But his ministry here was unhappy to himself and disastrous to the church. And among his most inveterate enemies at the last were his own party in the church, and those united to him by family relationship. When the first three years stipulated for were out, he determined to remain two years longer; and the majority of the congregation sustained him. Finding now no means of redress, the minority resolved on the unwise and unfortunate expedient of demolishing the church; preferring to *destroy* what their fathers had built and consecrated with many prayers, rather than suffer it to be desecrated by the preaching of one who denied the divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ. Accordingly, by previous understanding, they met early one morning in the month of August, 1786, with about one hundred negro men, and in a few hours razed the building to the ground, and removed the materials from the spot. The pulpit was carried three miles, and concealed in the barn of Mr. Samuel McClelland, whose father was one of the original members of the church.

The issue was now fairly made between the two parties; and, at a suit in law, which was tried in Georgetown, the minority lost the case, and were required to pay for the house they had demolished. The result was the foundation of two distinct congregations, worshipping in different houses, each under its own pastor. A living witness remembers distinctly that only a Sabbath or two after the destruction of the church, a rude log structure was raised on the same spot for the temporary use of the congregation. The minority were organized into a separate church by Rev. James Edwards, and became connected with the presbytery of South Carolina, which was set off from the presbytery of Orange, at its own request, by the synod of New York and Philadelphia, in 1784, and which embraced in its bounds all the territory occupied by the Presbyterian church south of North Carolina. Thus arose

THE BETHEL CHURCH in Williamsburg district, which built its house of worship less than one hundred yards east of the other, the old Williamsburg church, and received occasional supplies from the Rev. James Edwards and Rev. Thomas Reese. In 1789 the Bethel church secured the ministerial services of James W. Stephenson, from Lancaster district, at that time a licentiate of the newly formed presbytery of South Carolina.—(Abridged from Wallace's Hist.)

It appears on the minutes of this presbytery that a call was brought to it in October, 1786, from Williamsburg and Indian-town, "to be kept in the hands of presbytery till an opportu-

nity may offer of putting it into the hands of some member of this presbytery for his consideration.”—(MS. Minutes, p. 12.) In 1787 Rev. Thomas Reese was appointed to supply one Sabbath each at Hopewell, Indian-Town and Williamsburg. In 1788 a similar appointment was made for Rev. James Edwards, Thomas Reese, and Robert McCollough. In 1789 Robert Finley was appointed to preach once at Williamsburg, and James W. Stephenson once at Williamsburg and Indian-Town. At their meeting in October, 1789, there is the following record:—“At the earnest request of the Williamsburg and Indian-Town congregations united, their call, which has been for some time in the hands of this presbytery (waiting for an opportunity of some proper person to whom to present it) was presented to Mr. James W. Stephenson, who took the same into consideration.” And he was appointed to supply at Williamsburg and Indian-Town one Sabbath.

Of the history of the INDIAN-TOWN CHURCH from 1780-1790, we can only state a few facts, which are traditional in part. The Rev. Thomas Hill supplied this church, says Dr. Wither-  
spoon, in 1783 or 1784. He was one of the missionaries sent out by Lady Huntingdon to Georgia; and, as a member of Orange presbytery, was set off by others to form the new presbytery of South Carolina. At its first meeting at Waxhaw, April 12th, 1785, certain charges were alleged against him, and he was cited to appear at its bar. This citation being thrice repeated and as often disregarded, he was cut off from presbyterial communication at their meeting at Jackson's Creek in October of the same year. Henceforward they were dependent on occasional and presbyterial supplies. Mr. Edmonds was appointed to supply them in 1785 and 1788; Thomas Reese in 1787 and 1788; Robert McColloch in 1788 and 1789; James W. Stephenson in the same years; Robert Finley in 1789. In October, 1786, Messrs. Edmonds, Reese, and McCaule were appointed to administer the Lord's supper; and were ordered to sit there as a committee to take evidence touching the charges made *famâ clamosâ* against Mr. James McMullen, a candidate for the gospel ministry from Ireland, who had been taken under the care of presbytery. Either because the old [Scotch] presbytery was extinct, or because it preferred this connection, it now looked to the new presbytery of South Carolina for supplies. The house in which this congregation worshipped before the war was burnt by the Tories at the command of Major Wemyss, and the worshippers assembled for some time afterwards in a field. Mr. George Barr, an aged member, says he

was baptized in this field.—(Letter of Rev. J. A. Wallace, March 22d, 1853.) It will be remembered that Major John James of Marion's Brigade was an elder, and Capt. McCottry a member, of this church, and those exploits of his which have been mentioned in the notice of Williamsburg church would have been as appropriate here.

The presbyterian church of BLACK MINGO was still served by Rev. William Knox. On the southern bank of the stream which gives name to the church, Marion obtained a decided victory over a large body of Tories. Capt. John James of the Indian-Town church, and Capt. Mouzon of Kingstree, with many of these congregations, were in this bloody engagement.

Of AIMWELL CHURCH on the Pedee, as to its spiritual condition no record has been transmitted. Its fortunes were united in after-times with those of Hopewell, twenty miles above. Robert McColloch was appointed to supply it in 1789. But we find in civil history many and thrilling accounts of the sufferings and valor of all this region, peopled by the descendants of the first settlers of Williamsburg. It was they, already risen in arms, that summoned the undaunted Marion from the camp of Gates to be their leader. Gavin and John Witherspoon of this congregation were with him. While Marion was at White Marsh, previous to the battle of Black Mingo, Gavin Witherspoon, whom he had sent out with four men, achieved one of those surprises which so often distinguished the men of Marion's command. He had taken refuge in Pedee swamp from his pursuers, and while hiding there, discovered one of the camps of the Tories who were seeking him. He proposed to his four comrades to watch the enemy's camp till the Tories were asleep. His men shrinking from the performance, Witherspoon undertook it himself. Creeping up quietly, he found them sleeping at the butt of an uprooted pine, with their guns leaned up against one of its branches, a short distance from them. Creeping still nearer, he first secured their guns, then arousing the Tories, demanded their surrender. They were seven in number, disarmed, and knew nothing of the force of the assailants. Witherspoon's companions drew near and assisted in securing the prisoners. On another occasion, when Major McIlraith challenged Marion to a combat in an open field, and Marion replied that if he wished to witness a combat between twenty picked soldiers on each side, he was not unwilling to gratify him, and the proposition was agreed to by McIlraith. Marion chose Major Vanderhorst as the leader, and Capt. Samuel Price as the second in command.

The names of the men were written on slips of paper and handed to them separately. Gavin Witherspoon received the first. Vanderhorst asked Witherspoon "at what distance he would prefer as the most sure to strike with buckshot." "Fifty yards for the first fire," was his reply. "Then," said Vanderhorst, "when we get within fifty yards, as I am not a good judge of distances, Mr. Witherspoon will tap me on the shoulder, I will then give the word." But McIlraith had reconsidered. Vanderhorst was advancing, and had got within one hundred yards, when the British detachment was withdrawn, and retired with a quick step towards the main body. Vanderhorst and his party gave three huzzas, but not a shot was fired. The incident shows, like many others, the estimation in which Gavin Witherspoon's soldierly qualities were held by his commander. On another occasion, Marion crossed the Pedee, and encamped at Warhees, within five miles of Watson, whose force was twice that of Marion's. Here he planted himself to watch an enemy whom he could not openly encounter. In addition to want of men, he labored under a still greater want of ammunition. When asked by Captain Witherspoon whether he meant to fight Watson, which Witherspoon strongly advised before he was joined by more Tories, he answered, "That would be best, but we have not ammunition." "Why, General," said Witherspoon, "my powder-horn is full." "Ah, my friend," was the reply of Marion, "*you* are an extraordinary soldier; but for the others, there are not two rounds to a man." Near the close of the war Marion had left a small body of infantry at Watboo on Cooper river. He had taken his cavalry to Georgetown, and the enemy, apprised of this, sent a detachment of dragoons, one hundred strong, under Major Frasier, to surprise the post at Watboo. Marion was back in season, but when Frasier approached, his cavalry were absent, patrolling down the river. In their absence, his only mode of obtaining intelligence was through his officers, who alone were provided with horses. Of these, he ordered out a party under Capt. Gavin Witherspoon to reconnoitre. Meanwhile he dispersed his infantry, many of whom at this juncture were new-made Whigs, whose fidelity had not been tried. Witherspoon, with the reconnoitering party, had not advanced far in the woods when they were charged by the enemy's cavalry. A chase ensued, which soon brought both parties in view of Marion and his men. When in full view, the horse of Witherspoon failed him, or he designedly dropped behind to bring up the rear of his little band. A British dragoon darted

forward to cut him down. Witherspoon suffered him to come almost within striking distance. The dragoon had already risen in his stirrups to strike, when Witherspoon, whose eye was on him, quick as lightning poured the contents of his carbine into his breast. This was followed by a shout from the American side, who delivered their fire with fatal effect. Marion changed his front with every manœuvre of the foe, and they found no opportunity of retrieving their disaster.

HOPEWELL CHURCH on the PEDEE must have been vacant at this time. At the first meeting of the presbytery of South Carolina at Waxhaw, April 12th, 1785, Rev. Thomas Reese was appointed to supply one Sabbath at Hopewell. At their meeting at Jackson's Creek in October of the same year, Rev. Messrs. Edmonds and Reese were appointed to supply the same church. At the meeting at Bethesda, October, 1786, Messrs. Edmonds and Reese were again appointed to supply one Sabbath. Thomas Reese again in 1787, Thomas Reese and James Edmonds in 1788, and Robert McCulloch in 1789, in connection with Aimwell. This church received an addition to its eldership in the person of William Wilson, a member of Salem church, who moved into its bounds during the war of the Revolution.

SALEM CHURCH, BLACK RIVER.—The Rev. Thomas Reese continued in the pastorship of this church, though not at all times resident in it. The state of society was such at the beginning of this period, that violence and misrule had usurped the place of law and order; and not only the civil, but the religious rights of the community were invaded. This was more especially the case during the years 1780 and 1781, a period in the history of South Carolina truly distressing to the philanthropist, and much more so to the Christian. From the surrender of Charleston all public education was suspended, "and soon after," says Dr. Witherspoon, "all public worship was discontinued, most of the town and country churches were burned, or made depots for the stores of the enemy; and in some instances appropriated to more improper uses. In a camp where there was no permanency and but little rest, there was no place for chaplains, and at home even, pious pastors were insecure; consequently, as the more prudent course, they went into exile. Among the latter was the Rev. Dr. Reese. It was in his congregation that the murders perpetrated by Harrison, of Tory memory, and his followers, commenced, and the respectable members of his flock fell victims to civil rage. Had he gone about to administer com-

fort out of his own family it would have been termed sedition, and Dr. Reese would have made himself a voluntary martyr. He took the wise course of retiring before the storm, and went with his family to Mecklenburg, North Carolina, where he continued to preach under many privations. Dr. Witherspoon represents him as having returned after the peace of 1782. Other testimonies say that "in or about the year 1781 he ordained two elders, viz., John McFadden and Thomas McFadden."—(MS. Notes by Session of the Church.) "After the peace of 1782 he pursued his duties with ardor and diligence rarely exceeded. He amassed a large fund of useful knowledge in divinity, moral philosophy, and other branches of science auxiliary to the formation of a complete theologian. He then began and completed his admirable essay on the influence of religion in civil society. He pursued the argument through a variety of relations, and demonstrated from reason and history that all human institutions are in their own nature, and have ever been found in practice insufficient to preserve peace and order without the sanctions of religion. The execution of the work would have been reputable to the pen of Warburton or Paley; but like most American productions of that day, it was soon neglected, and did not pass into a second edition. Its fate would probably have been different if it had come from the east side of the Atlantic and made its appearance with the name of some European divine. It is preserved in Carey's American Museum, and will be an honorable testimony to posterity of the literature of Carolina in 1788. It procured for the author the well-merited degree of D. D. from Princeton College, which, as far as can be recollected, was the first instance of its being conferred on a Carolinian."—(Dr. Ramsay's Hist. of South Carolina; MS. Hist. by Dr. J. R. Witherspoon, of Brookland, near Greensboro, Alabama; published also in So. Pres. Review, vol. vi., p. 116; Sprague's Annals, vol. iii., p. 331.)

Among the sufferers of this congregation during the war was the venerable James Bradley, an elder, we believe, of the Salem church. He was taken prisoner by stratagem. Colonel Tarleton came to his house, and as his person was unknown to Mr. Bradley, he easily passed himself off for Colonel Washington of the American dragoons. Bradley treated him with great kindness, and not in the least suspecting him as otherwise than a distinguished friend of the Whig cause, freely communicated to him the plans of himself and friends for co-operating with their countrymen against the British.

Tarleton requested Bradley to accompany him as a guide to a neighboring place, a service which was cheerfully performed. On their arrival Tarleton's command appeared in full view, and took charge of Bradley as a prisoner. He was sent to Camden jail and confined in irons. He was frequently carted to the gallows that he might witness the execution of his countrymen as rebels, and was told to prepare for the same fate, as his time was near at hand. On such occasions, and before the courts-martial, he would reply, "I am ready and willing to die in the cause of my country; but remember, if I am hanged, I have many friends in Marion's brigade, and my death will occasion a severe retaliation." Awed by his noble endurance and his many virtues, or apprehensive of consequences, his captors did not execute their threats. His life was spared, but he was kept in irons as long as the British held the upper country in possession. He bore the marks of the irons till the day of his death, and would occasionally show them to his young friends, with a request, "that if the good of their country required the sacrifice, they would suffer imprisonment and death in its cause."—(Mills' Statistics, p. 593. See Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton's own account of this transaction in his Hist. of the Campaigns of 1780, 1781, p. 101.)

We have expressed our conviction on pp. 216, 217, that a portion of the original settlers of ORANGEBURG, those namely from certain cantons of Switzerland (and it may be true also of others), were of the Calvinistic or Reformed church, and Presbyterians. This is confirmed in part by the fact that "there was a Presbyterian meeting-house erected on Cattle's Creek, in 1778, and called the Frederician church, after Andrew Frederick, who was its principal founder. Another of the same denomination was built at Turkey Hill. There are," say Drs. Jamieson and Shecut, writing in 1808, "two others of the same denomination in Lewisburgh." "The Presbyterians have supplies only from the upper country and the North Carolina presbytery. From the want of preachers of their own denomination, the descendants of the old stock are falling in either with the Baptists or Methodists, according to the neighborhood in which they live."—(Statistical act. of Orangeburg.—Ramsay, vol. ii., Appendix.)

In the present district of Richland there was a PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH ON CEDAR CREEK previous to the Revolution. It must have been of the German Reformed connection, and was ministered to by Rev. William Dubard, who died of the small-pox in the city of Charleston near the close of the Revolutionary

war. The Presbyterians, therefore, were truly, as Mills, in his *Statistics*, says, (p. 722), "the first religious society established in the district;" but they were not of that order which is represented in the General Assembly of the United States. It is probably the church alluded to in the act of incorporation in 1788 as "the German Protestant church of Appii Forum on Cedar Creek."—(*Statutes at Large*, vol. viii., p. 144.) As we shall not probably recur to the history of this church again, the traditions of the neighborhood speak of it as having continued in existence into the next century, the successors of Mr. Dubard being a clergyman by the name of Penegar, another by the name of Houck, and another by the name of Loutz. The house of worship was built of logs, with an earth floor.

Our informant speaks of Mr. Loutz as a man of education and influence, who visited this church from North Carolina, where his residence was. The communion seasons were to his mind, in his youth, scenes of great solemnity. The communicants, approaching the table one after another, received the elements of bread and wine in a standing posture, and passed away from the table with clasped hands and uplifted eyes. This church had occasional preaching by others, but became extinct as a Presbyterian church of the German Reformed order, and the neighborhood became the seat of a Methodist church and congregation.—(Memoranda furnished by A. F. Dubard, of Cedar Creek, Richland.)

**THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF CAMDEN.**—In treating the history of this church we will first speak of "the early settlement of Camden." About the year 1755, three brothers, Joseph, William, and Eli Kershaw, came out from Great Britain to South Carolina, bringing with them considerable funds or property. They were sons of Joseph Kershaw, and were born at Sowerby, Yorkshire, England. In the year 1758, Joseph Kershaw removed to a village then called "Pine Tree," on the east side of Wateree, at the head of navigation.

Here he continued many years, carrying on an extensive country trade. Colonel John Chesnut was first his apprentice, then his clerk, and finally his partner, in this extensive country store, with branches at Granby and Cheraw.

Duncan McRa and Zack Cantey were both in the employ of Colonel Joseph Kershaw, and tradition reports that when speaking of the three gentlemen above named, he said "that he was raising up chickens to pick out his own eyes."

A colony of Quakers from Ireland, among whom were Robert Millhouse and Samuel Wiley, two very sensible and respectable

men, had settled in Pine Tree village about 1750; there they also built stores, mills, and meeting-house, and formed a very thriving settlement. The Quaker burying-ground is now the only place of sepulture in Camden.

Some time after Joseph Kershaw's settlement in the village, he married Miss Sophia Mathis, one of the Quaker settlers. He soon became one of the most extensive and influential proprietors. He prevailed on the other settlers to unite in laying out their town in streets and lots, and in changing its homely name to that of Camden, in honor of Lord Camden, the favorite English statesman of the day. Camden was laid out in 1760, and chartered in 1762.

Camden continued to prosper until the year 1780, when after the fall of Charleston the British troops overran the State. During the two years subsequent to the fall of Charleston Camden became the centre of almost all the military operations of that eventful period; the battle-field for contending hostile armies, fifteen or sixteen actions having been fought in its vicinity. Camden was occupied by the Commander-in-chief, Lord Cornwallis, for nearly two years, whose headquarters were at the fine old mansion of Col. Kershaw, still standing as a relic of the Revolution. When the British could no longer retain Camden as a military post, they set fire to the courthouse and jail, to their barracks, and to their store-houses, containing an immense amount of arms, provisions, baggage, and military stores of every description. In the progress of the flames, many private buildings were destroyed in the general conflagration. The fortifications were left entire by the British, hoping that they might return and occupy them; but these the Americans destroyed, and Camden was left in ruins.

The descendants of Col. Joseph Kershaw, now living of his grand-children, are Charles and Benjamin Perkins, Mrs. A. Johnson, all of Camden; Mrs. Powers of Virginia; S. Wilds Dubose of Darlington; Mrs. Mary R. Young of Jackson county, Florida, and Joseph Bernard Kershaw, who acquired honorable distinction in the Mexican war, as first lieutenant of the Kershaw Volunteers in the Palmetto regiment. He is now, 1852, a member of the legislature from Kershaw district.

Of the other early settlers, Samuel Mathis was the first *male child born* in Camden. There are several descendants: two of the name of Drs. Reynolds, and Rev. S. M. Green, grand-children of the said S. Mathis, and children of Joseph Reynolds and H. D. Green.

Of the family of Col. John Chesnut, there are his son, Col. James Chesnut, and Col. James Chesnut, jr., two gentlemen of the highest respectability. The younger James Chesnut is senator in the State legislature, from Kershaw district.

Of the descendants of the Wiley family, there are the families of James, William, and Thomas Lang, whose father married Miss Sarah Wiley, and whose name is enrolled as one of the first elders of the church; and his son, Thomas Lang, has long been a member of said church. Another of the Quaker families is that of Abram Belton, whose descendants are James B. Cureton, James and Joseph Doby and their sisters, Mrs. Dunlap, Mrs. Anthony and Mrs. Robert Kennedy, grandchildren of Mr. Belton.

The only tradition as to the establishment of a Presbyterian church is, that John Logue, an aged Presbyterian minister from Ireland, preached stately a part of his time in Camden for several years after the war.\* But as there is no record of any organization, we have nothing to state officially in the matter.

The other is that found on a tombstone in the Quaker burying-ground, that a lady, a Mrs. Smith, had made a donation of one thousand dollars towards the erection of a Presbyterian church, but she died long before a church was built, and no part of the gift was received.—(MS. History by I. K. Douglas, Esq., written in 1852.) Yet it is mentioned in Allen's Biographical Dictionary, that Thomas Adams, son of Rev. Amos Adams, of Roxbury, Massachusetts, was ordained in Boston as minister for Camden, South Carolina, where, after a residence of eight years, he died August 16th, 1797. If this was the case, his ministry in this place must have begun in the last year of this decade, in 1789. He graduated at Harvard University, in the year 1788. "Mr. Adams, a young gentleman of the Congregational church, from Massachusetts," says Dr. Furman, "preached there, and also had charge of the Orphan Society's academy."—(Appendix to Ramsay's Hist.)

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\* He preached occasionally at Jackson's Creek, Fairfield, and was a correspondent of Rev. Robert McClintock in 1787. His name occurs also in the list of Irish clergy preaching in South Carolina, given in a letter addressed to Dr. Thornwell by Dr. J. R. Witherspoon, of Brookland, Alabama, in October, 1848. There is a note before us, written by him, and addressed to Robert McClintock, to the care of William McClintock, of Rocky Creek, requesting Mr. McClintock to assist him at a communion season and at the fast-day on Thursday before. The note is dated February 17th, 1789, but the residence of Mr. Logue is not indicated.

## CHAPTER IV.

LEBANON CHURCH, JACKSON'S CREEK, FAIRFIELD.—A brief account of the origin of this church has been given on pp. 415, 416. This account left them occupying their second house of worship, on lands belonging to Joseph Chapman. Rev. Mr. Thatcher, from the North, perhaps previous to this, preached for some time alternately at Jackson's Creek and in "the Wolf Pit (or Wolf Pen) meeting-house," on the Wateree. While assembled for worship at the church on Jackson's Creek, in those troublous times, men were stationed as videttes, and sentinels walked their rounds to apprise the worshippers of any approaching foe. Bands of Tories were lurking around, and late in the year 1780, Lord Cornwallis established his headquarters at Winnsboro, at the junction of Walnut and Washington streets, where he remained till between the 5th and 8th of January, 1781. From the lips of Mrs. Mary Barkley we have received a few interesting facts, of her own recollection, belonging to the period of the Revolution. Mrs. Barkley was the daughter of Samuel and Jane Grey, and was born in Ballybreak, near Ballymoney, county Antrim, Ireland, in 1758. Her father died when she was an infant of three months, leaving her mother with four children, Margaret, William, Robert, and Mary. Her mother afterwards married John Dunlap, by whom she had a daughter, named Anne. In 1773, her parents sold their farm in Ireland and migrated to America, arriving in Charleston in December of that year. In March, 1774, they removed by wagon to Jackson's Creek, a tedious journey, as performed by them, of three weeks' duration. Here they settled themselves comfortably in a log cabin, as was the wont of the new-comers. Soon after their settlement one of the daughters, Margaret, married James McCreight, who fixed his abode about one mile from Winnsboro. In the year 1776, William and Robert, her brothers, and Dunlap and McCreight, entered the American army. This year also they were engaged in the snow campaign against the Cherokee Indians. The whole labor of the farm thus fell upon the female members of the family, for they had as yet no servants. There were frequent alarms too that the Cherokees were advancing upon the defenceless settlements. On one occasion they left the house and lay out in a thicket a long and dreary night. Mary assumed the principal care of the household, plying the spindle and the

loom with ceaseless industry, a type of many others of her sex of that early day. The care of the farm greatly devolved upon her, for after three months' service in the snow campaign, her step-father, Dunlap, came back an invalid unable to yield much assistance. Under these circumstances her heart became attached and affianced to a brave young lieutenant, Alexander Gaston. The Greys first entered the service under Captain James Philips, who afterwards deserted the cause of the colonies and joined the British. Robert then entered the continental army as an artilleryist, and was orderly sergeant of his company. At the battle of Fort Moultrie he was disabled for life by the bursting of a cannon. William joined the company of Captain Robert Ellison as first lieutenant. He had been in the Indian war under General Pickens, was in the battle at Fort Moultrie, in the ill-starred campaign against St. Augustine, and was in almost every battle in the South, from beginning to end. His friend Gaston and himself were both lieutenants in the regular army. When the regulars made their gallant charge on the British works at Savannah, Gaston was wounded. The two young lieutenants were in the field during the campaign of 1780. After the battle at Monk's Corner and the fall of Charleston, they were driven back with their companions as refugees to North Carolina, whence they returned to renew the strife. In the month of June, 1780, their camp was pitched on Clem's Branch, in the upper edge of Lancaster district. Here they were found by Sumter, who, like them, was a refugee, having left his family exposed to the tender mercies of the enemy, who plundered his goods, destroyed his property, burned his house, and left his wife and family without a shelter. He now selected a few chosen men to accompany him, that he might punish his enemies and bring his family away, among whom were William Grey and Alexander Gaston. At Wright's Bluff, on Black river, Sumter encountered a body of British and Tories, too numerous for his chosen band, and was forced to retreat beyond the river. Gaston had taken the small-pox, and getting wet while crossing, his disease became very violent, and being left at the house of a Mr. McConnell, he died in a few days. Mary Grey was inconsolable at his loss, and though she subsequently had many offers of marriage, twelve years elapsed ere she could give her heart to another. Even in her old age, seventy years after, she would heave a sigh at the mention of his name, and with moistened eye would repeat the words, "Yes, we were to have been married after the war."

Some time in the summer of 1780 her brother, William Grey, was taken prisoner and lodged in Camden jail, whence he was afterwards paroled, and permitted to return on condition that he should never go to a greater distance from Winnsboro than three miles. He and his sister Mary stayed for the most part, while the British were at Winnsboro, at their brother-in-law, Mr. Creight's. At this time the family of her stepfather and brother-in-law was frequently robbed by the Tories.

Mrs. Barkley was wont to relate many incidents of the local history of the Revolution. The small-pox prevailed to a considerable extent in the British army, especially among the Tories under Bryant's command. The sick were quartered upon the inhabitants; two in the family of Dunlap, her stepfather. She gave up to them the house and lived in the kitchen, waiting faithfully on them. From their conversation she judged them to have been ministers of the gospel. They spoke of the flocks they had left, now deprived of the preaching of the gospel. God was now visiting them with his chastisements, and they were much affected, not only by the judgments that were on them, but by the kind attentions they received, notwithstanding the loathsome disease with which they were visited.

On Christmas morning her attention was attracted by the firing of cannon immediately after the morning gun. She asked the wife of a British soldier what it meant. She answered, "They are keeping Christmas, as they always do in a friend's country." Mary asked her if they really thought they were in a friend's country. "Yes," she replied, "South Carolina is a conquered country, and belongs to the king." She replied, "Does it indeed? well, we shall see." Mrs. Barkley also relates that a project was on foot among the heroic men in the upper districts for an attack on Cornwallis's camp; that Robert Carr, orderly sergeant in Col. Davie's dragoons, came by stealth to McCreight's, had an interview with William Grey, who went the next day to the borough, counted the troops on parade, noted the means of defence, and everything necessary to be known, and reported the same to Carr. Grey anxiously awaited the attack, but the British position and force were too strong for any force the men of Chester could raise.

The Rev. William Martin, a Covenanter, preached occasionally at the Jackson's Creek church. He was a warm Whig, and did not scruple to use his influence in the cause of the colonists. The hand of power was laid on him, and he

had been confined in prison at Rocky Mount and Camden since early in June. He was now brought before Lord Cornwallis at Winnsboro. He stood before him erect, with his gray locks uncovered, his eyes fixed on his lordship, and his countenance marked with frankness and benevolence. "You are charged," says his lordship, "with preaching rebellion from the pulpit—you, an old man, and a minister of the gospel of peace, with advocating rebellion against your lawful sovereign, King George the III. ! What have you to say in your defence?" Nothing daunted, he is reported to have replied, "I am happy to appear before you. For many months I have been held in chains for preaching what I believe to be the truth. As to King George, I owe him nothing but good will. I am not unacquainted with his private character. I was raised in Scotland; educated in its literary and theological schools; was settled in Ireland, where I spent the prime of my days, and emigrated to this country seven years ago. As a king, he was bound to protect his subjects in the enjoyment of their rights. Protection and allegiance go together, and where the one fails, the other cannot be exacted. The Declaration of Independence is but a reiteration of what our Covenantee fathers have always maintained. I am thankful you have given me liberty to speak, and will abide your pleasure, whatever it may be."

Meanwhile other scenes were enacted. Lord Cornwallis was accustomed to take a morning and evening ride down the road. Colonel Winn, Minor Winn, and one other whose name is not recollected, concealed themselves in a thicket where Woodward's gin-house now stands, rifle in hand, intending to cut him off. They were discovered and apprehended by a party of Tories, and were condemned to be hung (on a certain day) at twelve o'clock. Minor Winn took the sentence greatly to heart, and sent for the minister, Mr. Martin, to pray with him. He was under guard at the spot where Mrs. Barkley subsequently resided in Winnsboro, then in the woods. The British soldiers had cut down some of the trees for firewood, and had piled up the brush in heaps, behind which Minor kneeled in prayer, and was joined by the minister, and their exercises were continued, the gallows full in view, till the fatal hour. Mary Grey (Mrs. Barkley) stood in the door, expecting to hear the drum and fife, as the minister and her political friends were marched to the gallows. Instead of this they were marched to Lord Cornwallis's headquarters, and pardoned. Minor Winn was persuaded that this

was an express answer to prayer, and was subsequently often taunted, in his days of frolic, with this forced repentance. Mrs. Barkley was persuaded that the act of pardon was due to the friendly offices of Col. Philips, whose life Col. Winn had spared, who in the old country had kept the race-horses of the father of Lord Cornwallis, and who assured his lordship that if these men were executed, a hundred of his majesty's subjects would be hung forthwith by the indignant people in retaliation. Philips was a man of wealth and abilities and of a compassionate heart. He was ever engaged in acts of kindness to his Whig friends and neighbors. He protected their property and interceded for their lives. He had known Mr. Martin in Ireland, and respected him. His Tory principles were the result of his education and his connection with the aristocracy of his native land.

After the British army had retired from Winnsboro he was left sole commander of the Tories in his district. He formed a camp at Caldwell's, not far from the Wateree or Mt. Olivet church. This Tory camp was a great nuisance to the community, as they carried themselves with a high and lordly hand over their neighbors. They were at length surprised by a party of Whigs, and routed. Several were killed. One poor fellow fled to the loft of a house, was ordered down, but refused to obey. He was killed where he lay. The heart of neighbor was steeled against neighbor, and human life was held of little account. Philips was taken, trembling like an aspen, a pistol in each hand. He was taken to Camden, charged with many crimes perpetrated by his band, and condemned to the gallows. The Whigs of Fairfield, without an exception, united in a petition for his life, in consideration of his many acts of kindness shown to them, and his sentence was commuted to one of banishment.

Another camp of the Tories was near where White's Creek falls into the river. Believing that the country was subdued, they were careless, not taking the precaution of stationing sentinels. On a certain night they caroused and frolicked till near midnight, and lay down in conscious security to sleep. A small band of refugee Whigs had been watching their opportunity, and crept up stealthily and carried off the guns from the spot where they were stacked. To kill them would only expose their families and those of their friends to retaliation. They therefore aroused them by a terrific yell, having first posted themselves around the camp. They then discharged their rifles and the guns they had possessed themselves

of. The Tories made for the Creek and swam across. The Whigs, after their escape, took possession of the camp, threw the fire-arms into the deep water of the creek, and before sunrise were making their way to the upper country.

While the British troops were in Winnsboro they were on their good behavior. They regarded Carolina as a conquered province, her people as subjects of the crown, and they wished to win their good-will. They consequently protected the people, and professed to pay for all they took; but it was in certificates promising payment by the British crown. After they left, the spirit of dissension was rife.

Rev. Mr. Simpson, from Fishing Creek, preached at Jackson's Creek for two or three years subsequent to the war one week day in the month, his Sabbaths being otherwise occupied, and it was at his church that Mrs. Barkley made her first profession of religion.\*

In 1784 or 1785 the Rev. Thomas Harris McCaule received a call from Jackson's Creek and Mt. Olivet for his ministerial services, he having been appointed principal of the Mount Zion Collège at Winnsboro. This call was presented to the presbytery of Orange, and was by them reported to the newly-formed presbytery of South Carolina, which, at its first meeting at Waxhaw church in April, 1785, left the call in the hands of Mr. McCaule for his consideration, he having become a member of that presbytery at that meeting by dismissal from the presbytery of Orange. Mr. McCaule continued to preach, it is supposed, to these churches; but in April, 1786, he delivered up the united call to presbytery, and received one from Jackson's Creek alone. He signified his acceptance of this call for half his time at the fall presbytery in the same year. His compensation was at the rate of eight dollars per Sabbath.

From the preceding it will be perceived that the WATEREE, or MOUNT OLIVET CHURCH, on the waters of Wateree Creek, on the road from Winnsboro to Rocky Mount, was already organized and united in a call to Thomas H. McCaule in 1784-5. There is evidence that William Martin, a Covenanter, had preached at the Wolf Pen, or Wolf Pit meeting-house, in this vicinity, previously, and that Rev. Daniel

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\* In 1792, Mary Grey married Hugh Barkley, an emigrant from the neighborhood of her native place in Ireland. The fruits of their marriage were two sons and a daughter: the first-born died in infancy, Major Samuel Grey Barkley, and Margaret Barkley, the latter yet survives. The above facts were gained partly from the lips of Mrs. Barkley, and partly from a narrative drawn from the same source, written by D. G. Stinson, Esq., of Chester district.

Thatcher, then a member of Orange presbytery, had for some time preached in this neighborhood and Jackson's Creek alternately. Mr. McCaule, in April, 1786, delivered up the united call, as has been mentioned.

The MOUNT ZION SOCIETY received new members to the 8th of May, 1780, just four days before the surrender of Charleston to the British army. Down to that time about fifty new names had been added to the list, among which is that of Charles Pinckney, chief-justice of the province, and president of the provincial congress. There is no record after this for about two years. Early in 1783 the society met in Charleston and elected John Huger president, appointed John Winn and six others directors in Winnsboro and its vicinity, and Charles Pinckney and five others, directors in Charleston; and wrote, on the 7th of March, a letter to the committee in Winnsboro informing them of their action, addressing them as "the committee on Sion Hill." This committee replied, informing them that the temporary school had been broken up by the enemy, but the buildings were safe and in the custody of Col. Richard Winn. In the same year there were two committees in the country—"the committee of the Congarees," and "the committee of Turkey Creek," near the line between Chester and York. Twelve new names appear on the roll this year, and lands given by Col. John Vanderhorst and by Gen. Richard Winn were run out. More than seventy-four names were added to the membership of the society in 1784. The Rev. Thomas Harris McCaule was called from the large congregation of Centre church, North Carolina, to preside over the school. He accepted the invitation, but proposed to erect the institution into a college upon the plan of the college of New Jersey, where he had been educated. His plan was adopted and the institution was incorporated March 19th, 1785; and the college of Cambridge, at Ninety-Six, and the college of Charleston, were incorporated in the same Act.

Mr. McCaule had been ordained in 1776, and was in the prime of life. In person he was scarcely of medium height, but of a stout frame and full body, of dark piercing eyes, a pleasant countenance and winning manners, with a fine voice, and popular both as a preacher and a man. When the country was invaded he went with his flock to the camp, and was by the side of Gen. William Davidson when he fell on the banks of the Catawba by the rifle of a Tory. He was once run as a candidate for the gubernatorial chair of North Carolina. Under his superintendence the college was opened under favorable auspices. He became a member of the newly-formed presbytery of South Carolina at its first meet-

ing at Waxhaw, April 12th, 1785, by dismissal from the presbytery of Orange.

The accommodations of the college at first were of the most primitive kind. Mr. McCaule commenced his instructions in an old log-cabin about twenty-five feet by twenty, a story and a half high, with a single chimney. The English school was kept in a small outbuilding. Another cabin was built by the society to range with the first, at a distance of about thirty or thirty-five feet; the space between was filled by a framed building, and the roof of the additions was made to correspond with that of the original structure. The students who boarded with the steward had their lodgings in the upper part of the house. In this humble edifice the larger portion of those educated by President McCaule had their abode.

The routine of academic life in this "Log College" of the South was such as the students of the present day can well understand. The blast of a horn at daybreak was a signal to rise, perform their ablutions, and dress. Another signal at sunrise summoned them to roll-call and prayers, after which they went to their studies. At eight o'clock they were dismissed for breakfast; from nine to twelve they were brought together for study. After an intermission, study hours began at two and continued till five, when they were again dismissed after roll-call and prayers. On Wednesdays there was public speaking and the reading of compositions from nine to twelve. At nine o'clock A. M. the students were formed in line and were marched to the college building, where one half delivered declamations, and the other half read compositions, which were left with the president until the following Wednesday for his private examination and criticisms. There were two public exhibitions in the course of the year—one on the fourth of July, and one on the first of December, each followed by a month's vacation. At these exhibitions diplomas, conferring the usual degree, were given to those who had completed the curriculum of study. The form of the diploma has been preserved by Dr. Foote in his *Sketches of North Carolina*, p. 427, in the biography he there gives of one of the graduates of the college at this period of its history. The original is in beautiful German text.

"Præfectus et Curatores  
Collegii Montis Sionis,

Omnibus et singulis ad quos hæc literæ pervenerint,

Salutem in Domino.

Notum sit quod nobis placet Auctoritate publico Diplomate nobis commissa, Humfredum Hunter, candidatum primum in Artibus Gradum compe-

tentem examine sufficiente prævio approbatum Titulo graduque Artium liberalium Baccalauri adornare. In cujus Rei Testimonium Literis Sigillo Collegii munitis nomina subscripsimus.

THOMAS H. MCCAULE, Prof.—I.

JOHN WINN, } Trustees.  
JAMES CRAIG, }

Datum in Aula Collegii, apud Winnsburgium, in Carolina Meridionale, quarta Nonas Julii, Anno Arce Christi millesimo septuagesimo et octogesimo septimo."

After the defeat of General Gates, when Cornwallis occupied Charlotte, North Carolina, the Liberty Hall Academy at Charlotte, North Carolina, of which Mr. McCaule had been a trustee, was discontinued, and had never been revived. Many young men of North Carolina came down and sought their education here. In 1785-6 the students of the college numbered from sixty to eighty, and the faculty were Rev. Mr. McCaule, Mr. Samuel W. Yongue, and William C. Davis, who was both student and tutor.

As the old college building was small, the larger students had arbors in the summer season under grape-vines and shady trees (of which there was no small store at that time), furnished with tables and chairs, where they pursued their studies, seeking the shelter of the college roof when the rain drove them in.

A new and more stately college edifice was projected, and its foundations were laid early in the year 1787, fifty-four feet in length by forty-four in breadth, to be two lofty stories in height. The foundation was laid with stone, rising some little above the surface, the remainder of the basement story with brick. The society sent oyster-shells from Charleston to be burnt for lime. But the workmen not being acquainted with the manufacture of lime, the greater portion of the lower story was laid in mortar made with tar instead. Saw-mills were few and distant, the timbers were fashioned by the broad axe and whip-saw, and the plank had to be hauled from twenty to thirty miles. So slowly did the work advance, that the second tier of joists was not laid in the opening of the year 1790. Meanwhile the college had already graduated its first class of students. William C. Davis, Robert McCulloch, Humphrey Hunter, and James Wallis, had received their baccalaureate and been licensed to preach the gospel; so that the first fruits of the college were consecrated to the work of the ministry of reconciliation. No one might be a trustee of the college unless he professed "the Christian Protestant religion." It was restricted to no particular Protestant denomination, but it so

occurred that its first teachers were Presbyterians, and its influence tended to promote the interests of this branch of the church. Some preparations were also made for the establishment of Presbyterian worship in the town of Winnsboro, for the MOUNT ZION CONGREGATION of Winnsboro was incorporated by the legislature in 1787. To what degree it was organized, and whether it worshipped in connection with the college, no evidence has been obtained, though this is the most probable conjecture.—(Statutes at Large, vol. viii., p. 139.)

CATHOLIC AND PURITY CHURCHES in Chester, whose congregations are contiguous, had been supplied, we have seen, by Rev. William Martin, a Covenanter, and by Rev. James Campbell. They remained vacant a considerable time, and the congregation of Purity especially was almost dissolved by the troubles of the times. It petitioned presbytery in 1785, under the name of "Bull Run," which was represented as *unformed*. It was reorganized by Rev. John Simpson under its present name in 1786. It petitioned for supplies in October, 1787. Previous to this, in 1784, Rev. James Templeton, of the presbytery of Orange, came as a missionary and labored for some time in these congregations and their vicinity. He became connected with the presbytery of South Carolina at its first meeting at Waxhaw, April 12th, 1785, and labored still among them. His residence was in Catholic, but his missionary field was a wide one. They had before this and after, enjoyed the occasional services of Rev. John Simpson, of Fishing Creek, who frequently administered the sacraments, especially that of baptism. About this time, several preachers, who were regarded as "New Lights," came from Ireland into this region. Among them was Robert McClintock, who preached sometimes in the church and sometimes in private houses, but was not engaged as regular pastor. Associated with him as companions were John McCosh and Hugh Morrison. The latter boarded in the house of Abraham Miller, where he sickened and died, and was buried in the graveyard at Catholic. About 1787 the Rev. Mr. Lynn, a missionary of the Associate Reformed, visited this neighborhood, and the year following Rev. James Boyce commenced preaching at the house of Edward McDaniel, and afterwards at a stand where Hopewell church is now built, and where Thomas McDill and David McQueston were installed elders. This tended to draw some from the worship at Catholic, but the body of the people remained firmly attached to their original organization, and

erected a new and commodious frame house, sufficiently large to accommodate the whole congregation.

On March the 18th, 1788, the two congregations, Catholic and Purity, petitioned presbytery for William C. Davis, their licentiate, as a supply. They again applied in October, 1788, and April and October, 1789, and Messrs. McCaule and McCulloch were appointed. In 1792 and 1793 they appear to be supplied, though it is not known by whom. In 1794, April 9th, the Rev. Robert McCulloch was installed as the joint pastor of the two churches. The house of worship of the Purity congregation was built of logs, after the most primitive model.

The congregations of UPPER AND LOWER FISHING CREEK (the latter being sometimes called RICHARDSON, after its founder) were still ministered to by Rev. John Simpson till the 17th of September, 1789. The manner of his administration as pastor, and the part he took in public affairs, are set forth in the following extract from the recollections of his life, written down from the lips of his son by his grandson, A. N. Simpson, of Marietta, Georgia, to be made use of in this history:—"The order in which the communion was conducted by the churches in that day was briefly as follows: first, the Sabbath preceding communion Sabbath was observed as 'preparation Sabbath;' a sermon was preached in view of the approaching communion. The Thursday preceding was observed with fasting, humiliation, and prayer, by all the church. A neighboring minister was always called to aid, who generally preached the forenoon sermon on Saturday. On Saturday afternoon candidates for admission into the church were examined and received, publicly avowing their faith in Christ, and their adherence to the 'Westminster confession of faith.' 'Tokens' were given to all church-members who intended communing on next day. These 'tokens' (being pieces of copper) were used to prevent imposition, and were evidences of the right of communion by those who held them. They were collected again by the elders immediately after communicants had taken their seats around the table.

"On Sabbath morning the '*action sermon*' was preached by the pastor, who also introduced the table service and conducted the service at the first table—the assisting minister the second, who, with some remarks to the congregation, then closed the service. On Sabbath afternoon, sermon by the aiding minister. The Monday succeeding the Sabbath was observed as thanksgiving day. A sermon for the occasion was

preached by the aiding minister, who was followed by the pastor in an appropriate and feeling address to Christians, which closed the meeting. These communions were held twice a year.

“The minister whose services Mr. S. generally procured on these occasions was the Rev. Mr. Alexander, of Turkey Creek congregation, on Broad river,—a man of great power in the pulpit, overwhelming in argument, eloquent in speech, having the happy faculty of chaining his audience down in noiseless and earnest attention while he spoke.

“It was an invariable rule with Mr. Simpson to visit every family and member of his church during the year, as a pastor. Having supplied the adult portion of the families with certain written questions, his second visit would then be to examine the adults upon these questions, and also upon experimental religion. To the children he gave catechetical instruction in the longer and shorter catechism, with brief explanations. For these examinations he appointed regular places of meeting in certain neighborhoods, where all convenient to the place would meet, and where all were examined.

“As to his manner of preparing for the pulpit, his usual mode in reference to his sermons was, never to write them, but make notes containing the heads of his subject, and these were mostly in short-hand. From these briefs he generally preached about an hour. His custom was to preach in the forenoon and lecture in the afternoon. His sermons were mostly doctrinal, full of divinity, practically and clearly illustrated, pungent and impressive—so that his subject was generally carried home to the heart of the hearer. His manner of speaking was easy and pleasing. He was fluent in speech—yet his tone was solemn and deeply impressive, his voice clear and strong, his pronunciation and words distinct and well-timed. At times, when warmed with his subject, he would break out with feeling bursts of eloquence, which, like an electric shock, never failed to move the hearts of his hearers. His ministerial labors were generally blessed in the conversion of many under his preaching. His faith was strong. He was, physically, a strong, healthy man, about five feet six inches in height, stoutly built, having a constitution, mental and physical, just suitable for the arduous duties of the day in which he lived. In personal intercourse he was always agreeable, but by no means disposed to be very talkative. He was a kind and indulgent father, and an affectionate and tender husband.

“During a portion of the time of which we have spoken, the

people were deeply engaged in the Revolutionary struggle. As Mr. S. was a zealous Christian, he proved himself to be no less a devoted patriot; nor was he a small sharer in the privations of a camp life and the loss of property. Though the enemy had threatened him, yet dauntless and fearlessly did he march in the van, encouraging and urging his fellows to meet their common enemy. He was in several conflicts and skirmishes. In some of these contests he was regarded as the leader and adviser.

"In the campaign of 1780 he was with Sumter, who, after having taken a strong redoubt on the Wateree, the day previous to the battle of Camden, and on the next day hearing of the fatal result of that battle, instantly began his retreat, and after a rapid march, in a hot summer day, came to the Catawba ford. Believing that he was then safe, Sumter halted and allowed his men to rest awhile during the heat of the day, for it was then about twelve o'clock.

"Tarleton having heard of his retreat, making a forced march, came up with Sumter, and found his men altogether unprepared—no sentinels out, a great part of the men asleep, all lying about separate from their guns, their horses all unsaddled. Mr. Simpson had placed his gun at the side of a tree, and at this moment was busily engaged in mending his bridle. He had taken the bridle off, and was standing by the side of his favorite mare when the alarm was given. Roused from their slumber, there was such a fearful panic and confusion that but one company succeeded in forming, under command of Capt. John Maffit. He rallied his men, and, with other parts of companies, made a desperate resistance; but the struggle was short. About half of the men were captured, numbering upwards of three hundred. They lost one hundred and fifty, killed and wounded; the balance dispersed, but few getting their horses. All their stores were taken, and the British captains recovered, whom they had taken previously.

"In this struggle, which occurred at Fishing Creek, August 13th, Mr. Simpson narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. He fortunately got hold of his mare, mounted her without bridle or saddle, and by striking her on the side of the head, gave her the direction he wished to go. She instantly started at almost her utmost speed, in company with no one. Running a short distance, he came to a brush-fence made around a turnip-patch; but scarcely halting at all, his noble animal leaped the fence, ran through the patch, cleared the other side, and made her way to a public road a short distance be-

yond. As she was about taking that, he discovered two British soldiers coming up the road, armed with guns, who called on him to stop and surrender; his spirited animal heeded not the command, but instantly, upon a slight touch on the side of her head, sprang across the road, and was soon lost from the British in the thick foliage, and running on a short distance further, came to a branch; here his mare came to a gradual halt, and in crossing the branch, a short distance beyond, in the bushes, he was suddenly alarmed, but was soon agreeably relieved by meeting two of his fellow-soldiers, who had likewise escaped thus far. Here they held a consultation, the result of which was their determination to return home. Yet it was more dangerous for them at home than in the army, particularly to Mr. S., as the enemy had sworn vengeance against the Presbyterian clergy.

"Mr. S. remained but a short time, when he again sallied out into North Carolina.

"On one occasion, the 11th of June, 1780, on a bright Sabbath morning, the enemy moved upon the church of Mr. S., expecting to find him and his congregation there, but were disappointed. Providence had otherwise directed his steps. The church was but a short distance from the dwelling of Mr. S. They marched to the house. Mrs. S. seeing their approach, retired with her four children, and concealed herself in the orchard. 'They rifled the house of everything valuable, took out four feather-beds and ripped them open in the yard; and gathering up all the clothing and other articles that they fancied, they finally set fire to the house, which was soon burned down.—(See Memoir of Jane Boyd; Women of the Revolution, vol. iii., p. 217.) They set fire to Mr. S.'s study, containing a valuable library of books, and important manuscripts. These were all consumed, except what was saved by Mrs. S., who ran up after the enemy left and took out two aprons full—all she could save. In doing this she was very much burned, and came near losing her life.' She also succeeded in saving enough feathers to make one bed. She then went with her children to a neighboring house, where she remained until after her confinement, that day four weeks. On her recovery she went back and took up her residence in a small out-house that escaped the fire. Here, with her five children and a certain Miss Neely, she contrived to live, assisted much by the devoted people of her husband's charge. Having procured some cloth to make clothing for her little ones (for they had not a change left them by the enemy), she

was proceeding to make them up, when a company of Tories robbed her of these. Some of this gang were dressed in Mr. Simpson's clothes. They would exultingly strut before her, and ask her if they were not better looking men than her husband! at the same time telling her that they would some day make her a present of his scalp. In this distressed situation she awaited her husband's return.

"This was indeed a sad picture for him to look upon on his return home. What horror must have seized him on suddenly beholding his ruined, his desolated home! But how thankful to find his much-loved family safe! It was not long after this event when peace was declared. His houses were rebuilt, and he was again comfortably fixed with his family at home, and at peace with the enemy.

"After peace was restored, Mr. S. commenced collecting together his scattered flock, and ministering to them. He continued to preach at Fishing Creek through this decade."

In the third volume of Mrs. Ellet's *Women of the Revolution*, in the sketch of the history of Jane Boyd, who was a daughter of Mr. Simpson, it is said that Mr. S. was regarded as the head and counsellor of the band of heroes who defeated the enemy at Becham's Old Field, in the immediate vicinity of Fishing Creek and at Mobley's meeting-house—and it was determined that his punishment should be speedy. In pursuance of this resolution, on Sabbath morning, June 11th, 1780, before mentioned, a party took their way to the church, where they expected to find the pastor with his assembled congregation, intending, as was believed at the time, to burn both the church and people, by way of warning to other "disturbers of the king's peace." Mrs. Simpson, who was sitting at the breakfast table, heard the report of a gun, which caused her much alarm, for such a sound was unusual in that vicinity. She afterwards heard that it was at the house of William Strong,\* and

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\* This William Strong was an inoffensive and pious young man, and was reading his Bible on the Sunday morning when he was killed, with circumstances of great atrocity.—(Life of General Edward Lacey, by Dr. M. A. Moore, senior.) The same writer (*Women of the Revolution*, *iii*, p. 212) informs us that it was a plundering party of Capt. Huck's men, who were concerned in these transactions. They burned Mrs. McClure's house as well as Mr. Simpson's, and a short time previously had burned down Col. Wm. Hill's iron-works (who was casting ordnance and cannon-ball for the patriots), which was a great calamity to the Whigs, and a general misfortune to the farmers for forty or fifty miles around. Many of them expected that they would have to return to the wooden plough.

"This reminds us," says the Doctor, "of John Miller, of Rutherford county, North Carolina, a true Hibernian Whig, who was noted for his originality and

that he had been killed by the enemy on their way to the church. Their design of murdering more victims was frustrated. On the Friday previous, Mr. Simpson had shouldered his rifle and marched to the field, under the command of Capt. McClure, who had been reared from infancy under his ministry. There the pastor, taking his place in the ranks with the brave men of York and Chester, encouraged and stimulated them by his counsel no less than his services, performing the duties of a private soldier, and submitting to the rigorous discipline of the camp. "He remained with the army," says his daughter, "till the Tories were quieted, and the country delivered from the power of the aggressor. After the war he continued in charge of Fishing Creek and Bethesda churches, occasionally supplying Catholic and other small congregations. He could never feel confidence in those among his hearers who had sided with the oppressor, though no remains of enmity were in his heart. They appeared to perceive this, and withdrew from his charge when churches of other denominations sprang up around him."

In the memoirs of Katharine Steele, and in those of Jane Boyd, Mrs. Simpson, Mrs. Strong, Mary Mills, and Isabella Wylie—(Vol. iii. of the Women of the Revolution), all of whom lived in the Fishing Creek congregation, a lively picture may be found of the troubles and harrowing cruelty of these times. It will be seen that the young women of the congregation, among whom are mentioned Mary, Margaret, and Ellen Gill, Isabella and Margaret Kelso, Sarah Knox, Margaret, Elizabeth, and Mary Mills, Mary McClure, and Nancy Brown, formed themselves into a company of reapers, and went day after day from one farm to another and with the aid of the matrons and a few old men, gathered the crops of all the men who were absent under arms. The various services

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fervor. Being called on by one of his brother elders to pray, he said, 'Good Lord, our God that art in Heaven, we have great reason to thank thee for the many favors we have received from thy hands, the many battles we have won. There is the great and glorious battle of King's Mountain, where we *kilt* the great *General* Ferguson and took his whole army; and the great battles at Ramsour's and Williamson's, and the *ever memorable* and glorious battle of the *Coopens* (Cowpens), where we made the proud *General Tarleton* run *doon* (down) the road *helter-skelter*; and, good Lord, if ye had na suffered the cruel Tories to burn *Billy Hill's* (Billy Hill's) iron-works, we would na have asked *ony mair* favors at thy hands. Amen.'

If this anecdote is authentic, it is an instance, of which we have known others, of the irresistible humor which belongs to some men bursting forth unconsciously and inappropriately amid their most solemn thoughts.

which the women of this and other congregations, rendered at this trying period entitled them to the admiration of all. The language, probably of Mr. Simpson himself, in a brief contemporary history of this church found among the General Assembly's papers, is the following. "In the year '80 the sword raged in South Carolina, and a considerable number of the enemy fixed their camp in the bounds of the congregation. The people around were vastly plundered and distressed. Numbers were killed, and the aforesaid Simpson was obliged to take refuge in another place. His property was destroyed, his house burned, not so much as a farthing's worth was left; the family were turned out all but naked. In the year 1781 matters seemed a little quieter, and a number of the congregation began to collect again. In this shattered condition we continued till the public affairs were settled. As soon as opportunity would serve we took into consideration the state of the congregation. We found a great alteration. Numbers were killed, numbers were gone, and others were ready to go, so that the congregation was reduced to a small number. These few were willing to support the gospel, and the said Simpson was ready to sympathize with them. Though distressed himself to a very great degree, and though he could not look for much assistance from a distressed people, he hoped for the best. In this state we continued for some years. The congregation instead of growing stronger became weaker. Every year some moved to the new settlements, and those that came in their room were of different denominations, so that the remainder became unable to support the minister, and Mr. Simpson was at length compelled to leave. This congregation was incorporated March 22d, 1786, under the style of 'The Presbyterian Congregation of Fishing Creek.'"

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## CHAPTER V.

BULLOCK'S CREEK in York district, on the waters of Bullock's and Turkey creeks, continued through this entire period to enjoy the able and faithful services of Joseph Alexander. We know little of its condition. He became distinguished as a teacher, and many were educated by him. His educational labors had already commenced ere this period was closed, and the academy taught by him and that at Waxhaw have per-

formed an important part in preparing men for their public duties. A number that were fitted here as well as at Waxhaw entered Mount Zion College at Winnsboro and became ministers of the gospel. In the act of incorporation of the Bullock's Creek church, passed March 26th, 1784, it is termed "The Presbyterian or Congregational Church on Bullock's Creek in Camden District."—(Statutes, vol. viii., p. 126.) The character and history of Dr. Alexander, which would be especially appropriate here, will be found elsewhere.

BEERSHEBA, in the northwestern part of York district, was a small society, and had a somewhat feeble existence through these ten years. It had no stated ministry, but received supplies from the Orange presbytery and from that of South Carolina, after this was organized. It petitioned for supplies from the latter in 1786, 1787, and 1788. That unity in sentiment, represented as prevailing among the congregation of Bullock's Creek, was said to be wanting here.

BETHESDA CONGREGATION was much more flourishing. The members were more numerous, better able to support the gospel, and were well organized as a church. They lost their house of worship in the year 1780, which was burnt accidentally by the firing of the adjacent woods. A new house was built a few feet south of the site of the present one. It was a framed building with its sides covered with split clapboards, and it stood for nearly forty years. During the earlier portion of this period, Bethesda enjoyed the labors of Rev. John Simpson for one year, one half of his time, for which purpose he withdrew his services from Lower Fishing Creek, or Richardson, as it was also called. The church, however, was vacant in 1785, '86, '87, and petitioned the presbytery of South Carolina for supplies. Presbytery held its sessions at Bethesda in October of 1786, and April, 1789. It was during some portion of this time that a man, by the name of William McCarra, was engaged to preach for them. He opened presbytery, by permission, at its meeting at Bullock's Creek, on the 9th of October, 1787. He was a man of considerable brilliancy of mind, of pleasing and fascinating manners, and at times truly eloquent in the pulpit; but, as the event proved, a stranger to converting grace. After laboring here a year or more, developments of character began to be made, which excited the suspicion, and caused him to forfeit the confidence of a large section of the church. But, by the misplaced charity of some, who still adhered to him, and his own ambitious efforts to retain his position, even after his character was

under censure, if not actual blight, there were apples of discord in the congregation, where bitterness was felt for many a long year. After his final dismissal from the church, which occurred, says Rev. John S. Harris (from whose MS. history these facts are taken), "in 1785, this man sank from view, and nothing more is known of him." Mr. Harris was mistaken in these dates. The first meeting of South Carolina presbytery was in 1785. Mr. McCarra is first mentioned in the minutes October 9, 1787. There was an order, April 14th, 1785, that no congregation should invite any man to preach unless he shall have obtained liberty from some member of presbytery, or shall procure satisfactory credentials, that he is a member of the synod of New York and Philadelphia. On October 18th, 1788, a letter was ordered to be sent to the people of Bethesda, and read there by Rev. Thomas H. McCaule, and sent also to the people of Beersheba, where McCarra had been some time preaching, warning them of his character. Subsequently, charges were tabled against him, and the presbytery warned the churches that they would be debarred from church privileges, if they should encourage or hear him. This occurred on the 16th of April, 1789. After these exposures of Mr. McCarra, who had preached in several of the vacant pulpits of the presbytery, he was obliged, in this very disgraceful manner, to quit the country.

At Brattonsville, within the limits of Bethesda congregation, was the scene of Huck's defeat. A party of Whigs, under the command of Colonel Bratton, Major Winn, and Capt. McClure, had defeated a party of Tories at Mobley's meeting-house, in Fairfield district. News of this being conveyed to the British post at Rocky Mount, in Chester district, Capt. Huck or Huyck, was ordered to proceed with his cavalry to the frontier, collect the royal militia, and push the rebels. A party of his men had committed the atrocities we have before referred to, p. 511, and exceedingly incensed the people against them. Cols. Bratton, Lacey, and Captain McClure, joined by Cols. Hill and Neil, went in pursuit of Huck, who was at the head of about four hundred cavalry, and a large body of Tories. The evening preceding the battle Huck arrived at Col. Bratton's house. Huck tried to induce Mrs. Bratton to persuade her husband to join the Royalists, promising him a commission in the royal service. This she indignantly repelled. Dr. John Bratton was at that time sitting on Huck's knee, for he had taken up the child while addressing the mother. At her reply he pushed the child from him, and one of his soldiers

seized a reaping-hook and brought it to her throat with the intention to kill her. The officer second in command compelled the soldier to desist. She provided them supper at their command, and retired with her children to an upper apartment. After they had supped, Huck and his men went to James Williamson's, about half a mile distant, to pass the night. His troops lay encamped around the house. A fenced road passed the enclosure of the yard, forming a lane along which sentinels were posted. The Whigs had not more than two hundred and fifty men when they approached the spot, many having dropped off on the march. They formed themselves in two detachments, one led by Bratton and Neil, the other, according to one account, by Col. Lacey. Bratton himself had reconnoitred the position during the night. The two parties advanced at either end of the lane, and commenced firing upon the enemy at about seventy paces distant. The British platoons rapidly forming under Major Ferguson, charged bayonets three times, but fell back from the unerring aim of the American rifles, the fence furnishing the patriots with a kind of breast-work. Huck sprung from his bed, mounted his horse without his coat; and while charging backwards and forwards to rally his men to a new attack, received a mortal wound, and fell dead. With this, the word passed along the Whig ranks, "Boys, take the fence, and every man his own commander!" No sooner said than done. They leaped the fence and rushed upon the foe, who, after a feeble resistance, threw down their arms and fled. Some on their knees cried for quarter. This was refused to Major Ferguson, a Tory who had commanded the party that killed young Strong. In the pursuit the conflict raged around Bratton's house, and the inmates were in danger from the shots. Mrs. Bratton forced her little son to sit within the chimney for shelter. Here a ball struck against the opposite jamb, which he secured as a trophy. The Whigs mounted their horses and pursued the flying royalists thirteen or fourteen miles. Only one Whig was killed; of the British, thirty or forty, and fifty wounded. Mrs. Bratton opened her house for the wounded on both sides, attending them with the utmost kindness. The officer next in command under Huck was among the prisoners, and they determined to put him to death. As a last resort, he asked to be conducted into the presence of Mrs. Bratton, who recognized him as the officer who had interfered to save her life. At her eloquent entreaties he was spared, and kindly entertained at her house till he was exchanged. The following

toast was drank at a celebration of Huck's defeat at Brattonville, on the 12th of July, 1839: "To the memory of Mrs. Martha Bratton. In the hands of an infuriated monster, with the instrument of death around her neck, she nobly refused to betray her husband; in the hour of victory she remembered mercy, and as a guardian angel interposed in behalf of her inhuman enemies. Throughout the Revolution she encouraged the Whigs to fight to the last, to hope on to the end. Honor and gratitude to the woman and heroine, who proved herself so faithful a wife—so firm a friend to liberty." The defeat of Huck revived the spirits of the patriots, and contributed much to the victory on King's Mountain, which happened two months after.

INDIAN LAND (afterwards EBENEZER) was at this period a small church and congregation which was organized in 1785, in the heart of the Catawba reservation. The reservation consisted originally of one hundred and eighty square miles, or one hundred and fifteen thousand two hundred square acres, on both sides of the Catawba. In the first settlement of the State the Catawbas could muster some fifteen hundred fighting men. They had two villages, Newton on the river, and Turkey Head on the opposite bank. These Indians rapidly degenerated and diminished in numbers. They leased their lands to the whites for ninety-nine years, renewable at from ten to twenty dollars per annum for each plantation. The church received supplies from the presbytery.

UNITY, a small congregation in the northeast corner of York district and of the Indian reservation, put itself under the care of South Carolina presbytery at its meeting, March 18th, 1788, and was organized.

BETHEL, in the northeast part of York, in the early part of this period received supplies from the presbytery of Orange, among whom were the Rev. Mr. Cossan, James McRee of Mecklenburg, and Rev. Francis Cummins, who became their pastor. He was born near Shippensburg, Pa., in the spring of 1752, and was the son of Charles and Rebecca (McNickle) Cummins, the first of whom was from the county of Tyrone, and the second from the county of Antrim, Ireland. They belonged to the "New Side," and were admirers of Whitefield, the Tennents, and others of that school. In his nineteenth year his father removed to Mecklenburg, North Carolina. He was a student in the "Queen's Museum," under Dr. McWhorter, who had recently removed thither from New Jersey, and was graduated about the year 1776. He was several years engaged

in teaching, first as preceptor of Clio Academy, a respectable German seminary in Rowan, now Iredell county. He was present at the meetings of the Mecklenburg Whigs of 1775, and mingled in the exciting scene when the celebrated Declaration was read at Mecklenburg court-house. While teaching, he pursued theological studies under Rev. (afterwards Dr.) James Hall, and was licensed to preach by the presbytery of Orange, at Rocky River church, Mecklenburg, December 15th, 1780. In the year 1781 he preached at Hopewell and other places; and in the spring of 1782 accepted a call from Bethel church, where he was ordained towards the close of that year. About 1783, says a MS. account prepared by Dr. Alexander and Mr. Davis, he took charge of this congregation. (For this, see Minutes of Presbytery of South Carolina, April 15, 1793, pages 62, 65, 69.) In the spring of 1788, while residing at Bethel both as a pastor and a teacher of youth, he was elected by the people of York as a member of the convention of South Carolina, called to decide upon the Constitution of the United States; and though his colleagues were for rejecting it, he voted in its favor. During the revolution he was several times in the army, and was engaged in several battles.—(Sprague's Annals, vol. iii., page 418.) Bethel church was incorporated by the legislature, March 22d, 1786, under the name "The Presbyterian Church of Bethel Congregation." At this period Bethel embraced a section of country extending for ten miles in every direction.—(History, by Rev. S. L. Watson, Yorkville Enquirer, Nov. 5th, 1855.) During Dr. Cummins' residence in Bethel, he ordained Joseph McKenzie, Alexander Eakins, William Davis, and Andrew Floyd as elders. In 1789 he was released from his pastoral charge over this church, and accepted a call from Hopewell and Rocky river.

The celebrated battle of King's Mountain was fought within the verge of this congregation. The battle-ground is about twelve miles from Yorkville and a mile and a half south of the line of North Carolina. Here Major Ferguson, with about 1300 men, 500 of whom were Tories, was attacked by our forces, 1390 strong, of whom four hundred were Virginians, under Colonel William Campbell—maternal ancestor of the late William Campbell Preston, of Columbia, South Carolina; 510 were North Carolinians, under Cols. McDowell and Cleveland and Major Winston, and 480 men from Washington and Sullivan Counties, North Carolina, now included in Tennessee, under the lead of Cols. Sevier and Shelby. The right was led by Major Winston, Cols. Sevier, Campbell, Shelby, and Major McDow-

ell; the left by Cols. Hambrite, Cleaveland, and Col. Williams of South Carolina. These troops were from Presbyterian settlements, and of Scotch and Scotch-Irish origin. Col. James Williams was an elder of Little river Presbyterian church in Laurens district. His last meeting with his friends was at a communion season, where he officiated as elder. He fell mortally wounded in this engagement. Colonel, afterwards Governor Shelby, was an elder in the latter part of his life, and tradition says that two of the other officers were elders of the Presbyterian church. Ferguson is reported to have said when he encamped on this spot, "Here is a place God Almighty cannot drive us from." The next day, October 7th, 1780, he was slain bravely contending at the head of his forces. Our troops won the battle, and the tide of war was turned in our favor. The following account of the battle from the Charleston Courier gives a description of the part taken by Col. Williams in this engagement. "The ascent was commenced at once by Williams' party, whilst Campbell and Shelby moved towards the base of the line of their respective routes. Ferguson in the mean time formed for action, and moved downwards to meet the Americans at their coming, and the conflict commenced about mid-way of the slope. Never was harder fighting done, or more gallantry and daring displayed than on this occasion.

"The patriots fought every inch of their way up the steep and rugged ascent, driving the enemy before them, and to a more contracted position. Step after step up the rugged surface was marked with blood, and the whole mountain side kept enveloped in flame by the constant and rapid firing of the patriots below, and enemy above, who fell back towards the summit after every volley, whilst the Americans sprang upwards and upwards after them, as they became more and more heated and maddened by the fight. Balls now flew thick and fast, and whistled over and around in every direction, tearing through the trees and under brush-wood like one outpouring of the driving hail-storm, cutting off limbs and leaves, and scattering them as a Fall on the ground—scaling up the roughened bark from the larger growth, and sending the splinters like locusts flying through the air. On and on the patriot lines moved, mounting upwards and upwards along the slippery slope, like some huge envenomed serpent in its windings after its prey, hissing fire and death. Ferguson saw his fate as the lines approached faster and faster, and nearer and nearer, and fought like an infuriated demon. He rode here and there,

urging his men to the fight in tones of angry passion, enforced by violent gestures.

"The centre line under Williams and Hammond were now within less than thirty yards of the British front, pouring in a terrible and deadly fire, before which the enemy fell back in confusion. At this moment Ferguson rushed in front of his men, sitting with bare head on his horse, his hair streaming in the wind, and his countenance bloated with rage, as he turned in his saddle towards his men, who now hesitated to advance. Just then, Williams' horse, wounded, and snorting with foam and blood at every bound, dashed forward. Ferguson turned to receive him; their swords crossed, nothing more, for at that moment a deadly volley came from both sides, and the two combatants fell mortally wounded. At the same moment the enemy broke ground and fled up the mountain, the Americans rushing after them with a yell of concentrated rage. Col. Hammond dismounted and hastened to the side of his wounded friend, received his commands (never to give up the hill), and farewell, then gave orders for his safe and careful removal to the cot in the valley below, and stopping just long enough to see him off, hastened after his men. As he passed where Ferguson fell, he saw that he was not dead; and stooping down, took him gently under the arms and raised him to a sitting posture, placing his back against a tree, by the side of which he had fallen, received the dying man's thanks for his attention, and hastened forward after the flying enemy.

"The conflict was soon terminated, and returning down the mountain on his way with the glorious intelligence to Williams, Col. Hammond passed where Ferguson had been left and found him fallen over on his face, and dead. The ball that robbed him of life had entered the breast, passing entirely through the body. On reaching the hamlet where Williams lay, Col. Hammond found him unable to speak, but conscious, and told him the battle was over and the victory won—saw his dying smile, received the pressure of his icy hand, and then departed. Soon thereafter the gallant spirit quit forever the fields of carnage and blood below, for realms of peace and life above. The American arms had been successful, gloriously successful, but it had cost another 'Joshua in the fight.' The brave Williams was gone! He was not brilliant, but good and firm and true! Whenever, and as often as he took a measure in hand, his iron will and nerve allowed no relinquishment until accomplished. Such was the Christian soldier and patriot." Ferguson was an officer of great merit, and for marshalling the

royalist militia and control over them had no equal in the army of Cornwallis. His defeat was a great loss to the British cause, and the first decisive step in our deliverance.

There was also a small church, originally called CALVARY, and subsequently changed to SHILOH, on the edge of Bethel congregation, its house of worship being within the North Carolina line. In the first part of this period it received supplies from Orange presbytery, but when the South Carolina presbytery was formed in 1785, became dependent on it, and was formally received under its care on the 10th of October, 1786.

INDIAN CREEK, in Newberry district, is one of the affluents of the Enoree, running in a northeasterly direction and emptying into that river near where the boundary between Union and Newberry districts strikes it. On this creek, as we have seen, the people formed a society and built a church. We cannot trace the organization down on presbyterial records previous to the formation of South Carolina presbytery in 1785, those of the presbytery of Orange having been destroyed by fire. From that time Indian Creek was an applicant to that body for supplies. James Templeton was appointed to preach to it in 1785, Robert Hall and Robert Mecklin in 1786, Thos. H. McCaule and Robert Hall in 1787, James Templeton in 1788, and James Wallis and Francis Cummins in 1789. It appears also that the Rev. Joseph Alexander frequently visited this settlement, for the Presbyterian population extended on both sides of the Enoree, and between that and the Tyger. A circle whose radius should be five or six miles, and whose centre should be at the mouth of Indian Creek, would include at that day a large Presbyterian population on both sides of the river, probably known as the congregation of Indian Creek.

Another minister, wholly independent of the presbytery of South Carolina, and whom we have mentioned already (page 414), was preaching to Indian Creek, to Concord church in Fairfield, and to Rocky Spring in Laurens, viz., the Rev. Robert McClintock. His register, which is before us, commences with Nov. 20th, 1787, but says this is the third year of his ministry to these churches. It began therefore in Nov., 1785. He seems to have visited these churches rather oftener than once a month, and to have exchanged with or been assisted by Mr. Hugh Morrison and John McCosh. He was connected with the presbytery of Charleston, if with any. If the people of Indian Creek, to whom he ministered, were not the same who applied to presbytery, they were probably a congregation in the same neighborhood.

The following document, before alluded to, written on parchment, and preserved by his son, Robert McClintock, of Clinton, Laurens district, gives the date of his coming to this country.

"At a meeting of the presbytery of Bangor, at Belfast, September 19th, 1783, Mr. Hull produced a letter from Mr. McClintock, dated Santee, June 13th, 1783, intimating that the credentials signed by the presbytery, November 6th, 1781, had gone to pieces, being written upon paper, and requesting that we would order a duplicate to be made out upon parchment and sent to him the first opportunity.—Resolved, That we heartily congratulate our brother and friend on his safe arrival in the happy and wished for States of America, and order our clerk to make out a copy of Mr. McClintock's credentials, as formerly signed by us, according to his request.

COPY:—"We, the presbytery of Bangor—members of the General Synod of Ulster in Ireland—certify that the Rev. Robert McClintock was known to some of us before he was licensed to preach the gospel, and that he was attentive to improvement in every branch of learning, and supported a fair character. That he went to America in 1772 with ample credentials from the presbytery of Ballymena—that he returned to Ireland in 1775 to settle some affairs in which he was interested—that as he could not get back to America, on account of the unhappy contest between Great Britain and her colonies, he put himself under our care, and, having with great approbation, passed the usual pieces of second trials, was ordained by us—since which time he performed the several duties of a gospel minister, to the entire satisfaction of the several congregations in which he was employed; and in every respect behaved suitable to the character he sustained. And now, having a prospect of getting back to his friends and connections in America, we, in the warmest manner, recommend him to the notice and protection of our brethren, wherever Providence may cast his lot, as a gentleman of great integrity, strict sobriety, and real worth.

"Given at Belfast, November 6th, 1781."

Mr. McClintock was in this country from 1772, in Williamsburg district, till after May, 1775; for on the 9th of May in that year he preached a sermon at Mrs. Nelson's on the Santee. James Davidson of Philadelphia addresses him at Winnsboro in 1784, which leads us to suppose that was his residence at that date. His baptismal and other registers show him to have been a laborious minister. His ecclesiastical connections, however, were with the Irish ministers. His correspondents were Rev. William McWhir (afterwards D.D.), then of Alexandria, District of Columbia, Hugh Morrison, then at Bellevue on the Congaree, afterwards at Little River and in Chester, John Hidelson, David Ker of Fayetteville, Samuel Warnock, then on the Catawba, John Logue, Robert Tate, then at Charleston, John McCosh, then, March 1792, preaching at Cane Creek.

On his return to this country in 1781 he was shipwrecked on the coast of France, and came to these shores in an American vessel; was chased by a Salem privateer, which when she came up they found to be a friendly craft; fell in with seven

British line-of-battle ships off the Capes of Delaware, but succeeded in making the entrance; met the Hyder Ally, a state-ship of fourteen guns, in chase of a "refugee boat," at which she fired frequently but which escaped. These refugee boats were low, long, and uncovered, carried from forty to seventy men armed with muskets and boarding-pikes, manned each with twenty-four oars. They preyed upon the commerce of the country, and three of them had a little before captured a vessel with ten guns and a fighting captain. They carried each a six-pounder in the bow and a four-pounder in the stern.

With Indian Creek the people around GRASSY SPRING near Maybinton, between the Enoree and Tyger in the upper part of Newberry district, were intimately associated. Major Samuel Otterson appears as an elder of the church of this name in the next decade. Where he was born or from what quarter his parents came, we are not informed. He was distinguished for his gallantry in the war of the Revolution. On his way to join General Morgan at the battle of the Cowpens with a few badly mounted volunteers, finding on approaching the spot that the battle had begun, he determined to halt his men near a cross-road, which he knew the enemy would take on their retreat, and wait either to take prisoners if they were defeated, or to rescue our own men who might be prisoners in their hands. It was not long before a considerable body of British horse came down the road which turned off at the cross-road at full speed. They appeared evidently to have been defeated. Major (then captain) Otterson proposed to his men to pursue them with the view of taking some of them prisoners, but found only one man willing to join him. Having mounted him on the best horse in the company and arming themselves well, they pushed on after them. Captain Otterson kept himself at some distance in the rear until dark. He stopped occasionally at some of the houses on the road, ascertained the situation, numbers, and distance of the enemy, found his suspicions of their defeat verified, and that they were a part of Tarleton's command. Towards dusk they pushed their horses still nearer the enemy; and when it was dark, dashed in among them with a shout, fired their arms and ordered their surrender. The darkness prevented the enemy from knowing the number of those by whom they were surprised, and they surrendered on the spot. They were required to dismount and give up their arms, which they did. Being all secured, and a light struck, nothing could exceed the mortification of the British commander when he found that he had

surrendered to two men. These British troopers, thirty in number, were all conducted by Captain Otterson and his brave coadjutor in safety to North Carolina, and delivered at headquarters as prisoners of war. Several days had to elapse before this could be done, during which these two brave men never closed their eyes in sleep. The wife of Major Otterson was Ruth Gordon, and she partook of her husband's bravery. She received intelligence one night that a party of Tories would come the next morning for a barrel of gunpowder concealed in the woods near her dwelling. Resolved that it should not fall into their hands, she prepared a train immediately and blew up the powder. In the morning they came, and on demanding it, were told by Mrs. Otterson what she had done. They refused to believe her, but cut off her dress at the waist, and drove her before them to show the place of deposit. The evidence of its fate was conclusive when they reached the spot.—(Mills' Statistics, p. 703; Women of the Revolution, vol. i., p. 261.) Major Otterson was an active patriot during the war, shared largely in the esteem of his fellow-citizens subsequently, and removed to Alabama about 1820.

On the west side of Broad River in the district of Laurens, the church of DUNCAN'S CREEK, as the oldest, first attracts our attention. "Our church," says Mr. Hyde, quoting from a paper bearing the signature of Rev. J. B. Kennedy, "being mostly composed of people from Pennsylvania and Ireland, were very strenuous adherents to what is termed Rouse's Version of the Psalms, and never heard Watts' version or any other hymns sung among them in a congregational capacity (though a number of the members used Watts' in their families), till some time in August, 1788. Mr. John Springer, then teacher of an academy at Cambridge (or Ninety-Six), a very worthy Christian gentleman, had the ninety-first hymn of the second book of Watts sung in the congregation. About this time a certain McCarra, pretending to be a Presbyterian minister from Scotland, came among us, and making use of some of Erskine's sermons, seemed to gain great applause for a few weeks, but not living agreeably to the doctrine he pretended to teach, immediately lost the esteem he had so obtained. Our church interests were very much injured on account of this ill conduct, which our enemies endeavored to charge upon the Presbyterian sect. Our Baptist brethren likewise magnifying his disorders against us, got a number of our members to join them, and would doubtless have gotten many more, but that God through the means of the Rev. Mr.

Thatcher, who, on his way from Georgia to the presbytery of North Carolina, gave us a timely visit, confirmed the feeble minded, so that the same winter of 1788, we got Rev. James Templeton, who served us for five months. Through all these years the church of Duncan's Creek appeared as a petitioner before the presbytery for supplies of its vacant pulpit. A meeting of presbytery *pro re nata* was held at the church on the 27th of February, 1787, and a regular meeting on the 14th of October, 1788. At this meeting Rev. Robert Hall tabled charges against Rev. William McCarra, and Joseph Adair, an elder of this church, did the same, and presbytery renewed their interdict against his preaching within their bounds.

Of LITTLE RIVER CHURCH, in Laurens district, we were able to give no account from the death of James Creswell in 1776. It applied as a vacant church to the presbytery for supplies in 1785, '87, '88. They called Rev. John Springer as their minister, April 14th, 1789, but he declined their call. He was appointed to supply them one Sabbath, and Humphrey Hunter, who was just licensed, also one Sabbath. Mr. Springer had supplied them before. This church suffered exceedingly in various ways in the last year of the war of the Revolution. Colonel James Williams, of whose death at King's Mountain we have already spoken, was one of the elders. James Burnside, who was also an elder, was a loyalist. The Cunninghams were of this neighborhood. A large body of Tories were encamped near Musgrove's mill, in the northeast corner of Laurens district, on the south bank of the Enoree, where they commanded a bad rocky ford. They were joined on the 17th of August, 1780, by the British officers Innis and Fraser, and all amounted to about three hundred men. Colonels Williams, Shelby, and Clark, with a force much inferior, posted themselves on the north side, on a small creek emptying into the Enoree just below the Spartanburg line, about two miles above Musgrove's mill. It was agreed that Williams should have the chief command. He drew up his little army in ambush, in a semicircle within a wood, and advancing to the ford with a few picked men, fired on the enemy. Innis immediately crossed the ford to dislodge "the rebels." Williams retreated, with Innis in hot pursuit. When they reached the area of the ambuscade a shot from Colonel Shelby gave the signal, when the patriots arose with a shout, and immediately surrounded the Tories. Innis was slightly wounded, but escaped with the larger part of the regular troops. Major Fraser

and eighty-five others were killed. Most of the Tories were made prisoners; the Americans lost four killed and eighteen wounded. Of Williams' death at King's Mountain we have spoken, p. 521. He was near Major Ferguson, and both officers received their death wound at the same moment. He died the morning after the battle and was buried two miles from the place where he fell. On reviving a little after he was shot, his first words were: "For God's sake, boys, don't give up the hill." The spirit of the loyalists was crushed after this battle, and Cornwallis retreated towards Winnsboro, where he fixed his camp. Williams was a native of Granville county, North Carolina; settled upon Little River in 1772; became a colonel of militia in April, 1778; was probably at the siege of Savannah; was with Sumter in 1780, and hovered around Ferguson continually after he crossed the Wateree. "A braver and a better man," says Major Thomas Young, who was with him in the fight, "never died on the field of battle." He was about five feet nine inches in height, inclined to be stout, of dark complexion, eyes and hair black, nose large with nostrils distended, especially under excitement. He was withal a man of true piety, which is shown in the letters addressed from time to time to his wife and son during his absence from them. "Colonel Williams," says Dr. Joseph Johnson in his traditions of the Revolution, "was a Presbyterian, and, like all of that faith, his religion placed him on the side of freedom. He and they thought, with John Knox, that if they suffered the twins, *liberty and religion*, either to be infringed or taken from them, they had nothing left them whereby they might be called men."

The neighborhood of this church was also the scene of one of the most murderous acts of the "bloody Bill Cunningham," commander of "the bloody scout." "Bloody Bill" was originally a Whig, and was under the command of Major John Caldwell, but he was so rude and ungovernable that he was put under arrest by Caldwell. Reuben Golding, when Cunningham was tied or otherwise confined, carried him over a branch when Caldwell moved his camp to a neighboring eminence. Cunningham from that moment was bent on revenge. He shot Caldwell, who was uncle of J. C. Calhoun, in his own yard, in presence of Mrs. Caldwell his wife, who fainted at the sight. (The sister of Dr. Campbell, from whose lips many of these statements were taken, was present when Major Caldwell was shot.) "Hays' Station," in the vicinity of Little River church, originally called EDGEHILL, was a mere block-

house, and was under the command of Colonel Hays with about twenty men. Cunningham came secretly with his party from Charleston into the back settlement, and was advancing upon Hays. William Caldwell, brother of John, endeavored to reach the station to apprise Hays of his approach; but being obliged to take a circuitous route, Cunningham arrived first. The house was fired by heating iron in an adjoining blacksmith's shop and throwing it upon the roof. Cunningham demanded their surrender, promising the treatment of prisoners of war. They hung out a handkerchief on a ramrod in token of their submission. Cunningham told certain of his men to go into the block-house and select such of the prisoners as they desired should be spared; the women and children were separated, and the Tinsleys, Saxons, and Dunlaps, because of their extreme youth. Reuben Golding was spared because of the service he had done Cunningham when under arrest; young Burnsides was rescued by a lad named Drake. Cunningham ordered the others to be seated in a circle; Colonel Joseph Hays and Captain Daniel Williams were hung at once to the pole of a fodder stack; Joseph Williams (a boy of fourteen) cried to his elder brother, as they were putting him to death, "Oh, brother Daniel! what shall I tell mother!" Cunningham turned to him with—"You shall tell her nothing, you d—d rebel suckling," and hewed him down. These were brothers of Colonel James Williams, who fell at the head of his column at King's Mountain. Cunningham hewed Colonel Hays and Captain Williams in pieces with his own sword, the pole on which they were hung having broken. Besides these, Lieutenants Christopher Hardy and John Neal, Clement Hancock, Joseph Irby, senior, and Joseph Irby, junior, John Milven, James Feris, John Cook, Greaf Irby, Benjamin Goodman, and Yancy Saxon were deliberately cut to pieces.

ROCKY SPRING is one of the places in Laurens district at which Robert McClintock was accustomed to preach. There are three churches named in Mr. McClintock's register at which he preached in succession, from November, 1787—Indian Creek, Rocky Spring, and Concord. Soon after his settlement in Laurens he organized a church at the foot of Little River mountain, about one mile south of Milton. After his return from Ireland, subsequently to the war, he may have labored a short time in Williamsburg, and then removed to Winnsboro. There are a number of letters in existence addressed to him there. He soon removed to Laurens district, where he married Martha McClintock, a distant relation, and

spent the remainder of his life. He is said to have been a man of fine personal appearance, of great ability, and an eloquent delivery.

Notwithstanding these high eulogies, we find that his ministry, and that of his friend McCosh, were not recognized by the presbytery of South Carolina. On page 34 of their minutes the following record occurs: 'With regard to Thomas Peden, an elder of Nazareth, who communicated at a sacrament administered by Messrs. McCosh and McClintock, the presbytery do judge the said Peden is censurable for his conduct, and that he has departed from the apostolic injunction, 'Let all things be done decently and in order.''' The letters of his correspondents show that they did not sympathize with our American theology. Even Dr. McWhir, at that day, May 10th, 1785, somewhat playfully hopes that he "will become a light to those Gentile nations around him, who now may be said to be sitting in the shadow of darkness and wandering in the mazes of Calvinistic error." Dr. McWhir then looked upon the American clergy as "Methodistical." He acknowledged afterwards that he was at that time a Socinian at heart, and not till 1812 did he emerge into the full radiance of gospel truth.

The church of LIBERTY SPRING is situated in the district of Laurens, on the waters of the Saluda. It takes its name from the fact that an American officer, during the Revolution, encamped at the spring near which the church stands, and which became the meeting-place of the sons of liberty in those times of trial. Shortly after the Revolution Mr. John McCosh, a friend of Robert McClintock and of a Rev. Mr. Brown, who settled in Newberry district and shortly after the death of Mr. McCosh returned to Ireland, had formed a small society, which did not long survive. Another attempt was made. The neighborhood erected a small log building about half a mile from the present church, at which a religious society was organized under Mr. McCosh as their minister, and Matthew Hunter and Thomas Cosson as elders. About two years afterwards a house of worship was erected on the present site. The population were chiefly emigrants from Ireland, and poor, and their minister resorted to teaching for his living.

UNION CHURCH (formerly Brown's Creek), during the war suffered from a great destitution of gospel ordinances. After the peace, in 1783, Rev. Joseph Alexander again visited them. Two former meeting-houses having been burnt, a third was now erected, and the preaching of the gospel was more regu-

larly enjoyed, the church sharing in part Mr. Alexander's labors.—(Report of Committee of Presbytery of South Carolina to General Assembly, 1809, said committee being Rev. J. B. Kennedy, Hugh Dickson, and Dr. Waddell.) “A house of worship was erected previous to the Revolution on Brown's Creek, about four miles from the present site of Unionville, near the road now leading from the latter place to Pinckneyville. It was intended to be used in common by Presbyterians and Episcopalians, and was in consequence called ‘The Union Church.’ It seems to have been a noted place, as its name was transferred, when county courts were first introduced into the State, to the county in which it was situated. Subsequent to the war a Presbyterian church was erected about two miles from Unionville, and known as ‘The Brown's Creek Church.’ Families were connected with this church, either as communicants or adherents, of the names already mentioned, and also of the names of Young, Cunningham, Savage, Hughes, Vance, and Wilson. These families were dispersed over the surrounding country. This was rather a place for occasional preaching than a church where the ordinances of the gospel were regularly dispensed. If they had a stated preacher before 1810, I am not aware of the fact. They were occasionally visited by neighboring pastors and missionaries, who preached, catechised, and administered baptism. There was, however, a bench of elders for many years.” Of some of these elders the following account is given by Rev. James H. Saye, from whose manuscript the preceding extract is taken:—

“William Kennedy, Esq., was probably a native of Pennsylvania. At the commencement of the revolutionary war he was residing on Brown's Creek, three miles from the present site of Unionville. When he came to this place I am not informed. He had children grown in 1780. He was active in the war as a soldier, and subsequently held various offices of honor and trust. He was a member of the legislature as long as he would consent to serve.

“He appears to have been a very amiable, intelligent, and pious man. His wife was a Brandon. He was the father of the late Rev. John B. Kennedy of Laurens district, and, of course, grandfather of Rev. J. L. Kennedy, also of Hon. William K. Clowny. His descendants are numerous and respectable, but widely scattered. He was the father of at least eight children, who grew to maturity. Some of them married and lived to a considerable age. The descendants of two are living at the time of this writing, in this district; the rest are removed elsewhere.

“Samuel McJunkin, Esq., was a native of Tyrone, Ireland, but came from Pennsylvania to this State in 1755, and settled the same year on Tinker Creek, four miles from Unionville. His wife was a Bogan. They were Presbyterians, and thought to have been devoutly pious persons when they came here. I do not know that he was ever a ruling elder : my impression is that he was. He was a soldier in the Indian war in 1761, and was a magistrate under the royal government. He took a leading part in the debates preceding the Revolutionary war ; was hated greatly by the Tories, and was a prisoner with Earl Cornwallis at the time of the battle of the Cowpens. He was a member of the legislature that met at Jacksonboro in 1782. Samuel McJunkin had a large family of children, all of whom married. The descendants of one of them are all now in the district, and some of the descendants of two others.

“Major Joseph McJunkin, son of the above, was born in Cumberland county, Pennsylvania, June, 1755, and brought by his parents the same year to this State. He entered the service of his country as private soldier, at the commencement of the Revolutionary war. He became a captain before Charleston fell, and received a major's commission a few days preceding the battle at Blackstock's ford. He was active in the war, and active in the church. He died in May, 1846. A statement of the events of his life, with some notice of his contemporaries, may be found in 'The Watchman and Observer,' Nos. 118, 119, 120, 121, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167. The same is found in the 'Magnolia' for 1843. He was the father of twelve children, nearly all of whom lived to become heads of families. The descendants of two, and half of the descendants of another, live in the district ; the rest are gone.

“General Thomas Brandon was an adherent to the Presbyterian church at Brown's Creek, if not a communicant. His principal distinction arose from his services in the war of the Revolution. He commenced service as a captain in the Spartan regiment. Upon the division of this regiment he was appointed Colonel of the second Spartan regiment. He retained the command of this to the close of the war. His services, under the circumstances of the country, were highly important to the cause. His regiment was probably never very well disciplined, but he knew very well the game that suited himself and his command ; and it is probable that they did as much hard fighting and swift running as any of their contemporaries. Before the war and in time of it he resided a few miles east of Unionville, on Brown's Creek. Subsequent to the war he lived on Fair-

forest, west of the village. He served his country in various offices till the time of his death, about 1804: was frequently a member of the legislature, &c. General T. Brandon was twice married, and had a large family of children, all of whom have been removed from the district.

“Captain John Savage, an elder of Brown’s Creek church, was a soldier of the Revolution. His distinction arose from his uniformly correct conduct and his deadly aim with a rifle. He fired the first gun at the battle of the Cowpens, and brought down a British officer at the head of an advancing column. After the war ended, he spent his life on his farm, a quiet, industrious, and devoutly pious man.

“John Savage had five children, one of whom, with his entire family, remains here, and a part of the family of another. The rest are gone. The descendants of Major Otterson and Colonel Hughes are also removed from the district.

“Colonel Joseph Hughes was also in the war, and won distinction on the battle-field. He was a large and powerful man; was greatly loved by his associates for his generosity and noble daring.

“Christopher Brandon was also in the war, though but a boy, and took part in the danger, privation, and toil of the times. He died but a few years ago at an advanced age.”

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## CHAPTER VI.

**FAIRFOREST CHURCH.**—A number of families moved into this congregation from distant parts before the end of the war of the Revolution or soon after its close. Among them probably were William Dewitt, — Mayes, Samuel Morrow, and Samuel Archibald. During the Revolutionary struggle the members of this society were zealously attached to the cause of civil as well as religious liberty, which sentiments were cherished in their minds by the animated exhortations on the subject which they received from the ministers who occasionally visited them, as well as by men of popular talents among themselves.

After the Revolution the Rev. Mr. Edmonds was a nursing father to this church, as well as to many other vacancies in the Southern States. In succeeding years frequent supplies were received from the labors of Messrs. Alexander, Simpson, Cummins, James and Robert Hall, McCulloch, Robert

Mecklin, Humphrey Hunter, and James Templeton. The latter served them as stated supply, commencing about 1787; Humphrey Hunter also, for a short period immediately after his licensure, which took place October 15th, 1789.

About the year 1787 a new place of worship was erected, about a mile west of the graveyard; thus separating the place of worship from the place of interment for the congregation. The drawbacks upon the prosperity of this congregation down to this period had been very considerable. First the Indian war—commencing, in 1760, with the murder of many whites along the frontier—broke up the settlement for some time, and a number of the refugees never returned to it. And then the war of the Revolution bore heavily upon it in the destruction of many valuable lives and nearly all the property in the congregation.

The congregation had none in it who were not prepared to sign the pledge annexed to the Declaration of Independence. There was not a Tory among them.

“It may not be amiss to give a short sketch of the life of Colonel Thomas, who occupied a prominent place in this section of the country during a considerable portion of the war of Independence. Colonel Thomas was a native of Wales, but brought up in Chester county, Pennsylvania. He married Jane Black, a sister of the Rev. John Black, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and first president of Dickinson College. A number of years before the war, Mr. Thomas removed to South Carolina, and his descendants suppose resided for some time upon Fishing Creek. Before hostilities commenced he was residing upon Fairforest Creek, in the lower part of what is now Spartanburg district. He was one of the founders of the Fairforest church, and his wife one of its most active and zealous members. He was a militia captain and magistrate under the royal government. Having resigned this commission he was elected colonel of the Spartanburg regiment in the place of Colonel Fletchall (or Fletcher), who was a Royalist. He directed the movements of this regiment until Charleston fell, soon after which he was taken prisoner by a Tory captain by the name of Sam Brown, and confined at Ninety-Six and in Charleston, till near the close of the war. The said Brown carried off his negroes and his horses. Colonel Thomas had four sons, two of whom watered the tree of liberty with their blood. Robert was killed at Roebuck's defeat. Abraham was wounded and taken prisoner at Ninety-Six and died in confinement. John succeeded his father in the

command of the Spartan regiment, and made his mark in many a well-fought battle. The other son was a youth in time of the war. Colonel Thomas had also four daughters. The husband of each was a Whig, and all held commissions in the war and rendered their country most substantial service in securing victory and freedom. The following may illustrate the zeal and fidelity of the ladies of this family. In the early part of the war, Governor Rutledge had sent a quantity of arms and ammunition to the frontiers for the use of the Whigs. These were deposited at the house of Colonel Thomas and kept under the protection of a guard of twenty-five men. Colonel Moore, of North Carolina, with a party of three hundred Tories, was approaching to take possession of the magazine. Colonel Thomas deemed his force inadequate to a successful defence of the house, and retired. But Josiah Culbertson, a son-in-law of Colonel Thomas, refused to leave the premises. He had been brought up on the frontiers, and was a fine marksman. With William Thomas, a youth, and the women of the family, he remained; and as soon as Moore and his party came within gunshot a fire was opened upon them from the house, and maintained with such vigor that Moore and his party soon withdrew from the conflict, and left them in peaceable possession of the premises. Some time after the fall of Charleston, Mrs. Thomas was at Ninety-Six on a visit to her husband and two of her sons who were prisoners with the British at that post. While there she heard two women in conversation, and one remarked to the other, "On to-morrow night the Loyalists intend to surprise the Rebels at Cedar Springs." This intelligence was interesting news to her, for Cedar Springs was within a few miles of her house, and among the Whigs posted there were several of her own children. She therefore determined to apprize them of the intended attack, though the distance was at least fifty miles. The Whigs were informed of their danger in time to provide for their safety, which they did by withdrawing from their fires until the enemy rushed within their light in the confidence of an easy victory. Instead, however, of butchering a slumbering foe, they received the well-directed blows of their intended victims, and were entirely subdued:—the Whigs in number about sixty, the loyalists one hundred and fifty.

"An incident occurred in this region which may not be devoid of interest. Samuel Clowney, an Irishman, and a most determined Whig, was out on a scout, accompanied by a negro man of remarkable fidelity to his master, and withal a strong

Whig. As Mr. Clowney was approaching the margin of a stream, he heard a party of horsemen approaching from the opposite direction. It was dark. He conjectured that they must be Tories, and determined to try his hand with the whole party. He gave the negro an intimation of his intention, and of the part he should act. They remained quietly at the brink of the creek till the party was within the banks. He then demanded who they were. They answered, friends to the king. He ordered them to come out instantly and give up their arms, or be cut to pieces. They obeyed. He directed his men as though he had a dozen or two, to gather up the arms and surround the prisoners. He then ordered them, forward-march, under the direction of their guide, and conducted them safely to his own party. The prisoners were much chagrined when they found their captors to be only two in number, while they were five.

“There lived in this congregation a young lady, Miss Ann Hamilton, of remarkable daring and courage, whose name deserves to be enrolled among those who bravely defended their country in ‘the days that tried men’s souls.’ A band of Tories plundering her father’s house felt grossly insulted by this young lady, when one of the party seized a firebrand and determined to apply it to a pile of flax which was heaped up in one corner of the house. She immediately sprang between him and the combustible matter, and, as he approached, seized him by the collar and sent him headlong down a considerable flight of stairs to the ground. And as he lay bruised and senseless, some of the party became so much exasperated that they determined to take her life immediately. But their leader declared that such a brave woman should not die. The dwelling was not consumed, and her life was spared to do her country much service in the cause of freedom. This is only one among many heroic deeds done by this young lady.”

These churches of Union district were in the midst of wars and fightings. Frequent skirmishes occurred about Enoree, Broad, and Tyger rivers. Besides those we have mentioned, on the 12th of July, 1780, Sumter defeated a detachment of British troops and a large body of Tories at Williams’s plantation, on Broad river. In November following, at Fishdam ford, on the same river, Gen. Sumter, chiefly through the forethought and bravery of the gallant Col. Thomas Taylor, “The Patriarch of Columbia,” and one of the early elders in its church, defeated Major Wemyss, commanding a corps of infantry and dragoons, and took this officer prisoner. On the

20th of the same month occurred the noted battle of Blackstocks, at the crossing of the Tyger river, near the west line of the district, where Sumter defeated Lieut.-Col. Tarleton at the head of a considerable body of horse and infantry. Sumter was wounded, and his services were interrupted for some months. The British suffered severely, while the American loss was comparatively small.

BEAVER CREEK CHURCH and congregation was dependent on transient ministers for supplies during the earlier part of this period. In 1785 it supplicated the presbytery of South Carolina, who supplied it with occasional preaching until 1788, when they presented a call for the labors of Mr. Robert McCulloch, who was a graduate of Mount Zion college, and was licensed to preach, December 13th, 1787. On the 14th of October, 1788, Beaver Creek and Hanging Rock presented a call before presbytery for the labors of Mr. McCulloch, which call he accepted. He was ordained April 14th, 1789, as their pastor. It does not appear, however, that he was installed over them, but over the Nazareth church and congregation.

WAXHAW CHURCH.—In 1780, when the British army overran our country, Mr. Craighead fled to Virginia, and never returned as the minister of this church. This year, 1780, was a year of appalling distress to the inhabitants of this region. The detachment of the British army under Cornwallis was ordered from Charleston to the frontiers of North Carolina. On his march he heard of the advance of Col. Buford with four hundred continentals, two field-pieces, and a small detachment of Col. Washington's cavalry. He despatched Tarleton with seven hundred cavalry and mounted infantry to intercept him. This enterprising officer marched one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, leaving his infantry behind, surrounded Buford before he was aware of his approach, and demanded his immediate surrender. Buford, resolved on defending himself to the last, sent a note declining the proposal. No orders had yet been given to his men, and they, supposing negotiations were still pending, were thrown into confusion by the instant and impetuous charge of Tarleton. Some fired, the most threw down their arms and called for quarter. None was given. Unarmed men were hewed in pieces. One hundred and thirteen were slain; one hundred and fifty were so maimed as to be unable to travel. Fifty-three were reserved as prisoners. Only five of the British were killed and fifteen wounded. It was a cold-blooded massacre, and *Tarleton's quarter* became a proverb for wholesale cruelty. The wounded

were taken to the Waxhaw church, a log structure, where they were tenderly cared for by those who had the courage to remain.\* A large portion of the women and children fled, however, to the more distant settlements. The army of Cornwallis foraged freely upon the inhabitants. Horses were taken for the service from the rebels and purchased from the Tories, who were everywhere employed in plundering the Whigs of stock and provisions of every kind. Their first camp was above Lancaster village, near the present residence of Mr. Robert Crockett; they then moved higher up between Waxhaw and Twelve Mile Creek, in the neighborhood of Major Robert Crawford and Mrs. Jackson, remaining in each place till the country was exhausted—Blair's Mill on the river being convenient to both camps for grinding. It was while Cornwallis was so encamped that William Richardson Davie, now Col. Davie, performed one of his most daring feats. Cornwallis's main army was encamped on the north side of the Waxhaw, and the 71st regiment opposite on the south side. A large body of Tories and light troops, who were committing depredations and spreading havoc on every side, occupied Cornwallis's right. His left was covered by the Catawba river. Col. Davie left his camp at Providence, twenty-five miles above the British camp, on the 20th of September, with his own corps and Major Davidson's riflemen, in all about one hundred and fifty men, intending to fall on the Tory camp in the night and check or disperse them. He proceeded by a circuitous route, turned Cornwallis's right flank about two o'clock in the morning, but found that the Tories had changed their position, and retired within the flanks of the British army to the plantation of Capt. Wahab, which was overlooked by the 71st regiment, and that they numbered about four hundred mounted infantry. He reached Wahab's about sunrise. The enemy had called in their sentries, and were preparing for an early march. The colonel sent a company of infantry through the cornfield to attack the houses, the cavalry were sent around the field to gain the end of the lane and charge the force as soon as the firing commenced; the colonel moved around to the other end of the lane with about forty riflemen.

\* Among those who ministered to these wounded and dying soldiers, were Esther Gaston, then about eighteen years of age, who repaired to Waxhaw church with her married sister Martha, and busied herself day and night in ministering to their comfort. After the battle of Hanging Rock, she was found there again. Among the sufferers at this time was her youngest brother Joseph, sixteen years of age, wounded in the face, and her cousin, John McClure.

The enemy were completely surprised, rushed from the charge of the cavalry down the lane to Davie's position, received the volley of the riflemen, rushed back upon the cavalry and infantry, now drawn up at the houses, fluctuated for some moments, then bore down the fences and fled at full speed. The 71st beat to arms and advanced upon Davie, but with great celerity, giving himself time merely to gather up the remaining horses, he marched in good order out of one end of the lane as the 71st were entering the other. Capt. Wahab was a volunteer under Davie, and had been for some time exiled from his family. His wife and children were unavoidably in the midst of the action. They gathered around him with tears of joy. As the enemy were on the advance he had only time to embrace them. As the detachment moved off, turning his eyes back towards his all, he had the pain of seeing their dwelling wrapped in flames, and their only hope of subsistence destroyed.--(Sparks, American Biography, vol. xxv., p. 42.)

Mr. Andrew Crockett, in his eighty-third year when this testimony was given, recollects when the camps were near his father's house, that every horse, cow, hog, sheep, the poultry, the beehives, were stolen, his father lying very sick at the time. That he complained to an officer, who told him to send to Lord Rawdon and make his complaint. That his father accordingly sent him to the British camp. That he went, persevering, notwithstanding the threats of the soldiers; that he found one of his father's mares, which, with Lord Rawdon's leave, he brought away; that the soldiers still interfering and endeavoring to frighten him, he charged a couple of fences and brought the animal off, which he secured by hiding her for some weeks in a thicket, as Lord Rawdon advised, to keep her out of the way of the plundering Tories. He further stated that as the enemy approached, probably some time after Buford's defeat, the neighbors assembled at the church for consultation; that while thus assembled they were surrounded by the British, some were killed and some were taken prisoners, among whom was his oldest brother, and Robert and Andrew Jackson, the late President of the United States. The wounded at Rocky Mount and at Hanging Rock were also taken to the Waxhaw church. Among these was John McClure of Chester district. His mother went thither to nurse him. Thence he was taken to Charlotte, and died in Liberty Hall, where the Mecklenburg declaration was drawn up, Aug. 18th, 1780. It was in the walls of old Waxhaw church that Mrs.

Jackson presented her son Andrew to God in baptism, and took him from Sabbath to Sabbath, in hope that some day he would be a preacher of the gospel. To this early training may be ascribed the fact that in his varied and often turbulent life, a sense of religion never forsook him. The family Bible, covered with checked cloth, as his mother's was, lay on the stand at the Hermitage, where he ended his days, and he died at last the death of the Christian, in the communion of the church of his mother, a member in full of the Presbyterian church. The massacre of Buford's regiment fired his patriotism, and at the age of thirteen he entered the army under Sumter, with his brother Robert. Both, we have seen, were made prisoners. After their release Robert died of a wound received from a British officer during his captivity, and Andrew carried to his grave the scar of a sword-cut received on his arm under the same circumstances. His brother Hugh was slain in battle. Mrs. Jackson left her home on the Waxhaw, where she had buried her husband, and found a refuge in Sugar Creek congregation after Buford's defeat, where she remained a part of the summer. She afterwards went down to Charleston to visit her son, then a prisoner aboard the prison-ship, and to carry clothing and necessaries to other prisoners. Mrs. Dunlap was her companion on this expedition. On her return she sickened and died with the fever, at the Quarter House, six miles this side of Charleston, which was at that time occupied by Mrs. Barton, who formerly lived at Waxhaw. She was attended during her illness by these two women, who closed her eyes, and had her remains interred not far from the spot where she expired. We have before seen that Mrs. Richardson, after *his* decease, married Mr. Geo. Dunlap, who afterwards bore arms in the Revolutionary struggle. In 1781, she visited her sister Rachel, the wife of Rev. David Caldwell, D.D., of Guilford, North Carolina, who being an ardent Whig, was persecuted by the British and hunted as a felon. At that time the Doctor had ventured home on a stolen visit. Immediately the house was surrounded by armed Tories, who seized him before he could escape, intending to take him to the British camp. "One or two were set to guard him, while the others busied themselves in collecting plunder. When they were ready to depart, the plunder being piled in the middle of the floor, and the prisoner standing beside it with his guard, Mrs. Dunlap, who with Mrs. Caldwell had remained in an adjoining apartment, came forward. With the promptitude and presence of mind for which women are often remark-

able in sudden emergencies, she stepped behind Dr. Caldwell, leaned over his shoulder, and whispered to him, as if intending the question for his ear alone, asking if it were not time for Gillespie and his men to be there. One of the soldiers who stood nearest caught the words, and with evident alarm demanded what men she meant. The lady replied that she was merely speaking with her brother. In a moment all was confusion, the whole party were panic-struck; exclamations and hurried questions followed; and in the consternation produced by this ingenious, though simple manœuvre, the Tories fled precipitately, leaving their prisoner and plunder. The name of Gillespie was a scourge and terror to the loyalists, and this party knew themselves to be within the limits of one of the strongest Whig neighborhoods in the State."—(Women of the Revolution, vol. ii., pp. 154, 155.)

Mrs. Dunlap died in 1790, leaving two sons, Dr. David Dunlap, of Charlotte, North Carolina, George Dunlap, of Wadesborough; and three daughters, Mrs. Andrew Crockett, Mrs. Edward Crawford, and Mrs. Rachel Neeley. They were all members of the church at an early date, and their children and grandchildren have followed their example.

Many of the Waxhaw men were numbered among the patriots of the Revolution. Besides Major, afterwards General, and subsequently Governor, William R. Davie, there were Major Robert Crawford, Major John Barkly, and Henry Massey. Waxhaw church was a general place of rendezvous for the patriots. It accordingly felt the malice of the enemy. "Among the many acts of wickedness committed by them during the war," says John Davis, "the burning of our house of worship was one." They left it a heap of smouldering ruins. "The consequence to us," continues Mr. Davis, "was rather unhappy. A number of emigrants from Europe, who had during the last ten years settled on the eastern side of the congregation, wished a new meeting-house built some considerable distance from the site of the old one. The inhabitants from Pennsylvania and Virginia, who had been the old settlers, wished a house near the place where the old one stood, and near the churchyard where their friends were buried.

"On this question we could not agree, and each party built a house where they wished. A warm contention continued until 1784, when Mr. Robert Finley, a probationer from the Orange presbytery, made us a visit and preached to our satisfaction in both houses. We agreed to be one congregation, and united in presenting a call, which he accepted."

A change took place about this time in the ecclesiastical relations of this church, as follows: On October 5th, 1784, a session of Orange presbytery was held at Cathie's church, at which was made known the resolution of the synod of the Carolinas, "That it is for the benefit of the southern churches that the presbytery of Orange be divided, and that the Rev. Messrs. Joseph Alexander, Francis Cummins, James Edmonds, John Harris, Thomas Reese, John Simpson, and Thomas Hill be set off from the presbytery of Orange, and formed into a presbytery as aforesaid, and appoint their first meeting at Waxhaw, the second Tuesday of April next, at 11 o'clock; and the Rev. James Edmonds to preside at such meeting." The boundary line between the presbytery of Orange and the presbytery of South Carolina was determined to be the line that divides North from South Carolina. Pursuant to this order, the first meeting of the presbytery of South Carolina was held at Waxhaw in 1785. Robert Finley was one of the probationers who presented dismissions from Orange, and was received under its care. At this meeting, a call for his services was presented and accepted, and he was ordained at a *pro re nata* meeting held at Bethel, May 23, 1785, and the ordination sermon was preached by Mr. Edmonds, from Psalm cxxxii. 13.

Mr. Finley had popular talents, and for the space of three years preached to great acceptance to this people. At this period Waxhaw was esteemed as one of the largest and most respectable churches in the State. Just before the war a literary establishment had been in operation in the congregation, where a number of its youth were prosecuting their literary studies, which had been scattered; but on the return of peace and the restoration of civil and religious order in the society, an academy was again put into operation, to which a number of young men resorted to acquire the rudiments of a liberal education. A respectable proportion were here prepared to enter the collegiate establishments that then existed, some ten or a dozen of whom became ministers of the gospel. Mr. Finley continued to be their pastor till 1788, when, at his own request, and the concurrence of the congregation, his relation to them as pastor was dissolved, and in 1789 he removed to the western parts of Pennsylvania, and thence to Kentucky, where he labored for a short time in the ministry, but was at last separated from the Presbyterian church for intemperance.

## CHAPTER VII.

NAZARETH CHURCH and congregation suffered, during the earlier part of this period and before, all the evils of civil war. Indeed the churches of the living God were passing through great outward troubles, and had need of all the support of divine grace. The history which has come down to us, consists far more of traditions of sufferings, of contests for life, property, and rights, than of direct religious efforts to advance the kingdom of God. This congregation was not the immediate scene of battle, although there were fields of conflict in its immediate vicinity. Only one company of soldiers visited it. This was commanded by Dunlap, a British officer, and their object was the capture of Edward Hampton, which they did not effect. They had an engagement with him and were defeated. The part taken in the war, by the men, was more of occasional and guerrilla warfare than regular service. Yet the community was represented at Musgroves, Richhill, King's Mountain, Blackstock, Mudlick, Ninety-Six, Brier Creek, Cowpens, and Augusta. Major David Anderson was now frequently absent from home, and for longer periods than any other.

"He was born in the State of Pennsylvania, on the 25th of August, 1741. His parents were originally from Scotland. When they emigrated to the North American Colonies, they settled first in Pennsylvania, and lived there for many years till their children were grown. From Pennsylvania they moved to the Waxhaw settlement; thence to South River, in the present district of Laurens; and then to the south fork of Tyger river, Spartanburg district.

"He received a liberal English education, but when and where, I have no means of ascertaining at this time.

"He married Maria Mason, an English lady, in the city of Charleston, in the year 1772. Her father, Colonel Mason, emigrated to the province of Carolina a few years before the marriage of his daughter, and settled near the Island Ford, in the present district of Edgefield. He took an active part in the war.

"Major Anderson was engaged, for a long time before the Revolutionary war, surveying public lands for the colonial government. When the war commenced, fearing that his house might be burnt by the Tories or Indians, he prepared a nice buckskin and sewed up his plats, surveys, and claims against the government, and suspended them in a hollow tree in the woods, where he thought they would be secure. At the close of the war he went to hunt for his buckskin, when, to his great surprise and mortification, he found skin and papers cut and torn into innumerable fragments, lying at the root of the tree. In his great anxiety and care to secure from the Tories and Indians, he had forgotten the flying-squirrels. Thus was the labor of years lost. The government, afterwards, offered him thirty or forty negroes as a compensation for his services. Negroes then were not worth more than one hundred and fifty dollars on an average. He did not think such property valuable, much preferring the gold eagles, which he never obtained.

“He held both a civil and military office under the colonial government. He received his commission as major of the militia at Newbern, North Carolina, the 6th of December, 1770. A large portion of the district of Spartanburg, at that time, belonged to the province of North Carolina. After the Declaration of Independence, he resigned his office as major under the English colonial government, and engaged actively in the war, sometimes acting in the capacity of a private soldier, at others, of captain and major. He was at the battle of Ninety-Six, and acted in the capacity of captain. During the action he planned and executed a manoeuvre which gained him great applause, and terminated in chagrin and loss to the British. A portion of the British, at one stage of the action, were fortified behind a brick wall. He was ordered to attack it, and did so, but without any success. The British, safe behind the wall, received no injury from their bullets. He ordered his company to cease firing at the top of the wall, and to shoot at its base. This soon had the desired effect. The enemy not only raised their heads above the wall, but got upon it, thinking that the Whigs were unable to reach them with their rifles, and frequently pointed with their fingers significantly to the base—as much as to say, you can't quite reach us. As soon as he thought the British were beginning to feel secure in their position on the wall, he ordered his company each to select their man, beginning at one end of the company and at the opposite end of British on the wall. At the command to fire, some fell inside and some outside of the wall, finding, to their surprise and grief, when it was too late, that they were not out of reach of the American rifles. He was at the siege of Charleston, Eutaw Springs, and at the taking of two forts at Augusta.

“He considered his life in more danger during the war when at home, than when in the army. The headquarters of the Tories in this section were near his house. He frequently pointed out to his children, after the war, a large oak on the river, in the thick branches of which he had lain concealed for days, and from which he had several times seen the Tories hunting him. His greatest bereavement during the war was the loss of his father, whose age and infirmities he thought would shield him from the Tories.

“Just at the close of the war, after the treaty of peace had been signed, they murdered Mr. Anderson, the father of Major Anderson. They shot him in his bed at night. They permitted his wife to escape, allowing her nothing but her night-dress to protect her from the cold. She, that night, waded two rivers and came to the house of Mr. Crawford, the father of the late senator from this district, a distance of five or six miles. James Sillman, a lad of twelve or thirteen years of age, was at the house of Mr. Anderson that night. They stabbed him in two or three places, scalped him, and threw him into a brush-heap, supposing him to be dead. He recovered, and lived in this community to a good old age.

“They took Mr. Anderson out of the house, split his head with a tomahawk, and scalped him. They also burnt his house. The same gang also murdered another old man and his son near by, and fired the house of Major Anderson, who, with his family, was that night at Fort Prince. This was said at the time to have been done by Indians, but the community generally believed that Tories were at the bottom of it, if not the real actors, painted like Indians, and that Major Anderson was the principal one aimed at by the expedition. Mr. Anderson was quite an old man, who, because of his age and palsy, took little or no part in the war, but was a staunch Whig, and contributed in every way he could to help on the cause of liberty.

“When Major Anderson returned home from the fort, he lived for some time under his wagon-shed. His son, James Anderson, was born under the wagon-shed.

“He was a tall man, six feet two inches high, with black eyes and hair, of pleasing manners, hospitable, and very fond of company. During his stay at

Ninety-Six, he associated with the families of the British officers. He was often heard to speak in terms of great respect of the wife of Col. Cregen—that she was a ‘lady of the true English stamp, and *although the wife of a British officer, a staunch Whig in principle.*

“Capt. Andrew Barry was born in the State of Pennsylvania, in the year 1732. His parents were Scotch-Irish. His family were in good circumstances. A part of the company stopped in, now, York district, but Andrew Barry, Richard Barry, and John Barry, who were brothers, with Charles Moore, came to the Tyger river and settled above the confluence of South, and below the confluence of the North and Middle rivers. They all settled near to each other. This was between 1760 and 1765.

“Capt. Barry received a liberal English education, was six feet and one inch high, and of powerful muscular strength. In his social intercourse he was a man of few words. When he was reached by the grace and mercy of God, and attached himself to the church of Christ, I have not been able to ascertain; but his religious character is fully evinced by the fact that he was ordained one of the first elders of Nazareth church. Such was the veneration of the congregation at this time for the office of elder, that they could scarcely find any they thought fit to fill it.

“About 1767, or '68, Capt. Barry married the daughter of Charles Moore, who became the mother of ten children.

“Soon after he removed to this place, he was appointed a Magistrate by George II., and discharged the duties of this office till the beginning of the war. He also held the office of captain of the militia from the same power. The principal battles in which he was engaged were the Musgroves and the Cowpens, but it is probable from the facts in my possession that he was in several skirmishes with the Tories.

“One of these skirmishes was that of Cedar Springs, where the Whigs were forewarned by the bold horsemanship and mother's heart of Mrs. Thomas, as we have before rehearsed, who had the satisfaction of saving, by her bold ride of fifty miles, her children from death, and her neighbors from defeat and surprisal.

“At another time, Capt. Barry raised a company to proceed against what was regarded as the headquarters of the Tories in his section. Some of those who had agreed to go with him lived in the middle and upper part of the congregation. They fixed their place of meeting somewhere near to Cashville. Each party, as they proceeded, were on the lookout for Tories, and expecting to meet with them. By some mistake they came together near where Mr. Andrew Pedan now lives, sooner than they each were anticipating. Each thought the other to be Tories and commenced firing. They were not undeceived, till Mr. Crawford, father of the late senator from this district, was shot. Mr. Crawford was killed by Mr. Moore, afterward Gen. Moore. He expired soon after he was shot—was brought back immediately to the church—carried by one of the party before him on his horse—and buried without coffin or shroud, his grave being scarcely two feet deep. Mr. Crawford was the third person buried in the graveyard at the church, the church being some few years older than the cemetery. The party to which Mr. Crawford belonged first discovered their error and ceased firing by the trotting up to them of a large black dog belonging to Capt. Barry. This sad Providence remained as a thorn in the side of Gen. Moore as long as he lived. He never could think of it or hear it spoken of without shedding tears. Mr. Crawford left a widow and four children, the eldest of whom by perseverance and unremitting industry rose to a prominent position in society, having been twice a member of the legislature, and an elder also in the church.—R. H. R.

“Capt. John Collins was born in Pennsylvania in the year 1754. His father moved from that place to Rockingham, North Carolina, about 1760, where he remained but one year; thence to the Tyger rivers, in this District, two and a

half miles above the church, where he resided till his death. He was among the first that came to this place. The schooling which he received he obtained, after his father emigrated to this place, from Mr. Wade Hampton, who taught for several years in the community.

"He was six feet two inches in height, well proportioned, fond of company, and especially of a good joke. He was one of the trustees of the congregation for many years, but did not make a profession of his faith in Christ till after he had passed the meridian of his life.

"He acted as captain before the war, and as a magistrate, for many years, after the war. As a magistrate, he did a great deal of business, for which he did not collect as much cost as paid for the ink and paper which he used.

"He died on the 4th April, 1841, and lies buried in the churchyard.

"The following brief sketch of the service which he rendered during the Revolutionary war was taken down from his own lips :

"A MINUTE ACCOUNT OR STATEMENT OF "SEVENTY-FIVE," BY JOHN COLLINS, A SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION :—

"First—I served at the Snow Camps, under Col. Thomas and Capt. Andrew Barry ; Col. Richardson was chief in command, being a six weeks' campaign.

"Secondly—I served in the Cherokee war, under General Williamson ; John McElheney was Captain, being a six weeks' campaign.

"In seventy-eight I served in the Florida expedition, under Col. Brannan ; Capt. Palmer being in the service three months.

"I next served in March, 1780, as Captain, under Col. John Thomas ; marched off to Georgia, and came under Gen. Williamson ; then sent by Gen. Williamson to Cubbert Creek ; there commanded by Col. Purvis ; then sent with a detachment by Col. Purvis as a picket guard to Spirit Creek ; remained there until Charleston was taken, in May. In June following, I joined General Sumter on the Catawba, near the old nation. I then returned home and raised more men ; joined Col. Shelby and Clark, fought at the old Iron Works, or near that place ; next took Thicketty Fort, and next fought at Musgrove's mill. Carried our prisoners to North Carolina ; returned again and joined General Sumter ; fought again at Blackstock's ford ; left that and joined Gen. Morgan, at Grindals' shoals ; sent home to raise more men ; returned with twenty-four men the night before the battle of the Cowpens. The next engagement was at Watkins', at Enoree, being a skirmish at night ; met the same party next morning, killed part and rescued our own prisoners. Next at Bush river, under Col. Roebuck. I then joined Gen. Fickens and went to Augusta, to the siege of Greason's Fort ; had several skirmishes there. I next joined Gen. Twiggs, in Georgia ; was sent under Maj. Car over the Altamaha ; there had two small skirmishes between Whites and Indians. Returned home in June, 1782."—(Sketches by Rev. R. H. Reid, Pastor of Nazareth Church.)

After the Revolution the congregation erected a new house of worship in place of the small log-house in which they formerly assembled. It was a framed building, and was built between the years 1785 and 1790. Supplies were ordered for this church by the newly formed presbytery of South Carolina, in 1785, '86, '87. Under these appointments Francis Cummins, Joseph Alexander, W. C. Davis, and Robert McCulloch filled their pulpit from time to time.

Mr. Templeton was appointed to supply one Sabbath "at Tyger," in 1785. "Tyger River congregation" petitions for supplies, April 14, 1789. These may be different names for the

same people. October, 1788, "Milford, a people in Laurens county, petition to be taken under the care of presbytery." Again they petition for one-fourth the time of Wm. C. Davis, Oct. 17th, 1788. Nazareth Church called, in connection with Milford, the Rev. Wm. C. Davis to be their pastor, and their call was accepted. Both he and Mr. McCulloch were graduates of Mount Zion College, and were ordained at Bethesda, April 15, 1789. At this time the congregation had increased to thirty or thirty-five families.—(Minutes of Presbytery, and MS. History of Second Presbytery of South Carolina.)

NORTH PACOLET church was an offshoot from Nazareth and Fairforest. Of its original formation we have obtained no information. *North* and *South Pacolet* petitioned the presbytery of South Carolina for supplies in October, 1785. Joseph Alexander was appointed, April 12, 1786, to preach at *Pacolet*—James Edmonds, April 12, 1787. *South Pacolet* petitioned for supplies, October 9. W. C. Davis is appointed April 17, to preach one Sabbath at *North Pacolet*; and James Wallis, in October, 1789. These notices indicate one or more congregations more or less organized in those localities and hungry for the gospel.

FAIRVIEW CHURCH is situated in the district of Greenville, on the waters of Reedy river, which is a branch of the Saluda. It is two hundred miles from Charleston, nineteen miles from Greenville court-house, and three miles east from Fork Shoal. It was formed in the year 1786. Five families—those, namely, of John Peden, James Alexander, Samuel Peden, David Peden, and James Nesbit—migrated from the bounds of Nazareth and settled in this neighborhood. In that year they formed their first association, and April 10, 1787, were taken under the care of presbytery. One of their earliest acts had been to erect a house for divine worship. This year, 1787, their numbers were increased by the addition of three other families—those of John Alexander, David Morton, and James Alexander, senior, the father of John and James Alexander, all from Nazareth. They were about this time organized as a church, and the first sermon was preached by Rev. Samuel Edmundson.

"Mr. Samuel Edmundson was received on trial for licensure by Hanover presbytery, October 15, 1772, and was licensed, October 14, 1773, at Rockfish meeting-house. He soon removed to South Carolina, where he spent a useful life."—(Foote's Sketches of Virginia, second series, page 105.)

After this they were supplied for one year by Rev. John

McCosh. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was first administered by Rev. Messrs. McCosh and Robert McClintock, and it was a season of great interest and solemnity. These gentlemen, however, were suspected of pelagianism, and the church for a season became divided into parties, but this division was of short continuance. The sacrament above mentioned is probably the one at which Thomas Peden, an elder in the Nazareth church, communicated, and for which he was censured by presbytery, as has been mentioned on a preceding page. James Alexander, senior, John Peden, John Alexander, and Samuel Peden were the first ruling elders in the Fairview church.

Greenville and Pendleton districts had been obtained from the Indians, and the inhabitants in that vicinity were few. Being near the Laurens line, several persons in that district assisted in the erection of the church edifice, and some few united with the church. The Pedens above named were the offspring of John Peden and Peggy McDill, who emigrated from the county of Antrim, in Ireland, in 1773. Mr. Peden had been a ruling elder in his own country, and was exceedingly attached to the Presbyterian faith. He first settled in Spartanburg. He had seven sons and three daughters. These last intermarried, one with an Alexander, another with William Gaston; the third was twice married, first to a Morton, and upon his death, to one of the name of Morrow. Their families as they grew up became connected with the Nazareth church. At the opening of the Revolutionary war, the Tories broke in upon the citizens, and several, as we have before seen, were put to death. The survivors fled for a season to a place of greater safety, but were molested again by the same enemies after their return. Old Mr. Peden, with the younger members of the family, sought a refuge in Chester district, where the aged patriarch and his wife departed this life with the bright hope of their heavenly inheritance. In the course of a few years all their children gathered around Fairview church, where they settled, with the exception of Thomas, who lived and died in the bounds of Nazareth. Their large families composed no small portion of the church and congregation.

The following extracts from a letter of William Alexander to Rev. J. H. Saye, dated May, 1849, reveals something of the history and troubles of those times. He was brought up within the bounds of the Nazareth and Fairview congregations:—  
“The church (Fairview), was made up almost entirely of Pedens and Alexanders. On the South Tyger and Ferguson's

Creek were Tories. The colonel of Nazareth regiment was Colonel Thomas, I think ; Majors, Roddie and Smith, in the town part of Spartanburg ; Captains, Hughes and John Collins. These two went out after the ' Bloody Scout ' on Ferguson's Creek. My uncles and my brothers, one of whom was a captain, and the other a lieutenant, were in the battles of Cowpens, King's Mountain, Eutaw, Musgrove's Mill, and perhaps in others, besides some little skirmishes with the Tories. They (the Tories), plundered my father's house of everything, even of the clean flax that was found. The women suffered much from abuse. They were reviled, persecuted, and stripped of every comfort. They manifested as much fortitude in suffering as the males did in fighting. There was a company of Tories that used to rendezvous mostly on Ferguson's Creek, and between that and the Enoree River, called ' the Bloody Scout. ' My brothers John, James, and Joseph were in active service during the whole war. Joseph was Lieutenant at Cowpens and King's Mountain, and John was Captain at King's Mountain."

THE UPPER LONG CANE CONGREGATION OF PRESBYTERIANS IN ABBEVILLE DISTRICT.—Anterior to the Revolutionary war, there was but one settled clergyman of the Presbyterian denomination in Abbeville district. This was the Rev. John Harris, of whom we have before spoken (p. 439), who had charge of a small society near the court-house, and preached to some others in different parts of the county. Immediately after the distressing and difficult scenes of the war, those citizens who were of the Presbyterian persuasion turned their attention to the interests of religion, and in order to procure either regular supplies or a stated ministry, formed four congregations in the bounds of the district, viz.: Upper Long Cane, Lower Long Cane (now Hopewell), Bull Town (now Rocky River), and Saluda (now Greenville), which appointed commissioners from each to define and fix the boundaries between them ; who agreed to, and signed the following arrangement, viz.: " At a full meeting of the inhabitants between Saluda and Savannah rivers, at General Pickens's plantation, Wednesday, the twentieth day of August, 1783." [In the original record from which these extracts are made, a blank is left for the insertion of the purpose thus commenced, and a note is appended stating that it was handed to one of the trustees, and by him to his successor, and not since heard of.] The commissioners, according to the tradition preserved and recorded by Father (Hugh) Dickson, in 1853, were Patrick Cal-

houn, Andrew Pickens, John Irwin, — McAlpin, and one other whose name is not recollected. Father Dickson, however, locates this transaction as far back as the visit of Azel Roe and John Close, in 1771.

The war being over, people having returned to domestic tranquillity and a happy degree of peace, and the minds of people once more relieved from the irritating antipathies common to war, as well as probably somewhat humbled and weaned from the world by the late awful calamities, and so providentially prepared for it, the supper of the Lord was administered at Upper Long Cane after a considerably long intermission of such ordinances. This happened in the fall of 1784. The ministers who labored together on this occasion were the Rev. Messrs. John Harris, James Templeton, James Hall, and Robert Mecklin, probationer. It was a time to be had in remembrance, remarkable for the powerful presence of the divine Spirit with the word and ordinances of the gospel. On the Sabbath, and particularly on Monday evening, the audience were generally attentive and much affected.—("Materials," &c., by Dr. Cummins.)

After forming these congregations, as before mentioned, in the early part of the year 1784, two persons, one from Upper Long Cane and Saluda, and the other from Long Cane and Rocky River, were sent to the presbytery of Orange to solicit supplies, and the result of the mission was that Robert Hall and Robert Mecklin, then licentiates of that presbytery, came the following summer or fall, after the happy solemnity above described, and preached to these congregations, and calls were sent to presbytery for their services.

Meanwhile the presbytery of Orange was divided, and the ministers residing south of the southern boundary of North Carolina were set off by the synod of the Carolinas and formed into the presbytery of South Carolina, which held its first meeting at Waxhaw, on the 12th of April, 1785. To this presbytery the probationers above mentioned were dismissed. Mr. Mecklin, previous to his dismissal from Orange presbytery, had received and accepted a call from Lower Long Cane (formerly Fort Boone and subsequently Hopewell) and Rocky River; and a call from Upper Long Cane and Saluda (now Greenville), was presented to the presbytery of South Carolina for the labors of Mr. Hall. Mr. Harris was yet alive and active, and a leader in this call to these young brethren to the occupancy of his former charge. Mr. Hall was ordained by the presbytery of South Carolina, on the 27th day of July,

1785, at a stand on the middle ground between the congregations of Upper Long Cane and Saluda (now Greenville). Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Cummins presiding, preaching the sermon from Ezekiel xxxiii., 7, and delivering the charges to the minister and people. Mr. Hall's labors were greatly blessed to both congregations.\* To what is now called Greenville church, twenty members were added at one communion season. The elders in Upper Long Cane were Andrew Pickens, Andrew Hamilton, John McCord, Hugh Reed, and Edward Pharr, perhaps others. The elders in Greenville congregation are believed to have been George Reid, Hugh Wardlaw, James Dobbins, James Watts, James Seawright, Samuel Lofton, and perhaps John Lowry. They have many years ago (says Father Dickson) gone to their long-home.

Among the names in these two congregations were those of Shain, Reid, Lesly, Bowie, Pickens, Campbell, Jones, Watts, Rosamond, Seawright, Wardlaw, &c., a considerable number of whom were settlers before the Indian war, and the greater part actively sustained the cause of American independence.

Among these were General Pickens, Colonel Reid, Major Bowie, Major Hamilton, with the Captains Wardlaw, Rosamond, Watts, Jones, &c.

Upper Long Cane and Greenville were incorporated in 1787.

LOWER LONG CANE (afterwards HOPEWELL), is situated about fourteen miles southwest from Upper Long Cane, or about twelve miles in the same direction from the village of Abbeville. The first house of worship, as we have seen on page 443, was built of logs, and in this, in all probability, the church was organized.

GREENVILLE CONGREGATION is situated on the head-waters of Long Cane Creek, in Abbeville district, and, from the residence of many of its members near the river of that name, was formerly called Saluda. There are no existing documents which show who were the first ministers that preached to this people, nor at what period they were first supplied. The first stated preaching they had was from the Rev. John Harris, who commenced his labors with them in the year 1772 or '73. He gave them a portion of his time for some years. About the year 1784, Robert Hall, of Orange presbytery, was called to the pastoral care of this congregation. He

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\* April 13, 1788. I called at a Presbyterian meeting-house, and heard Mr. Hall, the minister, preach a good sermon on Isaiah 55. After meeting we rode twenty miles to brother Moore's on the Saluda.—Bp. Asbury's Journal.

appeared at the first meeting of South Carolina presbytery with his dismissal from Orange, and was ordained as has been described.

BULL TOWN, OR ROCKY RIVER, was about fifteen miles north of Lower Long Cane. At Bull Town a large frame building succeeded the log house, and the name was changed to Rocky River. The Rev. John Harris continued to officiate to these and the other churches of Abbeville district through the first half of this decade, and occasionally afterwards.

“On the day subsequent to the ordination of Robert Hall over the Upper Long Cane and Greenville or Saluda congregation, the presbytery met at Mrs. Pettigrew’s for the trials of Robert Mecklin, and on the day following, July 29, 1785, he was ordained and installed in the bounds of Rocky River congregation, Rev. James Edmonds presiding, preaching the sermon from 2d Timothy, ii., 15, and delivering the charge to the pastor and people. A vast concourse assembled at Davis’ Bridge at this occasion, “to witness the ordination and instalment of Mr. Robert Mecklin, into the pastoral charge of Lower Long Cane\* and Rocky River. Such was the eagerness of the people to witness this ceremony, that it was deemed advisable to select a suitable spot *between* the two congregations; and there, in the rich cathedral of nature, the young presbytery of South Carolina held its third meeting within the space of two months for this solemn and beautiful purpose. It had first received as probationers, from the presbytery of Orange, three young men, Robert Hall, Robert Finley, and Robert Mecklin—the first of whom had been placed at Upper Long Cane and Greenville—names that were destined to leave a fragrance of piety, not yet utterly lost to this region. This ordination was ‘a scene which could never be forgotten,’ said one who was an eye-witness. And certainly it was a beautiful sight, after the terrors and turmoils of war, to behold two large congregations meeting peacefully and harmoniously in the exercise of their simple worship, which requires no ‘temple built with hands.’ No longer were to be seen the ominous stacks of muskets, nor the sentinel pacing to and fro with straining eye; there were no more palpitating hearts nor trembling nerves; but on the green sward, and under the rich shadow of the water-oaks, were groups of happy children and happier mothers, whilst the serene and hopeful expression of the

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\* It was not until 1788 that the place received the name of Hopewell.

assembly, seated around on logs or puncheons, was nearly as sparkling as the limpid waters which flowed at their feet. But the most touching sight of all, was the appearance of the young candidate for holy vows, in whose countenance there must have been a peculiar sanctity and devotion, to have inspired his people with so much reverence, and to have given a presage of his early translation to a purer world. The fame of Mr. Mecklin as a preacher seems to have been contemporary with his ministry; and when, at the end of three years, God was pleased to remove him to the upper sanctuary, he was remembered with feelings of veneration and love, bordering on enthusiasm. 'I thought his death would have killed me,' said the intelligent and aged lady before referred to, then a youthful bride; 'but we could have been reconciled if he had left us some of those *great sermons* for publication.'

"Mr. Mecklin's power did not lie in the arts of elocution; for he stood before his people always with a small Bible open in his hand, whence he drew his inspiration and his learning. His theme was Christ crucified—Christ alone. 'Christ all and in all,' was expounded with so much unaffected pathos, solemnity, and energy, that the large crowds which he attracted were often melted down by his loving tones. It is said to have been no unusual thing to see the *whole congregation* affected to tears by the divine unction of his words and manner. This fact is accredited by more than one witness."

"From what I have heard my revered mother often relate," says the venerable A. Giles, Esq., in October, 1853, who is an elder in this church, "Rev. Robert McLin" (such is his and the venerable Hugh Dickson's orthography of his name) "was no doubt the first pastor of the then united churches of Rocky River and Hopewell. As she frequently told me, he was the minister who baptized me. This must have been in 1784 or 1785, as I was born the 24th of November, 1784. Mr. McLin came when quite young, I presume, from Ireland, and settled in North Carolina, and thence removed to this district, married here, and died in a short time after, without issue. He was (as his brother Hugh, who was long a member of the Rocky River session, informs me), an active Whig in the time of the Revolution. He was one of the best of preachers, as I have heard my mother and others often assert."

"During his ministry, the Huguenots, settled ten miles below on Little River, flocked to his church. They had attended, in

some measure, the services of Mr. Harris, but to many of them these ordinances must have been more nominal than real; for the older French adhered tenaciously to their native tongue, and very imperfectly, if at all, understood the English. They still maintained their lay worship and their Sabbath-schools at home; yet taught, as they had been, that they were bound to assemble themselves together, even in woods and deserts, it is not a matter of wonder that they should seek to be fed with the crumbs of the blessed Gospel, though they were obliged, many of them, to walk eight or ten miles for this purpose.

“For a considerable period all, and for a longer time many, of these desolate and sanctuary-loving people owed their spiritual teachings to the ministrations at Hopewell, thinking themselves happy that here they could meet to commemorate the love of their dying Lord. ‘It was affecting,’ said one of their number, ‘to see them meet at this place, always saluting each other with a kiss, while tears flowed down their cheeks.’ ‘They wept, yea, they wept when they remembered Zion.’ Such were their numbers, it was thought proper they should have a representative in the session, and Peter Gibert, Esq., was elected an elder.

“The preaching of Mr. Mecklin was in character with their zeal and enthusiasm; but while engaged in pastoral visitation in the summer of 1788, he was stricken with fever and died. He was originally from North Carolina, but his family had settled near Rocky River church, where his remains lie. He had been but recently married, and left no descendants.”—(Contributions to the Church History of Abbeville, from Mrs. M. E. D.)

All parties conspire in bearing their testimony to the character and labors of Mr. Mecklin. Dr. Cummins says of him: “Mr. Mecklin having found it was the desire and intention of the people to call him as their pastor, previous to their calling him he publicly appointed a day to meet the church, and on said day delivered his sentiments to them in favor of the ‘new psalmody,’ as it is now called, and desired none would subscribe for him who would not allow him to practice accordingly in public worship. A few dissented, but a great majority chose him as their pastor on his own terms. He labored in the gospel with great zeal, assiduity, and success, until September, 1788, when his great Lord and Master called him to give an account of his stewardship. His death was greatly and justly regretted by many of the most pious people as a loss

to the churches."—(Materials, &c., forwarded to the General Assembly, 1794. The same testimony is given by John B. Kennedy and Dr. Waddell.) The records of presbytery notice his absence by death: "Also absent by death our reverend and very dear brother, Robert Mecklin."

Mr. Dickson names as the elders in Lower Long Cane or Hopewell congregation, Patrick Calhoun, William Hutton, Ebenezer Pettigrew, and another by the name of Blain. The elders in Rocky River congregation: Nathan Lusk, Samuel Porter, Hugh Mecklin (brother of the pastor, and an active Whig in the time of the Revolution), and Baskin, and Robert Allen. Mr. Speer also mentions Mr. Russel, William McKinley, and James Caldwell as among the first elders. And the chief names in Mr. Mecklin's charge were those of Calhoun, Noble, Davis, Baskin, Sweringham, Shanklin, Lawrence, &c.

The church of Lower Long Cane took measures in 1787 to erect a new house of worship. The plan, which is now before us, with the specifications, the names of the persons who have chosen seats, and the assessments upon each pew for salary, and the expense of building, purports to have been adopted on the 7th of September, 1787. The house was to be sixty feet by thirty-four, with galleries. It was erected on a rising ground opposite the old log church. There is a reservation in the plan of two pews for their French neighbors. From this plan, the resources of the permanent congregation and pew-holders of this date can be ascertained. It was after the erection of this more commodious house that the name seems to have been changed from Lower Long Cane to Hopewell. Under this name it was incorporated by the legislature in 1788.—(Statutes at Large, viii., 144.)

ROCKY CREEK (afterwards called the Rock) church is intimately connected in its history with the early Presbyterianism of Abbeville district. The earliest elder in this church received his ordination, it is said, in 1770. And about the year 1776 James Templeton, from Pennsylvania, came into Carolina and preached for a short time at Rocky Creek, but on account of the troubles which ensued from the Revolutionary war he soon returned. James Templeton was a graduate of Nassau Hall, and was licensed by the presbytery of Hanover, October 26th, 1775, and soon removed to South Carolina. The Rev. James Cresswell, also was an occasional preacher. His death, however, occurred in 1776, at the beginning of the Revolution. In 1785 the church, in connection with Ninety-Six, petitioned the presbytery of South Carolina for Rev. James

Templeton as a supply for six months. October 12th, 1786, he is again appointed to supply one Sabbath at Rocky Creek, and Dr. Cummins also, in 1788. October 18th, 1788, Mr. John Springer was licensed and directed to supply Rocky Creek one Sabbath; and April 14th, 1789, a call from the united congregations of Cambridge (alias Ninety-Six) and Rocky Creek, and another call from Little River, were sent to presbytery for Mr. Springer, and were put into his hands. Mr. Springer made no reply to these calls till he was cited by presbytery, October 15th, 1789. In April, 1790, he appeared before presbytery and gave up the calls from Little River, Rocky Creek, and Cambridge. At the same meeting of presbytery, calls from Providence, Smyrna, and Washington, in Georgia, were presented to him and accepted. It is the statement of Rev. Mr. McLees, in his historical discourse of April 3d, 1867, that Mr. Springer preached at Rocky Creek about two years, till in 1788 he left for Georgia. But Mr. Springer was not licensed till October, 1788. He was ordained at Washington, Georgia, in July, 1790. He probably preached here in the latter part of 1788 and in 1789.

Soon after the settlement of Robert Hall over Upper Long Cane and Greenville, and Mr. Mecklin's settlement over Rocky River and Lower Long Cane, the Rev. Thomas Clark, an old minister seceder, a native of Ireland, commonly known as Dr. Clark, from the title of M. D., which he bore, came from Albany and settled in a place called by them Lower Long Cane, among a number of his old acquaintances from Ireland. By violently opposing everything else in public praise besides the psalms of David, and by wittingly, as is charged, admitting to sealing ordinances members of the neighboring churches under suspension in their own churches for immoralities, he somewhat interrupted the strength and peace of the church.

This Dr. Clark was a student under Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, who had charge of the Burgher students in Scotland. He was licensed in 1748, and with two other ministers formed "The associate presbytery of Down" in 1751. From his first ministry he was an earnest minister of Christ. Sent over by the Burgher presbytery of Glasgow as a missionary to Ireland, he was indefatigable in his labors. He is represented as riding through the country at a quick pace, as if on a high errand; and as he moved to and fro, his appearance was sure to awaken suspicion and alarm in the careless and in the "New Light" ministers of that country. He wore a Highland bon-

net, expressed himself in broad Scotch, was of a dark complexion, tall, and gaunt; yet he knew how to reach the conscience, exhibit the glory of the Redeemer, and proclaim a free pardon, and move the congregations he addressed. He would not take the "abjuration oath," and refused to swear by kissing the book, which he regarded as a superstition, and he was thrown into prison, from which he was eventually released. Having obtained, through correspondence, a grant of forty thousand acres of land in Warren county, New York, he set sail from Newry, Ireland, on the 16th of May, 1764, with nearly three hundred of his neighbors and people. On his arriving in this country, half of his company settled on the New York lands, and the rest came to Long Cane and Cedar Spring, South Carolina. He resided for a time with the northern colony, but came to the south as before described. He possessed quite a polemic spirit even to his death. He was peculiarly odd and uncouth, even sometimes ridiculously so, in the pulpit, but had a remarkable gift for religious conversation with children, which was his delight. He lived to an advanced age, and died suddenly while sitting in his study; a pastoral letter to his old flock at Ballibea, Ireland, which was subsequently published, lying before him. His death occurred on the 25th of December, 1793.—(Reid's Hist. of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, vol. iii., p. 422, et seq.; McKerrow's Hist.; Sprague's Annals, vol. ix.; MS. by Dr. Cummins.)

Another minister, Rev. Peter McMullin, came amongst them, of the same faith, after the death of Mr. Mecklin, and as the result of these influences, a large house of worship was built for Mr. McMullin, within four miles of Hopewell church; within four miles of which, on the opposite side, the same measures had raised one already.—(MS. by Dr. Cummins.) During the lifetime, too, of Mr. Mecklin, and soon after his settlement, the Anabaptist preachers came among them, and made at first some small impression. But a sermon of his on the subject of infant baptism, carefully prepared, and delivered, after due notice had been published, turned the tide against them.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

NINETY-SIX (subsequently CAMBRIDGE).—This was a village situated six miles to the south of the Saluda river, and about

thirty-five miles from the Savannah, and was at this time the seat of justice for the old district of Ninety-Six. It received its name from its being ninety-six miles from Keowee, the chief village of the Cherokees, opposite which was Fort Prince George, the frontier fort. From the journal of William Tennent, (see back, pp. 368, 369), we have seen that Rev. James Creswell was pastor of a church there in August, 1775. The inhabitants capitulated to the British in 1780. It had early been surrounded by a strong stockade, and was now more elaborately fortified. It was invested by General Green in May, 1781, and vigorously attacked, and as vigorously defended by Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger, who was relieved by the sudden advance of Lord Rawdon.\* Soon after the evacuation of Ninety-Six by the British, the Cherokees broke into the district, with a number of white men, and massacred several families, and burned a number of houses. General Pickens collected a party of militia and took summary retaliation. At the head of three hundred and ninety-four horsemen he invaded their territory, burned thirteen towns and villages, killed upwards of forty Indians, and took still a larger number prisoners. He did not expend three pounds of ammunition, and yet but three Indians escaped after being once seen. Instead of firing, they rushed forward on horseback and charged with drawn swords. The district of Ninety-Six contained within it, after the peace, one thousand four hundred widows and orphans, made so by the war.

We have seen that the church of Ninety-Six made its application to the presbytery of South Carolina for supplies in connection with the church of Rocky Creek, and that in the last application it has changed its name to Cambridge, which was done in view of its becoming a seat of learning.

The French Protestants of NEW BORDEAUX seem still to have conducted their lay worship at Gibert's Mills, under their chosen leaders. Pierre Moragne, senior, is said to have read sermons and acted as precentor, and Pierre Gibert, Esq., to have offered prayer. Hon. James L. Pettigru remembered the time when his mother, who was the youngest child of Rev. Jean Louis Gibert, took him thither on the Sabbath. But they were drawn also to other sanctuaries, and more especially to Hopewell, in the plan of whose church edifice two of the most desirable slips or pews are marked as appropriated to their use.

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\* For a graphic and perspicuous account of the siege of Ninety-Six, see Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution*, vol. ii., pp. 433-488.

The labors of the pastors of the churches in Abbeville district, Robert Hall and Robert Mecklin, were not confined to the bounds of their own congregations. In the year 1777, the Indians, having been completely defeated, ceded the tract of land, about forty miles square, which was afterwards in 1798 known as Pendleton county or district, and is now Anderson and Pickens. After the chastisement inflicted on the Indians by General Pickens, and the peace of 1783, this country began to fill up rapidly with inhabitants, and when the first census was taken, by order of Congress, it already contained about nine thousand five hundred souls. The first and most respectable inhabitants were of the Presbyterian denomination, and removed from the older settlements adjacent, particularly from Abbeville.

The ministers of Abbeville were the nearest as to distance, and to these they naturally looked for the privileges of the gospel. New congregations were formed, the nearest of which was

BRADAWAY, which was first known on the records of presbytery in 1788, March 18th. From this period it was supplied by Robert Mecklin, Robert Hall, and William C. Davis. "Bradaway," says Mr. Dickson, "was partially organized by Mr. Hall. The people congregated and built them a log house, and Mr. Hall ordained Mr. Robert Dowdle, a ruling elder. After Mr. Hall's afflictions they had occasional supplies."

In the southwestern part of Anderson district are the two churches of GOOD HOPE and ROBERTS, which seem always, thus far, to have been associated with each other. *Roberts* received its name in honor of Colonel Roberts, of Revolutionary memory. It is located on the main road from Pendleton to Hamburg, and also on the road from Anderson court-house to Andersonville, which is at the junction of Tugaloo and Seneca rivers—the roads intersecting near the church, and separating soon after they pass it. It is about nine miles from Anderson court-house, and five miles from Andersonville, and some two or three miles from Sloan's ferry on Seneca river; while some smaller streams, as the Devil's Fork, Mountain Creek, and Generostee are near it. The lands on these streams are very productive, while the ridge land is of inferior quality.

GOOD HOPE is about twelve miles from Roberts, and about six or seven from the Savannah river, on the head-waters of Little Generostee creek and Rocky river. The first house of worship was some two miles west of the present location; a graveyard was commenced there, and some of the early mem-

bers of the church now quietly rest in that sequestered place. The land in the vicinity of this church, except on the water-courses, is also of inferior quality. The early settlers were Scotch-Irish, and their descendants from the more Northern portion of the country; the same race which settled the adjacent district of Abbeville, who were mostly Presbyterians, and who in emigrating sought to locate near each other, from the desire to enjoy the church privileges to which they were accustomed.

In the year 1789 the Rev. John Simpson having obtained a dismission from his charge at Fishing Creek, visited Pendleton county, then a frontier of the State, being lands lately purchased from the Indians and settled very fast. The settlers were partly Presbyterians and partly Baptists. Those who were Presbyterians were very desirous of having the gospel preached among them stately. Mr. Simpson spent some time with them, and formed the two small congregations which received the names Roberts and Good Hope. Good Hope first occurs on the records of presbytery, April 14th, 1789. "A congregation on Little Generostee, to be known by the name Good Hope," is mentioned in connection with the vacancies, petitioning for supplies; and at the same meeting Robert Hall was appointed to preach one Sabbath at Good Hope, and one at Roberts; and in October John Simpson one at Seneca, one at Roberts, and one at Good Hope; and Robert Hall one at Good Hope, one at Cuffey Town, and one at Bradway, and one at discretion. These were the first ministerial labors these churches enjoyed, of which any knowledge has come to us.

HOPEWELL CHURCH, sometimes called Hopewell (Keowee), or Hopewell (on Seneca). The first notice of this congregation occurs in the minutes of the presbytery of South Carolina, October 13th, 1789. "A people on Seneca apply to be taken under our care and receive supplies." At the same meeting John Simpson is appointed to supply them one Sabbath. "It was organized," says one account, "in 1788 or 1789, by the spirited exertions of a few men who removed from Abbeville. They are not so numerous as the people of Carmel, but better united, more catholic in their principles, and *disposition*, and liberal in their sentiments. A few of their number are wealthy and very forward to support the gospel; among whom are General Pickens and Colonel Robert Anderson, both men of great influence in the State of South Carolina. Messrs. Calhoun and De Saussure, two eminent lawyers in Charleston,

have done themselves much honor by liberally subscribing for the assistance of this church. Owing to these circumstances, their ability to support religion in proportion to their numbers is greater than that of any other congregation in the upper part of the State."—(Brief MS. account of the congregations at Hopewell and Carmel, by Thomas Reese, September 15th, 1793.) "It was formed," says another account, "in union with CARMEL church, which stands a few miles to the eastward of it, entirely since the Revolution, by the gradual immigration of different families of Presbyterians who removed hither from different quarters. General Andrew Pickens and General Robert Anderson, both from Abbeville, contributed in no small degree, by their example in removing hither with their families, to encourage settlers of their own denomination here."—(MS. History of the Churches of the second presbytery of South Carolina.) This church is near the village of Pendleton, a few miles north of it. Its first house of worship was of logs, not built, according to Mr. Dickson, till 1791, but it gave place, in 1802, to one of stone, and "The Stone Meeting-house" has been the well-known designation of both the edifice and the church.\*

The CONGREGATION OF CARMEL seems to have associated and been organized earlier. The account by Dr. Reese says, in the year 1787: In reference to it there is the confusion of names which is so baffling, frequently, to one who tries to understand the records of the past. In the first minutes which refer to it, among the vacancies which petition for supplies is Richmond. At the same time, April 10, 1787, Twenty-three Mile creek applies "to be taken under the care of presbytery, and to receive supplies." Robert Mecklin is appointed to preach one Sabbath at Richmond. In October, Twenty-three Mile creek petitions again for supplies. In December again—naming W. C. Davis and Robert McCulloch, who were licensed at that meeting of presbytery. March 18, 1788, they call Mr. Davis as their pastor, and presbytery appoint him to supply them three Sabbaths. Their call was not accepted. October of the same year Robert Hall and Mr. Davis are appointed to supply them,

\* The treaty of Hopewell was concluded by General Pickens, on his place called Hopewell, in 1785, with the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks, who were assembled for that purpose, and formed four different encampments. General Pickens fought a battle with the Cherokees at Mount Tomassa, where he also settled a place. He had a fondness for being near the Indians. He was a man of few words, rather stern in his manner, but of great integrity, wisdom, and courage, and was greatly respected by his Indian neighbors, as by all others.

each one Sabbath. Again, April, 1789, W. C. Davis, now an ordained minister; and again in October, both he and Mr. Hunter were appointed to supply one Sabbath. During this same year they united with Hopewell congregation, and presented a call to Rev. John Simpson, which he refused to accept. The name Carmel does not occur in the minutes of presbytery till 1793. It is called Carmel in Dr. Reese's account of these churches written in 1793. It had been known before as the Richmond church. Minutes, page 60, "A petition from Carmel church, late Richmond, was read." A congregation associated before under the name Richmond, and another known as Twenty-three Mile creek, may have now been united and known thenceforward as the Carmel congregation. Carmel is about twelve miles distant from Hopewell, with which it became associated, and was evidently increasing in numbers and prosperity. The first elders of Carmel church were Thomas Hamilton, a soldier of the Revolution, John Hamilton, James Watson, John Wilson, and Robert McCann.

We find during this decade, especially during the last half of it, as the country gradually recovered from the war of the Revolution, an increased activity in religious things. The people of George's Creek, Cedar Creek, Reedy Branch, and Cuffey Town; of Sherril's Creek, Tyger, Hitchcock, Beaver Dam, Golden Grove, South Pacolet, Lower Union, Indian Creek, Laurens, and Milford, ask and receive supplies from presbytery, the germs doubtless of churches and congregations never fully organized, or, if organized, destined to extinction. In respect to the last of these the record reads, under date of October 14, 1788: "A people in Laurens county and Milford petition to be taken under our care. A call from Milford for a fourth part of Mr. (W. C.) Davis's labors was also brought in and read." On the 17th, a call from Nazareth for Mr. Davis was presented to him through presbytery, together with the call from Milford, both of which, as they were in conjunction, he accepted. In October, 1789, cases of discipline from the sessions of these two churches were referred to presbytery for their decision. The only Milford within our knowledge is the place of that name in Greenville district, which is sufficiently near to Laurens and Nazareth to be united with either under one charge.

The presbytery regarded the State of Georgia as being within its bounds. The vacancies supplied by it are Mount Pisgah, or Bethsalem, which, in April, 1787, called Mr. John Newton, then a licentiate, who was ordained and received as

their pastor on the 18th of October, 1788. Other vacancies were Providence, or New Providence, and Richmond, in Georgia. In October, 1787, a people on Cann's Creek petitioned to be taken under the care of presbytery, and to be known by the name of Bethel, in Georgia. Another vacancy was Bethesda, Georgia, supplied by John Newton. Others were Upton's Creek and Bethany; Concord, Wilkes county, 1788, Smyrna, Wilkes county. James Templeton and John Newton afforded these churches occasional supplies.

The activity of this presbytery—which was set off from the presbytery of Orange in 1784, and was organized as we have seen, April 12, 1785—in the licensing and ordaining of ministers, and in its care of the churches during these first five years of its existence, was worthy of all commendation. This action would be a legitimate subject of history here. But as this presbytery terminated its separate existence by a division into two other bodies at the close of this century, we prefer to give one continuous narrative of its most important proceedings at that time.

A change had taken place during this decennium in the general arrangements of the churches in this country. The earliest presbytery in the United States was the presbytery of Philadelphia, which existed in 1705. This was divided, by its own act in 1716, into the four presbyteries of Philadelphia, Newcastle, Snow Hill, and Long Island, which were united in subordination under the jurisdiction of the synod of Philadelphia, in 1717.

The well-known schism in the synod of Philadelphia took place in 1741, and the church was divided between the synod of Philadelphia and the synod of New York. During this schism, in 1755, the presbytery of Hanover was set off from the presbytery of New Castle by the synod of New York. The schism was healed, after a separation of seventeen years, in 1758, when the general synod was called the synod of New York and Philadelphia. By this synod the presbytery of Orange was set off from the presbytery of Hanover in 1770, the ministers being Hugh McAden, Henry Patillo, James Creswell, Joseph Alexander, Hezekiah James Balch, and Hezekiah Balch. Of these, Messrs. Creswell, Alexander, and Hezekiah Balch were settled in South Carolina. The presbytery of South Carolina was set off from the presbytery of Orange in 1784, embracing those ministers in South Carolina and Georgia who were under the jurisdiction of that presbytery. It was to this synod of New York and Philadelphia that the presbytery

of Orange was subject, and the newly-formed presbytery of South Carolina. As the synod was not, so far as the ministers are concerned, a delegated body, and it was neither convenient nor possible that they should all be present from such an extended country, the synod of New York and Philadelphia, in 1781, took incipient measures for a division of itself into four synods. After two years spent in preparing the constitution of the church and submitting it to presbyteries for their consideration and adoption, they approved and ratified the same, and divided themselves into four synods, two in the north and two in the south, viz.: The synod of New York and New Jersey, the synod of Philadelphia, the synod of Virginia, and the synod of the Carolinas, the last to consist of the presbyteries of Abingdon, Orange, and South Carolina. This action was taken on the 29th of May, 1788, and the General Assembly to be constituted out of these four synods was directed to hold its meetings at Philadelphia on the third Thursday of May, 1789. The synod of the Carolinas was ordered to hold its first meeting at Centre Church, Rowan county, North Carolina, on the first Wednesday in November, 1788. One member of the presbytery of South Carolina, Rev. Robert Finley, was present in the synod of New York and Philadelphia when this action was taken. At the time appointed, November 5th, the synod of the Carolinas was opened with a sermon by the Rev. David (afterward Dr.) Caldwell, who was chosen its moderator; and the Rev. James Templeton, Francis Cummins, and Robert Hall, ministers, and Messrs. Martin and Hamilton, elders, of the presbytery of South Carolina, were present at the first meeting of the synod. It is evident that prejudices prevailed against the synod of New York and Philadelphia which had originated this reorganization, and that the synod of the Carolinas were obliged to stamp with falsehood the charge "that the northern synod had cut off the larger catechism and retained the shorter with difficulty."

## BOOK THIRTEENTH.

A. D. 1790—1800.

## CHAPTER I.

As our history commenced with the churches on the Atlantic coast, which, as we have seen, were the first formed, we return to them again. The INDEPENDENT, familiarly known as the CIRCULAR CHURCH, from the form of the church edifice in which the congregation has worshipped since 1806, continued to be served by their collegiate pastors, Rev. William Hollingshead and Isaac Stockton Keith. Of these, the former was five years the senior in age and in the pastorate of the church. Dr. Hollingshead received the title of D. D. from the College of Princeton in 1793, and Dr. Keith the same honor from the University of Pennsylvania in 1791. These two ministers labored together in great amity and friendship in their co-pastorate through the last ten years of this century. Dr. Hollingshead was not above the medium height, but was remarkably dignified in his whole deportment. His features were regular and attractive; his manners combining the apparently opposite qualities of great refinement and Christian simplicity. So great was his influence among the people of his charge during the first years of his ministry in Charleston, and so marked their attachment to him, that he was tauntingly spoken of by many in other denominations as "the white meeting's savior." He maintained a distinguished reputation for biblical knowledge, piety, and eloquence, to the close of life. His manner in the pulpit was earnest and impressive. His intercourse with his fellow-men was urbane and courteous. His pastoral intercourse was characterized by tenderness and fidelity.—(Rev. William States Lee, in Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit, vol. ii., pp. 59, 60.)

Dr. Keith lost his first wife, the daughter of Rev. Dr. Sproat, of Philadelphia, on the 30th of September, 1796, and was married to Catharine, daughter of Thomas Legare, of Charleston, on the 3d of April, 1798. In personal appearance Dr. Keith was imposing,—large in stature, dignified in manner, grave in aspect and in speech, and yet so courteous and affable as to invite the confidence of the most timid child. The children of his flock looked up to him, therefore, as a father, and he

seemed to regard them as his children. Generous in a high degree, his heart was open to the calls of distress, his house to the stranger, his purse to the need. He wept with those that wept, and rejoiced with those that rejoiced. His discourses were well elaborated, and his applications were direct and pungent. In his prayers there was an uncommon degree of fervor and unction. His views of Christian doctrine, fully in accordance with the Westminster Assembly's Catechism, were exhibited by him with clearness and power; Jesus Christ and Him crucified always being held up with clearness and power as the life and substance of the gospel.—(Rev. Edward Palmer, in Sprague's Annals, vol. ii., pp. 168-9.)

These pastors continued to alternate every morning and afternoon in the two churches, "The White Meeting House" and the Archdale Street Church, through the remainder of this century; and with two such ministers and a warmly attached people, and the blessing of God ordinarily vouchsafed to faithful labors, the congregation could not do otherwise than flourish. The labors of these men extended into the next century. Dr. Keith died in 1813, and Dr. Hollingshead in 1815.

THE INDEPENDENT OR CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH AT WAPPETAH, Christ's Church Parish, continued under the care of Rev. Daniel McCalla, D.D., of whose earlier life we have spoken on page 462 et seq. "He was happy in the affections of his congregation, avoided rather than courted public notice, and never sought, nor willingly consented that his friends should seek for him, a more conspicuous situation than he occupied. In this quiet retirement he devoted himself to his pastoral duties and to studious pursuits. Much of his attention was devoted to the study of the Scriptures in the original tongues, and his pen was diligently employed in contributions to the public journals, which were published over different signatures, on topics of religion, public morals, and sometimes, though rarely, on political subjects; many of which were written, as their dates will show, during the years of which we now speak. The life and labors of Dr. McCalla also extended down into the next century. He died in 1809.

The following extract from the "Reminiscences of St. Stephen's Parish, and Notices of her Old Homesteads, by Samuel Dubose, Esq., Charleston, 1858," describes the sad state of affairs in all this region, after the war of the Revolution:

“When the war broke out, the churches in these parishes were closed, and nearly all the clergy resigned and left the State. They were generally royalists and Englishmen, and a portion of their salaries were paid by the ‘Society in London for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.’ During the war many of the beautiful houses which had been erected for the worship of God were used by the British as store-houses, sometimes even as stables, and several, when they were forced to abandon the country, were ruthlessly set fire to and burned down. On the return of peace, the religious sentiment of the people was found to have suffered sadly in consequence of the long deprivation of habitual public religious worship. A rigid morality took the place of the religion of the Gospel, and many believed that morality was religion. The churches which had not been destroyed were subsequently reopened, and their pulpits supplied by ministers from England. But these persons were too often utterly unfit for their sacred office, some of them positively wanting even the habit of a decent morality. The people were disgusted with them, and the churches were again closed.

“It is difficult to estimate the injury done to the cause of religion by these unworthy ministers. It may give you some idea of the state of destitution of this prosperous district, when I tell you that in 1786 I was baptized by a minister who lived more than fifty miles off, and whose presence among us was accidental, and that I never again saw a minister until I was twelve years of age, and of course had never entered a house of worship. The church was not permanently reopened in St. Stephen’s Parish until 1812.

“During this barren and mournful period, there lived in the midst of us a man of God; he was poor in the wealth of the world, but in love, in faith in his Redeemer, and in the works which characterize a true disciple, he stood in the front rank of all the men it has ever been my fortune to know. He was a remembrancer, to those about him, of the reality of God’s existence, as the proper object of our affection and our worship. Often when a boy have I seen him on a little pony riding through our plantation on his way to church in Christ Church Parish, forty miles distant, and when I heard him reply to my father, who asked him the object of his journey, that there was to be sacrament in Mr. McCauley’s church, I could scarcely take my eyes from him; not because I admired his zeal or his fidelity, but because I thought he must be a fool. Mr. McCauley was a Presbyterian, and a man of some note in his day.”

**THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF DORCHESTER AND BEECH HILL.**—The house of worship at Dorchester had been used as a barrack by the British during the war of the Revolution, and measures were taken by “devout persons to rebuild those parts of the sanctuary that were broken down, and once more set up the gates of the Lord’s house. Actuated by a generous spirit, they repaired and finished the edifice, and left it in the form in which we have it now. It is grateful to peruse the list of contributions, and see what a general and sincere interest the repairs of the church, subsequent to the war of our independence, awakened—much as the Jews were moved to rebuild their temple after the desolation of the captivity.”—(Discourse delivered on Sunday, 22d February, 1846, in the Independent or Congregational church at Dorchester, St. George’s Parish, South Carolina, in observance of the one

hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the building of the church, by Rev. George Sheldon, pastor. Charleston: Burgess & James, printers, 1846.) The walls of this church are the same which were erected in 1700, so that it is one of the oldest church edifices, if not the very oldest, in the State. And it resembles very much in its form and arrangements the old Puritan structures of the seventeenth century. In September, 1793, Messrs. Robert Wilson, Samuel W. Yongue, David E. Dunlap, and Moses Waddell, licentiates, under the care of the presbytery of South Carolina, then assembled at Fishing Creek, were appointed to preach, two of them one Sabbath, and two of them two Sabbaths at the Dorchester church. In April, 1794, this church petitioned presbytery to be taken under its care and to receive supplies, and S. W. Yongue, D. E. Dunlap, and W. Montgomery were appointed to supply them, each one Sabbath; and again in September, Mr. Dunlap and James Gilleland were appointed to perform the same services. The members and supporters of the church communed for the first time since the war, the house of worship being now finished, on the 19th of July, 1794. A constitution was adopted for regulating the affairs of the congregation, Matthias Hutchinson was made treasurer, Richard Waring, secretary, and Isaac Walter and John Carr, wardens. The signers to this constitution were Thomas Smith, senior, M. Hutchinson, Richard Waring, J. Rose, Henry M. Evans, John Carr, H. Drose, junior, J. S. Walter, Isaac Perry, George Parker, John Chandless, Wm. Cragmiles, T. D. Stall, F. Blumenberg, Ed. L. Hutchinson, Jas. H. Waring, Isaac Wm. Walter, G. M. Smith, Thomas E. Baas, Thomas Lee, Jos. J. Waring, members of the church and congregation. Thanks were voted to Dr. Hollingshead for his assistance in raising funds, and for his sermon at the opening of the church; to Dr. Keith also for his friendly visits and pastoral favors; and to Isaac Holmes for his exertions in obtaining funds. In April, 1795, they request of the presbytery of South Carolina, Mr. Gilleland as a supply, and presbytery appoint Andrew Brown. In July, 1796, a letter was received by presbytery from Dr. Hollingshead, enclosing a call from the Dorchester church, for the translation of Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Cummins, from Bethel church, York, to become their pastor. The call was put into Mr. Cummins' hands, and his congregation summoned to appear before presbytery to show reasons why he should not be translated. At their October meeting presbytery decided "that the voice of God, as far as known to us, by his provi-

dence, calls Mr. Cummins to Dorchester, and it is advised that Mr. Cummins make up his mind on this subject as soon as possible." This call was eventually declined by Mr. Cummins, and in October, 1798, the presbytery of Concord applied to the presbytery of South Carolina for liberty to present calls from Dorchester and James Island to two of their candidates, which leave was granted. The call from Dorchester which is referred to was for the pastoral services of James Adams, who was a licentiate of Orange presbytery, and not of Concord. Dr. Hollingshead assisted in drawing up the call. Mr. Smith, Matthias Hutchinson, Isaac Walter, and Richard Waring, were appointed to sign it, and the salary promised was one hundred and fifty pounds and a parsonage. On Mr. Adams objecting to spending the summers in the low country, his objection was yielded to. Drs. McCalla, Hollingshead, and Keith, were invited to assist in the ordination, which took place on the 8th of May, 1799; Dr. McCalla preached the sermon, and Dr. Keith gave the charge to the pastor and people. "From a state of long-continued and almost hopeless desolation," says he in this charge, "this house of your holy solemnities has been rebuilt and prepared for your comfortable accommodation in attending upon the public worship of God. From a very low and destitute condition in which you were—few in number, and scattered as sheep without a shepherd—you have risen and grown into a respectable and organized religious society, with an encouraging prospect of receiving further additions to your community, and to your means of maintaining and perpetuating the blessings of the gospel ministry among you. After persevering for many years in your laudable endeavors, notwithstanding some discouraging disappointments, to secure to yourselves these inestimable blessings, you are now happily united in the choice of a pastor, who has been this day solemnly ordained to the ministry of the gospel, with a view of exercising it among you."—(McCalla's Sermon, Works, vol. i.; Keith's Sermons, Addresses, and Letters, p. 119.) Mr. Adams was born September 12th, 1772, studied in his earlier days under the Rev. James Hall, D.D., of North Carolina, read theology under the Rev. James McRee, D.D., of the same State, and was licensed to preach by Orange presbytery in 1795. His ministry was a successful one while he remained here. He died at Bethel, York district, on the 18th of August, 1843, having been the much-loved and revered pastor of that church for thirty-nine years.

This revival of the Dorchester church led them to review

their past history, and to rearrange their outward affairs, now fallen into disorder. They first obtained a charter, which bears date December 21st, 1793. They were incorporated by the name of "The United Independent Congregational Church of Dorchester and Beech Hill." Though they seemed to come temporarily under the care of presbytery, the ordination of their minister was not ordered by the presbytery, whose care they had sought, though it was by its permission. Madam Sarah Fenwicke seems to have established a fund for building, repairing, and upholding churches of the dissenting persuasion and the ministers thereof, the copy deed of which is spoken of as being in the hands of their treasurer. Lot No. 13, on which is a fort and magazine, is held by John Carr and Isaac Walter as a tile-yard, and is further rented to them for five years, at fifteen pounds per annum. The church lands on Beech Hill were leased the 2d of September, 1799. James Fisher gives a deed of the same date for two lots in Dorchester. Dr. William Smith Stevens transfers, June 3d, 1800, two tracts of land and lots, in Dorchester, being lands given by his ancestors and others for the uses of the church. Miss Ann Waring gives three pounds for the printing of Dr. McCalla's sermon and Dr. Keith's charge. And thus the hearts of others are open to help on this ancient church.

THE INDEPENDENT PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF STONEY CREEK was ministered to during this period by Rev. James Gourlay, who succeeded Rev. Archibald Simpson in 1775. We have met with but one memorial of him, namely, a certificate that he had taken the oath of allegiance and fidelity to the United States of America, in open court, which is dated 11th of November, 1794, which bears an endorsement in his own handwriting and with his signature, that "this was deemed unnecessary, because he was accounted a citizen of America by the articles of peace with Britain, and had come to live in Carolina before the declaration of Independence in the end of the year seventy-four. He preached in Prince William's the first Sabbath of seventy-five, and had continued to preach there ever since." Mr. Gourlay continued the pastor of this church till his death, on the 24th of January, 1803. This church was chartered March 17th, 1785, as "The Independent Presbyterian Church of Prince William's Parish." —(Statutes at Large, vol. viii., p. 127.)\*

\* The following extract from Bishop Asbury's diary indicates, probably, the residence of another minister in the bounds of this congregation. "February 4th, 1793. Preached at Puryburg, to a full house. Came to Saltketcher

The FRENCH HUGUENOT CHURCH in Charleston had been incorporated in 1783 as "*The Calvinistic Church of French Protestants.*" The Rev. Bartholomew Henri Himeli, who had been absent for twelve years, returned again, as we have seen (page 469), in 1785, and was reinstated in his pastorate. This pastorship is thought to have terminated in 1789. The Rev. Jean Paul Coste was pastor, according to the authority there referred to, from 1791 to 1795, at which date the ministry of Rev. Peter Daniel Bourdillon commenced.—(Southern Literary Gazette, June, 1852, p. 301.) Mr. Ravenel is of the opinion that there was an interval between the ministry of these two men. "Mr. Bourdillon was obtained through the agency of William Loughton Smith, at one time a representative in Congress, and afterwards minister to Spain. Mr. Bourdillon left Geneva in 1795, and entered upon his duties in April, 1796. He made a most favorable impression, and won a deep esteem both as a preacher and a man. But his career was a short one. On the 13th of June, 1796, the great fire of that year occurred, which, commencing in Lodge alley, near East Bay-street, extended to the market, then situate at the corner of Broad and Meeting streets, the site of the present City Hall. The French church was blown up, in the hope of arresting the fire, but in vain." It was again destroyed, as it had been with all its records, fifty-six years before, in 1740. "This destruction created a general sympathy with Mr. Bourdillon and his congregation. By several of the churches this sympathy was strongly expressed. Some invited the congregation to worship with them until arrangements could be made for the resumption of their services. Others tendered the use of their churches for a portion of the Sabbath, for worship according to their own usages." Among others, the deacons of the Independent church, James Fisher, Josiah Smith, Hugh Swinton, and Thomas Jones, offered both their houses of worship to Messrs. Theodore Trezvandt, John Huger,

bridge, where we stopped to pay our fare—but, oh the scent of rum!—hoped for a quiet private entertainment at Red Hill; but the gentleman refused to receive us for love, money, or hospitality's sake. I there sent Bro. R. to see if we could get in at the next negro quarter; in this he was unsuccessful. At length we providentially reached a Mr. C—s [Collins?] a school-master and minister. We bought some corn for our horses, and had tea and bread and cheese for ourselves. I saw some beautiful boys at this house, and was pleased with two poor blacks who were much moved under prayer." This locality is well known in the neighborhood, and the bright boys became worthy men. It was believed by my informant, Archibald Campbell, Esq., now no longer living, that this Mr. Collins was either a Presbyterian or Congregational minister,

and Basil Lanneau, elders of the French Protestant congregation, for their use. They write, June 26th, gratefully accepting the offer: "Mr. Bourdillon was requested by the congregation to preach a sermon, at an early day, on the calamity they had suffered; and it was announced that he would conduct the solemn service in the Archdale Congregational church on the next Sabbath.\* But their calamity was not yet full. Before the day appointed, Mr. Bourdillon sickened. His personal exertions and fatigue during the fire had brought on a fever, which terminated fatally. He died on Sunday evening, July 17th, aged 41 years, leaving a widow and son. The authorities of the church took charge of the solemnities of the occasion. The cemetery of our church was covered by the fragments of the ruined edifice, and the remains of the lamented pastor were interred in the cemetery of St. Philip's church, in the part west of Church street.

"Thus deprived in a few days of church and pastor, their new hopes and expectations disappointed, with added relations and obligations, and with limited means, the spirit of the small and newly-gathered congregation was appalled by their calamities, but alive to the duties these circumstances had imposed. Their meetings were frequent and their proceedings full of interest.

"The comfort of the widow and son received prompt attention. Strangers to the climate, and comparative strangers to the people, Mrs. Bourdillon's views were consulted and met.

"A committee was appointed to report the means and condition of the corporation; and, after providing for the present comfort of the widow and son, and their return to Europe, the church voted an annuity of sixty pounds to the widow for the use of herself and son during her widowhood; and in case of her marriage or death, thirty pounds to her son during his minority. During this period Mr. John Huger was president of the corporation and chairman of the elders. His care for the comfort of Mrs. Bourdillon and son gave interest to his official acts and measures proper to the occasion, and he brought to them the high tone of a noble nature.

"Mrs. Bourdillon died in 1816. Her son being then of age, and in a counting-house in Bordeaux, the annuity ceased.

"The church was rebuilt in 1800."—(MS. of Daniel Ravenel.)

The Presbyterian CHURCH OF CAINHOY was probably still in

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\* Archdale-street church had been saved, by the daring feat of three men who extinguished the fire on the roof, for which they were rewarded by a purse of 150 dollars.—(Rev. G. C. Faber's Letter of June 19th, 1796.)

existence. Dr. Ramsay says, in 1808, that the congregation of St. Thomas was formerly in connection with the presbytery of Charleston, as well as those of James Island, Wiltown, and Pon Pon, but neither of these have connected themselves with it since its incorporation. We have known of no other Presbyterian church in St. Thomas than that at Cainhoj.

JAMES ISLAND appears to have been without a settled ministry during this decade. In 1793 it attracted the attention of the presbytery of South Carolina, and Robert Wilson, Samuel W. Yongue, and David E. Dunlap in that year, Yongue and Dunlap in 1794, William Montgomery, Yongue, and James Gilleland in 1795, were appointed to supply it. The church made out a regular call for the services of Mr. Gilleland, March 20th, 1795, which was laid before presbytery, but was unsuccessful. Andrew Brown was appointed to supply them both, in this year and the next, 1796.

JOHN'S ISLAND AND WADMALAW petitioned the presbytery of South Carolina, then holding its sessions at Purity church, Chester district, on the 25th of September, 1792, which shows that it was then without a pastor; and the Rev. James Templeton was appointed to supply one Sabbath at John's Island and one at Wadmalaw. The Rev. Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Cummins was ordered to write to them and assure them of the intention of presbytery to meet their request; and this order was fulfilled. In April, 1793, John's Island renews its petition, and Robert Wilson, S. W. Yongue, and D. E. Dunlap, licentiates, were sent: in April, 1794, Mr. Yongue and Mr. Montgomery, and in September, Dunlap, Yongue, and Gilleland. Mr. Yongue and Andrew Brown were appointed as supplies in April, 1795. And a call from John's Island and Wadmalaw was sent to presbytery for Mr. Yongue, which was not accepted. In 1796 Andrew Brown was directed to supply them. Moses Waddell was a supply from presbytery in 1797, and after him James W. Stephenson. In November, 1799, leave was obtained by them from the presbytery to present a call to Mr. James McElhenny, a licentiate of the presbytery of Concord, it having been handed in already to that presbytery, and they having referred the question to the presbytery of South Carolina, as to whether the presbytery of Concord should appoint him trials and ordain him, or dismiss him to them. The reply was, that it is most agreeable to good order and the discipline of our church, that he be ordained by the presbytery of which he expects to be a member, and in the bounds of which he expects to reside. This answer was probably expected, and on the

next day he presented a regular dismissal from the presbytery of Concord, and was received under the presbytery of South Carolina, which appointed him his trials. But before his ordination took place, the presbytery was divided by the synod of the Carolinas. Mr. McElhenny was ordained on the 12th of February, 1800, at the Fairforest church, by the second presbytery of South Carolina, and notice was given of the fact to the churches of John's Island and Wadmalaw, and the desirableness set forth of having him duly installed. It has been affirmed that this church was formerly known as the Presbyterian church of John's Island, but that in 1793 or 1794 a house of worship was built on Wadmalaw for the purpose of uniting that people with John's Island in the support of the gospel, since which the style of the church has been "The Presbyterian church of John's Island and Wadmalaw."—(Answer of Kinsey Burden in the John's Island case, p. 11.)

We find that four of the congregations which were connected with the old presbytery, existing in and about Charleston previous to the Revolution, being the only ones, according to Ramsay, then provided with ordained ministers, addressed a petition to the legislature to be constituted a body corporate, chiefly with the view of raising a fund for the relief of widows and orphans of deceased clergymen belonging to their society. They were incorporated under the name of "The Presbytery of Charleston," on the 20th of January, 1790, and this is the only *presbytery* ever incorporated in this State. The minister of each of the churches of which the presbytery is composed, is always to be *ex officio* a member of the corporation. An annual meeting was to be held in the city of Charleston, on the third Wednesday in May in each year, previous to which, each church should choose an elder or other fit person to sit along with their minister in this corporation as their representative. Each minister was to become a member of the corporation so soon as ordained according to Presbyterian rules, and installed as the officiating minister of any one of the churches included in the presbytery. The widows or children of deceased ministers were to receive annuities from the funds of this presbytery, according to the apparently wise regulations of the charter. It was believed that it would encourage pious and able men to devote themselves to the ministry of the gospel, if some certain provision were made for the widows and children of deceased ministers. The object is a good one, and is attracting the attention of our churches at the time these words are

penned, though it is nearly eighty years since this act of incorporation was passed.—(Statutes at Large, viii., page 158.)

One of these churches is the INDEPENDENT PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF PRINCE WILLIAM'S, or of STONEY CREEK, of which we have written, page 569. Another is "THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH ON EDISTO ISLAND," whose minister, Rev. Thomas Cooley, must have left them soon after. On the 16th of June, 1790, at a meeting of the congregation, a majority of seven to one were found to be against him, and it was agreed that he should be informed by letter of their dissatisfaction and its cause, and Norman McLeod and Duncan Littlejohn were appointed a committee to wait on him. The five constitutional articles and the by-laws, fourteen in number, of the church, were adopted August 30, 1790. In the second of the by-laws, the words, "Presbytery shall upon no pretence or occasion intermeddle with the secular affairs of the church, nor shall they have any cognizance of the ecclesiastical, except in cases of reference or appeal, and the ordaining and installing of the minister," are an unfortunate denial of that right of supervision which is involved in the idea of the unity of the church. They called a Mr. William Speer to be their pastor, May 1, 1792, with a salary of £200 sterling of South Carolina, a parsonage, and forty acres of land; but as he did not return, according to the appointment of presbytery, by the 1st of November, 1792, the corporation on the 2d of January, 1793, voted their action, and that of the presbytery respecting him, to be null and void, and applied to presbytery for advice respecting a pastor. August 26, 1793, they adopted a seal with the motto, "*Nec tamen consumeratur.*" On the 4th of April, 1793, the Rev. Donald McLeod, a native of North Britain, began to preach to them, and was called to be their pastor, and continued so till his death in 1821.

Another of the four churches which were named in the incorporation of the presbytery of Charleston, in 1790, is the FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH of that city, its pastor at that time being the Rev. James Wilson. His origin and antecedent history we have given briefly on page 475. He continued in the pastorate of this church only for a short time after 1790. In 1793, Mr. (shortly afterwards Dr.) George Buist became its minister.

"The Reverend George Buist, D.D., was born in the year 1770, in Fife-shire, in Scotland. He entered the college of Edinburgh in 1787, where the early indications of superior genius acquired him the applause and friendship of some of the first literary characters of the age; among others, were the celebrated names of Dr. Robertson, the historian, Dr. Hugh Blair, and Pro-

tessor Dalziel. They regarded him as one of the chief ornaments of the college, and as destined to exalt the reputation of his country.

"Being intended for the clerical profession, Mr. Buist pursued the study of theology with unremitting assiduity; but, being of a liberal and comprehensive mind, he did not confine himself to his profession exclusively. He knew that the sciences and arts are mutual aids to each other, and that an acquaintance with all, is the way to perfect a knowledge of any one particular branch of human learning. In classical learning he was, at an early age, profoundly versed. For Grecian literature he had an especial predilection; and it is a fact well known to many of his friends, that he was an assistant to Professor Dalziel in preparing a part of his *Collectanea* for the press. With the Hebrew he was familiar, and he was critically skilled in the French and Italian languages. His knowledge embraced all those departments of learning that make up the liberal scholar, and there was no branch of philosophy, criticism, history, or various literature, in which he was not either profoundly or competently skilled.

"In the year 1792, Mr. Buist was admitted an honorary member of the Edinburgh Philological Society, and about that time, he published an abridgment of Hume's History of England, for the use of schools, which was extremely well received, and passed through two editions. He also furnished some important articles for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

"While the fame of Mr. Buist was thus extending itself in the literary world, the elders of the Presbyterian church of Charleston, South Carolina, who had lately been deprived of their pastor, addressed the Rev. Mr. Hewat, who had formerly been their minister, the Rev. Dr. Robertson, principal of the university of Edinburgh, and the Rev. Dr. Hugh Blair, soliciting their agency and assistance in procuring a supply for their church. Mr. Hewat being absent, Doctors Robertson and Blair willingly complied with this request, and made choice of Mr. Buist, whom they introduced to the church in a letter of the 8th March, 1793, from which the following is an extract:

"After much inquiry and several consultations, we have pitched upon Mr. George Buist, preacher of the gospel. We are both acquainted with him, and know him to be a good scholar, an instructive preacher, well bred, and of a good natural temper. We have no doubt but he will prove an acceptable minister to the congregation, as well as an agreeable member of society."

"Mr. Buist arrived in Charleston in June, 1793, and immediately entered upon the duties of his ministry. On the 27th of March in the following year, he was honored by the college of Edinburgh with the degree of doctor of divinity, being then in the 24th year of his age.

"Dr. Buist exercised his ministerial functions with honor to himself and with satisfaction and delight to his congregation. The impressive manner of his delivery, and the salutary advice of his discourses, powerfully interested and affected his hearers."—(Memoir prefixed to his sermons, vol. I.)

The Hon. Mitchell King, than whom no one could have fuller or better opportunities of knowing him, thus describes his friend and pastor:—

"Dr. Buist was a large man, about six feet high, with strongly marked features, expressive of what he actually possessed, much determination and strength of character. His shoulders were very broad, and his whole frame muscular and active. His appearance was well calculated to command respect. His manners were kind and conciliating, and, without being in the slightest degree obtrusive or dogmatical, he had none of the bashfulness or awkwardness of the mere scholar. Indeed, he was eminently a man for society, fond of conversation, and able and willing to take his full share in it, without encroaching it."

“His style of preaching was impressive. By great diligence and attention he had almost overcome the Scottish peculiarities of pronunciation, and only a practised and acute ear could have discovered that he was a native of Scotland. He read admirably. He rarely ventured on an extemporaneous discourse; and the graces of his delivery won the attention and conciliated the favor of his hearers. In his sermons he belonged more to the school of Blair than to that of Witherspoon and Chalmers; more to what, for want of a more appropriate appellation, has been called the “Moderate” than to the “Evangelical” portion of the church. He loved to explain and enforce the morality of the gospel, more than to preach its sublime mysteries, or to awaken and awe by the terrors of the law.”—(Sprague’s Annals, vol. iv.)

Dr. Buist occupied a very prominent position in the literary circles of Charleston, but attained his highest position in the land of his adoption in the next century; in the early part of which, on the 31st of August, 1808, he died in the midst of his usefulness, and in the prime of life, in the 39th year of his age.

The fourth of the churches which were included in the presbytery of Charleston was the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF BLACK MINGO, of which the Rev. William Knox was pastor.

WILTON CHURCH.—We have seen, page 473, that a Rev. Mr. Taylor was employed as the minister of this church for the years 1789 and 1790. There is no record from which can be gleaned a single fact in relation to its history from this time till 1799, when Rev. Andrew Steele was employed to preach at the rate of £100 per annum, with pew-rents. It appears that he ministered to the church during the years 1799 and 1800. He removed subsequently to Mississippi. Among the old documents is a letter from Rev. Andrew Steele to Mr. Paul Hamilton, in which he gives Mr. Hamilton some account of himself after leaving Wilton Church. The letter is dated “Pinckneyville, Mississippi Territory, Nov. 10th, 1807.” In reply to Mr. Hamilton’s inquiries concerning him, he says:—“To give you a minute detail of the occurrences of my life, would be tedious and uninteresting; it will be sufficient to assure you that my sentiments and conduct have been such as when you knew me; although I have been since that time almost literally a stranger and a pilgrim, having no certain habitation, and sometimes not many of the comforts of life. I have been compelled to engage in the practice of medicine to procure a subsistence, for I consider it a first duty to society and myself, to live as an honest man.” The following “List of Donors to the Wilton Congregation, with the amounts given by them respectively in the old currency of specie,” is preserved:

" William Sheriff, Feb. 13, 1753 ..	£278	1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
William McEchen .....	298	16	3
Elizabeth Stobo .....	234	16	8
William Stobo .....	320	5	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Paul Hamilton .....	989	2	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
William Ferguson .....	79	7	6
Purchase Hendrick .....	30	0	0
Dr. George Mitchell .....	500	0	0
Henry Sheriff .....	200	0	0

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£2930 10 6"

There is also a paper without date, containing a list of subscriptions for the rebuilding of the church. Its being without date makes it doubtful to what building it alludes, for the church edifice was several times destroyed by fire or otherwise. The document is as follows: "We the subscribers do promise to pay the sums respectively opposite our names, for the purpose of rebuilding the Wilton Church, situate at Wilton Bluff:

James McElhenny .....	\$80
Charles Freer .....	100
John Ashe .....	100
Paul Hamilton .....	100
William Hayne .....	100"

BETHEL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH and Congregation of PON PON, St. Bartholomew's parish, Colleton district. We are not able to name the ministers who preached to this church for the first five or six years of this decade. In 1796 the Rev. Andrew Steele became the pastor, who served the church till 1802. So far as can be gathered from the records, the several successive ministers of the church were zealous, faithful, persevering men of God, and some of them in the early history of the church were called to encounter many difficulties, hardships, and trials, in building up and extending the cause of Christ. Particular mention is made of Rev. Mr. Gourlay, who left them to take charge of the church of Stoney Creek. The earlier members and supporters too, seem to have manifested a very deep interest in the cause of religion, and very deep regret is expressed in relation to the death of an elder Isaac Hayne the father, and of Isaac Hayne the son, whose melancholy end we have recorded in preceding pages and whose name is dear to every Carolinian and every true patriot. The church was subject to presbytery in all matters, even those relating

to the management of the funds, before the Revolution, but did not renew its connection with it after its reorganization and incorporation in 1790.

We are not able, by any sources of information within our reach, to trace out the succession of the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN PURYSBURG, which, as we have seen, was incorporated in 1789, and which, probably, continued through this century. It probably had but a feeble existence. The first minister of the settlement, in 1732, Mr. Bignion, was a Swiss, who received Episcopal ordination from the bishop of London. Yet the trumpet of the gospel was sometimes blown there with no uncertain sound. Thompson says, October 18th, 1741, "A Calvinist, from Purysburg, preached [in Savannah] to the French and Swiss; and Barber, from Bethesda, the same doctrine, to a number of Britons."—(Vol. iii., p. 378.)

The SALTCATCHER PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH was still in existence. In December, 1808, it obtained a charter under the name of "The Saltcatcher Independent Presbyterian Church." Its founder, the Rev. Archibald Simpson, from whose diary we have quoted so largely, was a devoted minister of the Lord Jesus Christ, and left to this church a fund to be employed for the religious interests of the colored people of this church and congregation, which was still available down to the close of the late war.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF WILLIAMSBURG.—We saw, p. 486, et seq., how this church became divided. A clearer view, perhaps, of those transactions is contained in the MS. History of Dr. J. B. Witherspoon, M.D., of Brookland, Alabama, a descendant of John Witherspoon, the emigrant, and whose memory reached back to these times. As this manuscript was prepared with the expectation that it would be incorporated in this volume, it is due to the memory of its author that he should be allowed to explain the motives of the party with which he sympathized, although it will involve some repetition:—

"During a part of Mr. Kennedy's trial-preaching he seemed to be pious and strictly orthodox; but in a short time after his engagement, his sermons appeared, to many of the congregation, to savor strongly of Arminianism, or even something worse. Eventually, it was evident that he denied the essential Deity of the Lord Jesus Christ, and with it, every essential feature of true Christianity. He at last threw off the mask altogether, and avowed the whole doctrine of Socinianism. In this state of things, the descendants of the original founders

of the church, who were all orthodox Presbyterians, became openly dissatisfied, and urged that the preacher should be removed, so as to leave the pulpit to some one who was really a Presbyterian, and orthodox. They, however, formed but a minority of the congregation, while the majority expressed great satisfaction with Mr. Kennedy, and treated the complaints and proceedings of the minority as both unreasonable and savoring strongly of persecution. The question soon, therefore, became the subject for party spirit, and the majority determined to sustain the preacher at all events. The minority finding themselves overruled, concluded to wait until the expiration of the time for which he had been engaged, and then to endeavor to procure one of piety and correct principles when this period had arrived. Mr. Kennedy chose to remain two years longer, and accordingly received the votes of the majority to that effect. The minority claimed that the church and 'the glebe belonged of right to them,' because the former was erected, and the latter purchased, at the expense of their ancestors, towards which, those persons who now controlled the whole, had never contributed a dollar. The majority insisted upon their right as being the legal proprietors; but which party was legally so, could not be easily determined, as the grants of the land for both the church and the glebe could not be found or consulted. To the minority, the labors and generous benefactions of their ancestors seemed likely to be perverted from the important objects for which they were originally made, to others of an opposite and irreligious character. Seeing no other method by which to avert a catastrophe so much to be deprecated, they resolved, as a last resort, to demolish and remove the venerable house of worship. Rather than see it desecrated to heretical and profane purposes, the pious men destroyed an edifice erected by the zeal and piety of their ancestors, and endeared to them by the most sacred and tender associations, the destruction of which under any other circumstances would have wrung the hearts and called forth the tears of even the firmest of them all. As it was, they conceived that they had achieved an enterprise demanded by conscience and absolutely necessary to prevent sacred things from being perverted to unholy and profane purposes. If they erred, it was from no malevolent disposition or purpose to violate the rights of their fellow-men, but from a firm belief that their rights and title to property as derived from their ancestors were more just and equitable than those of the opposite party. It is now, however, freely

admitted, that technically, or according to the letter of the deed by which the property was granted to the church, their opponents were the owners. Of this fact they became apprised only by the trial for a suit at law in relation to the subject. The causes of these mistakes will be made to appear from a statement of the following facts. The church, before the Revolution, was connected with the presbytery of Charleston, under the care of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; and the glebe, as well as the ground upon which the church stood, was conveyed by a deed or charter to the congregation, to be held by them so long as they remained connected with the church of Scotland, and no longer. This deed or conveyance had not been seen or heard of for twenty years or more, for it had been concealed during that time by James Fleming, who, though a son of one of the original founders, had attached himself to the opposite party. Hence the terms of the grant were not recollected until the trial at law of the right of property, when it appeared that the minority had seceded from the church of Scotland and placed themselves under the presbytery of South Carolina, which was connected with the synod of Philadelphia. In the course of the year 1787, each of the parties erected a new church, seventy or seventy-five yards apart. That connected with the synod of Philadelphia was from that time called the Bethel Church, whilst the other retained its original name. In the Bethel congregation were found the families of the Witherspoons, Wilsons, and Friersons, &c., who were the immediate descendants of the original founders of this branch of Zion, and who were the ancestors of those now found in various sections of the South and West."

The residuary party, which remained after the minority had drawn off and formed the Bethel church, and who were legally entitled to the name and rights of the Williamsburg church, remained unsupplied until 1792. At this time the Rev. James Malcomson, of the presbytery of Belfast, Ireland, became its pastor, having been especially called to this position by the congregation. He was born in the parish of Castlereagh, in the county of Down, but received the chief part of his education at the university of Glasgow. With his ministerial functions he combined the profession of medicine, which he practised with no small degree of skill, and it is from this profession that his title Doctor [of medicine] proceeds. He had attended medical lectures at Edinburgh, and was a licensed physician. In addition to his pastoral charge he taught a large grammar-

school, at which many received their early education.\* He was a man of talents, of thorough scholarship, and of pleasing address, and prepossessing person. He wrote his sermons, but was interesting and often eloquent in their delivery. Facetious and genial, he had many and warm friends, and was not without his enemies. In the divisions which rent the church asunder, it was difficult to avoid all obloquy and prejudice, even for those who were the most perfect. He continued to minister to this congregation till 1804, when he removed to Charleston, where he taught a classical school and preached to a new congregation, increasing in numbers when he was called away, and which was the germ of the second Presbyterian church. He died of yellow fever during the summer of 1804, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. One of his daughters married Mr. Kane of Pineville, another, Mr. Bell of Charleston. The only ruling elders of the Williamsburg church of this period, whose names can now be recalled, were James McConnell, Thomas McConnell, and John McClary.

The BETHEL CHURCH, WILLIAMSBURG, were still depending on securing the services of Mr. Stephenson as their pastor, and the presbytery of South Carolina had appointed an intermediate session, to take place at Williamsburg, on the first Wednesday of December, 1790, for his ordination and installation.† No meeting took place at the time appointed, and the presbytery, sitting at Long Cane, on the 16th of April, 1791, ordained him, the Rev. Thomas McCaule preaching the ordination sermon from 2d Timothy, i. 8.

The church at INDIAN TOWN had participated in the call for Mr. Stephenson; he accepted the call as from both, and both pertained to his pastoral charge.

"The parents of James White Stephenson were from Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, and of the Scotch-Irish stock, that emigrated southward and settled in Virginia and the Carolinas during the latter half of the last century. Leaving the scenes of their early associations, they halted and sojourned for a period of two or three years in Augusta county,

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\* The Rev. James Malcomson, Theodore Gourdin, Robert Witherspoon, James Davis, John Nesmith, and John Frierson, were incorporated December 19, 1795, as Trustees of the Williamsburg academy, and were empowered to raise by lotteries a sum not exceeding five thousand dollars to defray the necessary buildings for the same.—(Statutes at Large, viii., p. 188.)

† The Rev. Thomas Reese had been appointed to preach the ordination sermon, and the Rev. James Edmonds to give the charge.—(Minutes, South Carolina presbytery, p. 42.)

Virginia, where, in 1756, the subject of this memoir was born. Soon after this event, they removed to Lancaster district, South Carolina, and settled near the old Waxhaw church, where they spent the remainder of their earthly pilgrimage. In this field their son began that career of usefulness which was destined to be, in no ordinary degree, signal and protracted. Of his youthful days and early manhood, but little is now known; but judging from his subsequent life, and the character of his parents, his early training was in strict accordance with the customs of the Presbyterians of those times."

Mr. Stephenson commenced the study of the Latin and Greek at the old Waxhaw church, under the tuition of Mr. Humphries, in a class of four, viz.: William Crawford, son of Major Crawford of Revolutionary memory, a Mr. Barnett, and Dr. John Douglas. The late Judge Smith, of this State, but more recently of Alabama, is also known to have been one of his fellow-students and associates in early life. At this early period, both he and Dr. Douglas were intending the ministry. After the war Mr. Crawford studied law; Mr. Douglas studied medicine, and settled first in Charleston, and then permanently in Salem, Black River; Mr. Stephenson, during the war, was a part of his time in the army, and a part of the time engaged in teaching.—(MS. Letter of Dr. John Douglas, the son.)

"He entered the Mount Zion College at Winnsboro', at the same time with the Rev. Humphrey Hunter, D.D., in 1785, and after passing through the usual course, obtained his diploma there under the Rev. Thomas H. McCaule. Mr. Stephenson was one of its alumni, together with the Rev. Messrs. Robert McCulloch, Wm. C. Davis, James Wallis, Humphrey Hunter, Robert B. Walker, David Dunlap, John B. Kennedy, S. W. Yongue, John Robinson, Wm. G. Roseboro, John Cousar, John B. Davies, William Dargan, and some others, who graduated there during the first eight years of the existence of the college.

"But Mount Zion College, with a perpetual charter and fully empowered to confer degrees, was, like Fag's Manor and the Log College at Neshaminy, merely an academy of high order. These were the kind of institutions that sprang up from the necessities of that early period, before the country was prepared to furnish the funds for the endowment of larger schools of learning, or literary men, apart from the ministerial profession, to fill their professorial chairs. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the men who obtained their whole literary and scientific knowledge from these sources, did not

rank so far below the graduates of the present day as is generally supposed. That many of them were learned, and profoundly so, admits not of a doubt. Though their course of studies was not so extended, they were decidedly more accurate in what they attempted; what they lacked in one respect they made up to a great extent in another.

“Such were the men, who, under God, were furnished to the church by Fag’s Manor, Log College, Mount Zion, and kindred institutions. They were raised up for a specific purpose, and were great in spite of all the difficulties that lay before them. Like Richard Baxter, under the promptings of an unconquerable desire for knowledge, and this in order that they might consecrate it to the glory of God, they allowed no impediments nor discouragements to damp the ardor of their pursuits.

“Such a man was the subject of this memoir. Though destitute of the learned instructions and richly stored libraries of the seminaries of the present age, he nevertheless, by dint of persevering application, made himself an accomplished scholar and profound theologian. The first notice that we are able to obtain of him, at this remote period, after passing from the peaceful shades of the academy, is in the capacity of principal of a classical school, over which he presided for some years, in the vicinity of the old Waxhaw church. Here the future hero and President, Andrew Jackson, while a boy, was one of his pupils. This circumstance, as may reasonably be supposed, was not forgotten in after life, when teacher and scholar met in the West, whither both emigrated, and recounted the trying scenes of earlier days; and where both lived, not far from each other, to an advanced age of more than ordinary usefulness, and alike died in the triumphs of a common faith.

“But as it was Mr. Stephenson’s lot to be brought into the world amid ‘wars and rumors of wars,’ so he was destined to spend no small part of his early life in those fearful and bloody scenes which, under God, resulted in throwing off the British yoke and securing the liberties of the country. The Scotch-Irish of that day were mostly Presbyterians, and the Presbyterians were generally the friends of liberty, because their faith made them so. It would have been hardly a possible thing, then, for an athletic young man of twenty-four years, of such a race of people, to escape his share of the dangers and duties, which fell to the lot of all, in this trying crisis. And accordingly, when the war of the Revolution

invaded South Carolina, Mr. Stephenson broke up his school and joined the standard of liberty, which he followed until the return of peace. 'Of one circumstance I have a distinct recollection, as I have frequently heard my father and Dr. Stephenson talk and laugh the matter over. Mr. Stephenson had a wish to serve a while in the army. This was strongly resisted by his family, they naturally fearing the demoralizing effects of camp life; in order to protect him from the contingency of a military draft, had a school made up for him, and thus armed him with the birch instead of the musket. Shortly after commencing his school, a draft was ordered in the *Beat* company in which he resided, and as his school did not number twelve or fifteen scholars (I forget which) he was not by law exempted, and greatly to his gratification he entered the service. The opposition of Mr. Stephenson's family was from pure motives, as they were all of the *true Whig stamp*. It is creditable to that whole community, then called 'the Pennsylvania Irish,' that they were all on the side of liberty.'—(MS. Letter of Dr. Douglas.) With one of his brothers, he joined the army under the command of General Sumter, and participated in the battles at Blackstock's, Hanging Rock, and some other engagements. In one of these fearful scenes, while the battle raged and the messengers of death flew thick around, a ball from the enemy struck the breech of his gun and broke it off, and then glancing, killed the man that stood next to him. On another occasion, it became his duty, in turn, to stand as sentinel at a certain place; but being indisposed that night, a fellow-soldier kindly volunteered to take his place, who was shot dead at his post. Thus in two striking instances a watchful, overruling providence saved him from the shafts of death and preserved him for great and manifold usefulness in after life. A long and arduous warfare was before him, the weapons of which are not carnal, and there was no furlough nor discharge till that was accomplished.

"Mr. Stephenson being a man of peace as well as of singular modesty, was seldom known in after life to speak of the part which he took in these bloody and dangerous scenes, contrary to a general characteristic of old soldiers, and especially of those who participated in the Revolutionary struggle. He even manifested a dislike to conversing about them, and but for the interest taken in them by some who were his companions and fellow-soldiers, the events would probably have sunk into oblivion.

“After the return of peace, he was induced, by a mandate which he dared not disregard, to direct his attention to that warfare, the reward of which is on high. The energies of his mind were then diverted from secular pursuits to a speedy and thorough preparation for the gospel ministry. Having passed the usual course at Mount Zion College, as has been already stated, he applied himself to the study of theology, but under what instructor we have not been able to ascertain. After completing his studies preparatory, and submitting the necessary parts of trial, he was licensed in 1790, by the presbytery of South Carolina, then embracing the entire territory of the State, and soon after accepted a call to the pastoral charge of the Bethel and Indian Town churches, in Williamsburg district.

“A few years previous to this time, the Williamsburg church had been greatly distracted on account of the alleged doctrinal errors and unministerial conduct of the acting pastor, the Rev. Samuel Kennedy, a native of Ireland, as has been recorded p. 486, et seq.

“The statement there made will enable us to form a pretty correct idea of the delicacy of the position in which the young pastor was placed, and the difficulties he would be called to contend with. But it is a fact that reflects highly in his favor, as a prudent and pious man, that amid all the rancor of feeling which existed between the churches, no breath of slander was ever blown against him, and no controversy ever arose between him and the pastor and people of the other congregation. To avoid a collision of some sort with the two bodies, worshipping, as they did, only about fifty paces distant from each other, and separated only by a ditch, the trace of which is yet plainly visible, required a no ordinary degree of piety and circumspection. Mr. Stephenson was ordained on the 16th of April, 1791.

“On the 4th of August, 1791, he was united in marriage with Miss Elizabeth James, a pious and excellent lady, and well qualified for the important station which, in the providence of God, she was called to fill; and her memory is still cherished by some who were personally acquainted with her. She was the daughter of Major John James, who was celebrated for the active part which he took in the Revolutionary struggle.

“This union was of short duration. Mrs. Stephenson died on the 29th of July, 1793, and her mortal remains repose beside those of her father, in the Indiantown graveyard. The marble that marks her resting-place bears the following inscription :

" In Memory of  
Mrs. ELIZABETH STEPHENSON,  
Consort of the Rev. James W. Stephenson,  
who departed this life  
July 29th, 1793,  
aged 24 years.

" After this bereavement, Mr. Stephenson devoted the untiring energies of his life, individually, to the service of his Divine Master. In the duties of preaching the word, pastoral visitation, and catechising both old and young, he was faithful and assiduous. And his labors were not in vain in the Lord. Ever living near the mercy-seat himself, it was his blessed privilege to see his people following his example. The praying minister was blessed with a praying people. At one time, according to his own testimony, there were forty-five families in which the morning and evening sacrifice was regularly offered up, in the Bethel congregation alone.

" In the reproof of vice, as well as its removal, Mr. Stephenson was not less successful than in the more welcome functions of his office. A number of pernicious practices were found prevalent in the congregations when he entered upon his duties in them, which he felt conscientiously bound to correct, trusting to God for the consequences. The principal of these were dancing, horse-racing, and treating at funerals. In the last century, the practice of drinking at the burial of the dead, prevailed to a melancholy extent; and not a few instances are given of ministers being disciplined for indulging too freely on such occasions. And too frequently the living were not sufficiently sober to follow with becoming decorum their departed friends to the grave. The people, convinced by the warning voice of their pastor, put an end to the practice. Another monster evil which he was successful in opposing was horse-racing, usually followed by music and dancing, and kindred amusements. Regarding these as wholly inconsistent with Christian character, he ceased not to denounce them as such until they were mostly discontinued. And it is but justice to state, that to Mr. Stephenson belongs the honor, so far as it is known, of commencing, in this part of the country, the benevolent work of evangelizing the negroes, and preventing them from laboring on the Sabbath for themselves, as they had too generally been permitted to do.

" As Mr. Stephenson was a man of eminent piety, and deeply imbued with the spirit of his Divine Master, it is not wonderful that he partook eagerly of the revival spirit. And in the remarkable outpourings of the Spirit, with which the churches

throughout the land were blessed in the early part of the nineteenth century, the congregations of his charge shared most bountifully. Many still living remember the scenes of that eventful period—a period when, from the general prevalence of infidel sentiments, both in Europe and America, the hearts of the stoutest ‘trembled for the ark of God;’ but when the Almighty, in a most signal manner, overthrew the power of his enemies, and made his own name glorious.

“Thus the Word of God prospered more and more under the ministry of Mr. Stephenson, until the congregations under his care became large and abundantly able to support the gospel. In 1802, Bethel church was reported to the general assembly as having one hundred and four communicants, and Indiantown ninety-six. In this prosperous condition of the churches, the pastor and a number of his people began to turn their attention to the favorable openings in the West, and forthwith determined on carrying the light of gospel truth into that wilderness region. With their minister in company, about twenty families emigrated to Maury county, Tennessee, and jointly purchased a large tract of land, belonging to the heirs of General Greene, of Revolutionary fame. There they erected the tabernacle of the Lord in the wilderness, and organized the Zion church, about five miles from Columbia.

“Mr. Stephenson preached his valedictory discourse in Indiantown church on the 28th of February, 1808, and on the 3d of March following, set out on his journey to the West. On the 20th of May, of the same year, he was again united in marriage, to Mrs. Mary Fleming, a member of his own church, and one of the emigration from Williamsburg. In this new field of labor, he exercised his ministry with zeal and fidelity, and his popular talents as a preacher of the gospel, combined with the intelligence and piety of the people of his charge, soon attracted the favorable notice and secured the friendship of some of the most prominent men of the State, among whom were the Hon. Felix Grundy and Andrew Jackson.

“But Mr. Stephenson still lived in the affections of an extensive acquaintance, which he had left behind him. He was not forgotten by the friends of former years, though his voice was heard by them no more. And in 1815, the Board of Trustees of the South Carolina College, rightly appreciating his worth, on motion of Chancellor James, conferred upon him the well-merited degree of Doctor of Divinity. Nor was he less esteemed, nor less useful, in the State of his more recent adoption. He was, during life, President of the Maury County

Bible Society, and a life-member of most of the National Benevolent Associations of the day. At an early period, he ardently espoused the cause of Foreign Missions, and made the Chickasaw schools, under the Rev. T. C. Stuart, the particular objects of his fostering influence and support. Being blest with a strong physical constitution, he enjoyed almost uninterrupted health, and is believed never to have been prevented attending upon the services of the sanctuary until near the close of his life. He continued to discharge his pastoral duties until old age and debility admonished him that the time of his departure was near; and for about a year before his death, he was assisted by the Rev. James M. Arnell, who was unanimously chosen as his successor, and who has since followed him to his reward on high. At length, having 'served his generation by the will of God, he fell on sleep, and was laid unto his fathers.' On the 6th of January, 1832, he rested from his labors, at the advanced age of seventy-six, having been the pastor of a portion of his congregation for more than forty-two years.

"Dr. Stephenson, in personal appearance, was tall and of commanding proportions, and from a uniform solemnity and dignity of manners, always secured the profound respect of his people. His style of preaching was instructive, plain and pointed, always earnest and often eloquent. It might with truth be said of him, as it was of Baxter:

"He preached as though he ne'er would preach again,  
Preached as a dying man to dying men."

He studied and wrote much, leaving behind him several hundred sermons in manuscript, only two or three of which were ever published. He sleeps near the centre of the Zion church burying-ground, Maury county, Tennessee, and around him on every side lie the remains of the patriarchs that removed from Williamsburg. Of that band of pilgrims who more than half a century ago crossed the Alleghanies, and boldly plunged into a savage wilderness, not one that was the head of a family, now remains."—(MS. Hist., by Rev. J. A. Wallace.)

The church of BLACK MINGO still had the Rev. William Knox as its minister. It was frequented long after this, though now for many years extinct. It was built of brick, and its ruins may be seen on the road from Lenud's to Britton's Ferry, on the north side of the Williamsburg line, near a small creek which empties into the Black Mingo. Some of its members lived at a considerable distance from it, and we have heard of one within the present century, but long since

dead, who walked from his residence, twenty-five miles above, to attend its communions.

The congregation spoken of in some old documents as the congregation of WINYEAU (respecting which, see our inquiries in the note to p. 282), was probably the Episcopal one of Prince Frederick's, in Georgetown district, within whose bounds our ministers sometimes preached, and where a Presbyterian church was organized in 1805.

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## CHAPTER II.

The HOPEWELL CHURCH (Pedee), and AIMWELL CHURCH (Pedee), petitioned the South Carolina presbytery on the 14th of April, 1790, for a candidate on trial, mentioning particularly Humphrey Hunter, one of their licentiates. He had been called by Little River and Duncan's Creek, but declined the call. A call was presented to him from Fairforest and Brown's Creek (afterwards Union). In September, 1791, the presbytery having heard of the intention of Hopewell and Aimwell to offer him a call, appointed his trials conditionally. Rev. Thomas Reese to preach the ordination sermon, and Rev. James W. Stephenson his alternate, and Rev. James Templeton to preside and give the charge. Mr. Hunter returned the calls from Fairforest, Duncan's Creek, and Little River. On April the 10th, 1792, the expected calls from Hopewell and Aimwell were presented and accepted, and an intermediate session was ordered to be held at Hopewell, on the 25th of May, for his ordination. Rev. Thomas H. McCaule, or Rev. Robert McCulloch as alternate, to preach the sermon, and Rev. Thomas Reese to preside and give the charge. This session was held as appointed, Mr. McCulloch preached, Mr. Reese gave the charge to the minister, and James W. Stephenson the charge to the people. John McFadden, John Wilson, and John James being present as elders.—(Minutes of the South Carolina presbytery, pp. 38, 40, 47, 48, 51, 53.) The call for the services of Mr. Hunter, made out in the usual form of the Confession of Faith, was signed on the 1st of October, 1791, by Thomas Wickham, Gavin Witherspoon, John Ervin, L. Derkins, Hugh Ervin, Thomas Cann, Jeremiah Gurley, Aaron Gasque, William Stone, John Gregg, Joseph Burch, Horace Davis, Joseph Jelly, James Thompson, James Hudson, Joseph Gregg, Thomas Hudson, John Cooper, David Bigem, John Orr, James Orr, J. Baxter, William

Wilson, Henry Futhey, G. Bigam, Alexander Pettigrew, William Muldrow, junior, James Cole, John McRee, John Witherspoon, Thomas Canady, Robert Gregg.

The salary promised was £120 sterling per annum, or about \$533.33 $\frac{1}{4}$  cents.

The Rev. Humphrey Hunter was born May 14, 1755, near Londonderry, in the north of Ireland, the native place of his father. His paternal grandmother was from Glasgow; and his maternal from Brest, in France, so that the blood of the Scot and the Huguenot mingled in his veins. His father died when he was in his fourth year, and he embarked at Londonderry with his mother, on board the ship *Helena*, on the 3d of May, 1759, for Charleston, South Carolina, where they arrived on the 27th of August, a passage of three months and twenty-two days, a contrast quite to those which are now made by steamers between Europe and America. The family proceeded in a few days to Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, where his mother purchased lands in the Poplar Tent congregation and remained for life. When about twenty years of age, he attended as a spectator the convention in Mecklenburg, May 20th, 1775. In his account of the meeting prefixed to his copy of the Declaration of Independence, he speaks of the effect the report of the battle of Lexington, on the 19th of April, produced. "Intelligence of the affair speedily spread abroad, yea, flew, as if on the wings of the wind. No sooner had it reached Mecklenburg than an ardent, patriotic fire glowed almost in every breast. It was not to be confined; it burst into a flame; it blazed through every corner of the country. Committees were held in various neighborhoods; every man was a politician. Death, rather than slavery, was the voice, comparatively, of all."

Mr. Hunter went as a private in the company of Captain Charles Polk, nephew of Colonel Thomas Polk, who, with Colonel Adam Alexander, raised a regiment to march against the Tories embodied in the lower part of the State. After this, he commenced his classical studies at Clio's Nursery, under Rev. James Hall, where he remained for two years. His studies were interrupted for a short time by the campaign of General Rutherford against the Cherokee Indians. He collected a brigade to march against them. In one of the three companies of cavalry forming a part of the corps, young Hunter was a lieutenant under Captain Robert Mayben. The campaign was successful, the Indians were scattered, and their chiefs taken. He then resumed his studies at Queen's Mu-

seum, or Liberty Hall academy, as it was afterwards named. But in the summer of 1780, this was broken up by the approach of the British army under Cornwallis, after the surrender of Charleston, and the massacre of Buford's regiment on the Waxhaw, and Dr. McWhorter, who presided over the institution, returned to New Jersey. Young Hunter again took up arms in defence of his country. A brigade was assembled at Salisbury under General Rutherford. For the first three weeks Hunter acted as commissary, and then as lieutenant in the company of Captain Thomas Givens. Having scoured the Tory settlements on the northeast side of the Yadkin, the forces of General Rutherford joined General Gates at Cheraw.

On the morning of August 16th, the disastrous battle of Camden took place, and the forces of Gates were routed. Gen. Rutherford was wounded and taken prisoner with many of his men. Here Mr. Hunter, soon after his surrender as a prisoner of war, witnessed the death of the noble and much-lamented Baron de Kalb, the circumstances of which are described from his lips by Dr. Foote, in his *Sketches of North Carolina*, from whose pages we compile these notices.—(See Foote's *Sketches*, p. 424.) After seven days' confinement in the prison-yard at Camden, Mr. Hunter was taken, with about fifty officers, to Orangeburg, South Carolina, where he remained without coat or hat till Friday, the 13th of November. A kind lady offering to supply him with the garment so much needed, tempted him to pass beyond the lines, when he was met by a horseman, who ordered him back and goaded him on with the point of his sword. Passing a large fallen pine, he suddenly leaped the trunk. The horseman fired one of his pistols, missed his aim, and leaped his horse after him. Hunter adroitly leaped to the other side, and began throwing at the horseman the pine-knots that lay thick around. The second pistol was discharged without effect. The horseman was brought to the ground by another well-aimed knot, and disarmed. Hunter returned the Tory his sword, on condition he should not make known that any prisoner had passed the line, promising himself to keep the whole affair a secret. The horse, however, galloped off to the station, with empty saddle and holsters, and his rider returned in due time with the marks and bruises of the conflict upon him. This led to the report that the prisoners had broken parole and attacked an officer, and orders were issued for investigating the matter. On Sunday night, Hunter and others effected their escape by seizing

and disarming the guard. He was nine nights in making his way back to Mecklenburg, travelling by night and lying concealed by day, and satisfying the cravings of hunger with green corn, gathered from the fields. Shortly after, he joined the army as a lieutenant of cavalry, under Col. Henry Hampton, and was wounded in the battle at the Eutaw Springs.

He resumed his classical studies near Poplar Tent, in the school of the Rev. Robert Archibald, with whom he spent some years, and entered Mount Zion college, at Winnsboro, South Carolina, in the summer of 1785, which had taken the place of Liberty Hall, or the Queen's Museum at Charlotte. He graduated at this institution under its president, Thomas H. McCaule, on the 4th of July, 1787. Mr. Hunter appeared before the presbytery as a candidate on the 21st of March, 1788, and was licensed on the 15th of October, 1789.—(Minutes, pp. 24, 35.)

Mr. Hunter was moderator of the presbytery at its meeting at Bethesda, in York, in September, 1795, and during the same meeting was released from his pastoral charge.

In the latter part of 1795 he removed to Lincoln county, North Carolina, and joined the presbytery of Orange, December 24th. He became pastor of Goshen church and Unity, west of the Catawba, March 30th, 1796. He was released from Goshen in 1804, and became pastor of Steele Creek and New Hope churches in 1805.

Mr. Hunter, seeing the necessity which his neighbors were under of medical advice, and the dearth of good physicians, devoted some attention to medicine and prescribed remedies in cases of necessity; and so successful did he become in these services, gratuitously rendered, that at one time the calls became burdensome and threatened materially to interfere with his ministerial duties. As a theologian he was orthodox and evangelical; as a preacher he was earnest, unassuming, and often eloquent. He possessed in a high degree a talent for refined sarcasm; and his answers to triflers were as shafts from this quiver that pierced to the marrow. His benevolence as a minister and his tenderness as a neighbor forbade its use in his social intercourse.

His preparations for the pulpit were reading, prayerful meditation, and short notes. Though he never wrote his sermons in full, he was a close reasoner, classic in his style, and systematic in his method. His death was that of a Christian, full of comfort and with an unshaken faith. He died on the 27th of August, 1827, in the seventy-fourth year of his age;

and a suitable monument was erected to his memory by the people of Steele Creek church, among whom he died. Although his labors and his life extended through the first quarter of the nineteenth century, yet as his connection with the churches of South Carolina terminated in this, we have thought it proper to give this view of his life and labors, that his character and worth might be fully understood. We give all credit to Dr. Foote, from whose valuable sketches we have drawn, in an abridged form, the most of these facts, and in whose hands the needful documents were placed. Their truth, however, is confirmed to us by his son, Major G. R. Hunter, who is a ruling elder in Aimwell church, Cedar Creek, Fairfield county.

The churches of Hopewell and Aimwell on Pedee, looked to presbytery for supplies from the early part of 1796, through the remainder of this decade; and J. W. Stephenson, John Foster, and John Couser were appointed from time to time to visit them.

SALEM PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, on BLACK RIVER, enjoyed the ministerial services of Rev. Thomas Reese until the winter of 1792 and 1793, when he removed to Pendleton district. He was formally released from this charge, however, on May 26, 1792, at the intermediate session of presbytery at Hopewell (Pee Dee), when Mr. Hunter was ordained. A difficulty arose in the church, says Dr. John Douglas, on the introduction of Dr. Watts's Hymns. This was enhanced by a certain sarcastic *jeu d'esprit* in which Dr. Reese indulged; and these may have been among the reasons of his removal, though his failing health itself required a change of location. After him, a Rev. Mr. Snell, and Rev. Robert McCulloch, a licentiate of South Carolina presbytery, were occasional supplies, though the latter received a formal call from the congregation, which was declined. J. W. Stephenson and John Foster afterwards supplied them by presbyterial appointment. The latter, who was a native of "the Waxhaws," and who married the daughter of Colonel Bratton, of York district, was the favorite candidate of the disaffected, says Dr. Douglas in a letter, October 15, 1852, and preached often at their houses. But in September, 1796, a call was forwarded to presbytery for Mr. Foster's pastoral labors. His ordination and installation took place at an intermediate session, held at Salem, on the 4th of February, at which Rev. J. W. Stephenson presided, and Rev. John Brown preached the ordination sermon. The Rev. Samuel W. Yongue was ordained at the same time and place, the ordi-

nation services at Lebanon, appointed for January 15th, having failed through stress of weather and swollen streams. The following elders were ordained by Rev. Mr. Foster, viz. : John Gamble, John Anderson, John Tomlinson, William Mills, John Shaw, Roger Bradley, Thomas Wilson, and George Cooper.

Of the CHURCH ON WACCAMAW, see p. 282, we can find only the following notice in Bishop Asbury's Journal : "Thursday, — 24th, 1795. We came to Kingston, where we preached in an *old Presbyterian meeting-house*, now repaired for the use of the Methodists. I spent the evening with W. Rogers, formerly of Bristol."

In 1794, one of the places at which Mr. Stephenson was appointed to supply was Bull Savannah, the neighborhood in which Midway church was afterwards organized, which was so long a part of the charge of Mr. Couser.

The central portions of the State seem to have attracted, about this time, the attention of the presbytery and synod. On the 1st of January, 1794, and again on the 23d of March, Robert Wilson, as missionary of the synod of the Carolinas, preached at Orangeburg to "pretty large assemblies," and on the last occasion was the bearer of a petition to the presbytery for supplies, "signed by a respectable number of gentlemen." On the 5th of January he preached at Turkey Hill, five miles from Orangeburg, to a considerable assembly, mostly of German extraction, who professed themselves to be "Calvinistic Presbyterians." The request of Orangeburg and Turkey Hill to be taken under the care of presbytery and receive supplies, is recorded on p. 69 of the minutes of presbytery, and William Montgomery and Andrew Brown are appointed to preach for them. Mr. Montgomery and Mr. Dunlap were appointed to supply them in 1794; Mr. Kennedy in 1795, Mr. Dunlap in 1797; while the indefinite order "to supply vacancies," is given to other licentiates.

In 1786 measures were taken to locate a capital of the State as near as possible to its geographical centre. Commissioners were appointed by the legislature to lay off a tract of land near Friday's (or Granby) ferry, in lots of a half acre each, and to be divided into squares by streets of a prescribed width, for the establishment of a capital of the State equally convenient to all its citizens. The beauty of the site, and its superior salubrity, induced the selection of the spot on which Columbia is situated in preference to the town of Granby, three miles lower, on the Congaree, which, before and during the war of the Revolution, was a place of considerable busi-

ness. The State records were removed from Charleston to COLUMBIA in 1789, and the legislature met in the State-house, then newly erected, in 1790. In 1791 the State College was established by legislative enactment, and the central position of the infant capital, the advantages it held out as a place of education, the fact that it was at the head of navigation on the river, and the commerce which was attracted toward it, gave it a sure, though by no means a very rapid growth. A letter addressed to David E. Dunlap, recently licensed by the presbytery of South Carolina, from a number of the inhabitants of the place, intended as a call to him to accept the charge of a church lately established there, was laid before the presbytery in April, 1794, but was sent back that it might be more fully conformed to the order prescribed in the form of government adopted by our church.\* The place had been visited by Robert Wilson, of Long Cane, on his missionary tour. He preached in Columbia to a large concourse of people, on the 15th of December, 1793, and refers to the effort they were making to secure the services of Mr. Dunlap. They rightly said in their letter to Mr. Dunlap, that it was "greatly contrary to the interests of a young town to be growing up without the Sabbath day's observation." And that this was a prevailing evil at that time in this newly-settled place, is what the testimony of others leads us to believe. Mr. Dunlap was not ordained and installed till June 4th, 1795. The public service of ordination was held in the State-house. Robert McCulloch acting as moderator, and John Brown (afterwards D.D.), as clerk of presbytery; the Rev. Francis Cummins (afterwards D.D.), preaching the ordination sermon from 2 Corinthians, v. 20; after which Mr. Dunlap was solemnly ordained to the whole of the gospel ministry by fasting, prayer, and the imposition of the hands of the presbytery, and a charge was given to the young pastor and his flock by the moderator. In the call presented to Mr. Dunlap, one hundred and eleven pounds were named as having been subscribed to his salary, and more was expected. Mr. Dunlap divided his time for a season between Columbia and Granby, preaching at Columbia two-thirds and at Granby one-third of his time. He supported himself in a good measure from his own private resources, and the salary he received as clerk of the Senate.—(MS. History of the Columbia church, by Rev. Dr. Palmer. Minutes of presbytery, p. 81.) He was employed thus for three

\* This letter was signed by Thomas Taylor and Benjamin Waring, and is dated March 20th, 1794.

years preceding August, 1799. In October, 1799, a call was presented to presbytery by the people of GRANBY for the pastoral services of Rev. George Reid, after which Mr. Dunlap devoted his whole labors to the congregation in Columbia. There being no church edifice, and but few public buildings in the place at this early period, he preached in the legislative hall; and there are persons yet living who speak of his gentlemanly manners and his gifts as a preacher.

In a letter to presbytery, dated October 22, 1799, Mr. Dunlap excuses himself for his non-attendance upon its meetings, in part by his connection with the academy, whether as teacher or trustee does not appear. Thomas Taylor, James Taylor, George Wade, and Benjamin Waring were incorporated as trustees of the Columbia academy in 1795. A square of land had been granted to them in 1792, in lieu of which two squares of four acres each, to be selected by them, were now granted, in addition to the one on which they had erected their academy building.—(Statutes, viii., 193.)

Mr. Dunlap died in September, 1804, and lies buried in the southeastern angle of the Presbyterian churchyard; the record upon his tombstone stating the remarkable fact of his wife's death on the same day with himself. "In death they were not divided."

## IN

Memory of the  
REV. DAVID E. DUNLAP,  
Aged 33 years and 5 months.

Also of

SUSANNAH, HIS WIFE,  
Aged 30 years and 8 months.

They both died on the  
10th of September, 1804.

—  
"O Death, insatiate archer,  
Could not one suffice?"

Dr. Palmer seems to have regarded Mr. Dunlap's labors as "of a missionary character, the results not embodied by the organization of a church holding the views he inculcated; but that they did bear indirectly upon the interests of the Presbyterian church as afterwards to arise. He stood forth as the representative of the church, and his ministrations, doubtless, served to rally those, who, in the utter destitution of Presbyterian preaching, might have been absorbed into the churches already organized."—(MS. History, by Dr. Palmer.)

Mr. Dunlap was the son of Samuel Dunlap, a worthy and much respected elder of the Waxhaw church; was a graduate

of Mount Zion college, Winnsboro; was received as a candidate, under the care of South Carolina presbytery, in April, 1791, and was licensed to preach in April, 1793.

Of the Thomas Taylor, whose name appears conspicuously in the efforts to establish a Presbyterian church and settle a Presbyterian minister in Columbia, and who subsequently became an elder in that church (as did also his son, Governor Taylor, before his death), some mention ought to be made, though his religious history pertains chiefly to the following century. We first meet with his name in the journal of William Tennent, during that memorable tour through the up-country, in 1775, which we have referred to, page 369. The deep interest he then took in the objects of Mr. Tennent's mission, the energy and wisdom he then displayed, and his fearless courage, marked him out, in Mr. Tennent's judgment and determination, for a military commission in the impending conflict. The judicious arrangements he made, contributed not a little to the success of General Sumter over Wemyss, at Fishdam ford, November 11, 1780; the important services he rendered when left by Sumter to prosecute the siege of Fort Granby, which surrendered at last ostensibly to General Lee, the superior officer; the share he had in the engagement at Quinby's bridge, near Biggin church; and other similar deeds, endeared him to the heart of the patriot. But more interesting to the Christian was the scene, when, trembling all over with emotion, of his own accord he arose, without having appeared before any meeting of the session, and took his seat at the Lord's table, and when the hand of the elder was held out to him for the "token," then required of communicants, not knowing the usages of the church, he placed in the elder's hand a piece of money,—thus casting in his lot, with such childlike frankness, with the Lord's people, was more touching than all. Whether this occurred in this decade or the next, it was the way in which "the patriarch of Columbia" united himself, under the effectual calling of the Holy Spirit, with the Presbyterian church, of which he was so honored and useful a member. To the last he loved that country for whose liberties he fought, and his heart sung praises to redeeming grace, when the "daughters of music were brought low" through increasing age.

In relation to CAMDEN and its religious condition we can add nothing to what we said on pages 495, 497. The name of Thomas Adams, there mentioned as a minister of the gospel, who died in that town in 1797, still lingers in the memory of one or two aged persons.

Mills tells us, in his statistics, what had escaped our recollection while writing what precedes, that there was a Presbyterian house of worship in Camden before the Revolution. It is the oldest inland town in the State, and may have had the occasional services of ministers of our church.

We find Presbyterian neighborhoods in Fairfield district, not before known on presbyterial records, petitioning for supplies. Crooked Run is first mentioned September, 1793. "There was," says Mrs. Camak, now (in 1850), seventy-seven years old, "an old school-house, on Crooked run, in which Mr. McCaule preached. A house of worship was afterwards erected, which was a log-house and was eight miles eastward of the present site." This is recognized as a church and congregation in 1800, under the name of HOREB, called also Rosborough's church, after the name of its first pastor. In October, 1799, a society on Cedar creek petitions for supplies, and prays that it may be known on the minutes of presbytery by the name of AIMWELL. In April, 1796, a people near the head of Wateree and Little river, petition to be taken under the care of presbytery, and to be known by the name of CONCORD, and to have some portion of Mr. Rosborough's labors. We have seen, too, that the Mount Sion (now called Zion), congregation, in Winnsboro', was incorporated by the legislature in 1787. In 1794 Winnsboro' asks for supplies, and Mr. Yongue is appointed. In October, 1798, Mr. Yongue is appointed to supply two Sabbaths at Sion church, and "examine." A supplication from Winnsboro', praying to be noticed on the minutes by the name of Sion church, and to receive supplies, was read before presbytery, and the prayer granted, October, 1799. No house of worship was as yet erected by this congregation, but its religious services were probably held at the Mount Zion College. This institution was yielding noble fruits to the church during this period, and fulfilling the fondest wishes of its founders. William C. Davis and Robert McCulloch had been received under the care of presbytery in October, 1786, fresh from the walls of the college; James White Stephenson in April, 1787; Humphrey Hunter and James Wallis in March, 1788; Samuel W. Yongue, Joseph Howe, and David E. Dunlap were received in April, 1791; Robert B. Walker, William Montgomery, and John Foster in September of the same year; William G. Rosborough in April, 1793; John Couser in September, 1794. These gentlemen were in due course licensed to preach the

gospel, ordained to the whole ministry, and installed over the various churches to which they were called.

In September, 1792, Rev. Thomas H. McCaule was released from his charge at Jackson's Creek and Mount Olivet, and these churches appear on the records of presbytery for some time as vacant. JACKSON'S CREEK, OR LEBANON, was supplied as a vacant church by Mr. McCaule, Gilleland, and others. In April, 1795, it called Mr. Samuel W. Yongue as its pastor, and a meeting of presbytery was appointed to be held on the 13th of January, 1796, for his ordination. This meeting failing, the ordination of Mr. Yongue took place, as we have seen, at Salem, B. R., in connection with that of Mr. Foster, on the 4th of February in that year. MOUNT OLIVET was united with Jackson's Creek in the pastorate of Mr. Yongue. Mr. McCaule, their former minister, received calls from his old charge, Centre congregation, Iredell county, North Carolina, and also from Savannah, neither of which was accepted. He was appointed, however, to preach at Sapelo, Maine, and at Savannah. He died previous to October, 1796.—(Minutes, p. 92.)

CONCORD CHURCH, in the upper part of Fairfield, is situated on the main road leading from Winnsboro' to Chesterville, and is nearly equi-distant from the two places. Its site is an eligible one, standing directly on the dividing ridge between the waters of the Catawba and the Broad rivers. Concord was organized by the Rev. Robert B. Walker, and was taken under the care of presbytery in April, 1796. "A people, near the head of Wateree and Little river, petitioned to be taken under our care—to be known by the name of Concord church, and to have some part of Mr. Rosborough's labors till our next."—(Minutes, p. 87.) Prior to this date, the congregation had been accustomed to assemble at a "stand" or *house* of worship, some five or six miles southeast of the present site of the church, on the plantation belonging now to Edward B. Mobley, on the waters of Wateree creek. There were then no organization and no regular supplies. The congregation was occasionally and chiefly ministered to by Rev. Messrs. A. Morrison and Robert McClintock, ministers from Ireland, from the year 1790 to 1793. Mr. McClintock was the minister in charge, as appears from his own register of his preaching, which was regularly kept. He seems to have preached at Concord from November, 1785, to April, 1796, if not later. One of his sermons is marked as delivered there, October 26,

1797; the same was also preached at his other stations, Indian Creek and Rocky Spring, in the same year, at Jackson's Creek, 1785, and at Rocky Spring in 1786. Hugh Morrison exchanged with Mr. McClintock at Concord, July 3d, 1791, and July 1, 1792. In 1791, Mr. Morrison was preaching at Little River, his engagement there being for a year.—(Letter to McClintock of April 25, 1791.) It may be in relation to Concord that Morrison says in this letter, "There is the prospect of a promising congregation on the Wateree; it is the intention of most of the people to have two houses. I think we shall soon triumph over all our enemies; and the prejudices of the people seem daily to diminish." These ministers were regarded as favoring the principles of those who were known as "New Lights." From 1793, they were supplied occasionally by Mr. Rosborough, Mr. McCulloch, Mr. Dunlap, Mr. Walker, Mr. Couser, McGilleland, and J. B. Davies; and after they were organized, once in a month, for one year, by the Rev. Robert W. Walker, pastor of the church of Bethesda, in York.

The first bench of elders consisted of James Aster, James Caldwell, James Hindman, and Abraham Miller. During the year, Mr. Walker ordained as elders John Sterling, James Robinson, and James McKeown. From this year they were vacant, except occasional supplies from the ministers of South Carolina presbytery, until September, 1800, when they called the Rev. William Rosborough to take the pastoral charge of this church, in connection with Horeb church in the same district.

To the east of Fairfield, in the northern part of Kershaw district, and on its border, there were the three churches of BEAVER CREEK, HANGING ROCK, and MILLER'S. The pastoral relation of Robert McCulloch to the two first of these churches appears to have terminated before September, 1793, for at that time Rev. John Brown was appointed to supply them. They were supplied in 1794 by Mr. Stephenson, and in 1795 by Mr. Brown; in 1796 by Messrs. Brown, Yongue, and Couser; in 1797 by Messrs. McCulloch, J. B. Davies and Yongue; the appointments being made sometimes for each church separately, and sometimes for the two in connection. In March, 1798, Miller's church is mentioned in connection with them, and the three petition together for the services of Mr. Rosborough as a supply. During the same year, Messrs. McCulloch and Foster are appointed to supply Beaver Creek and Hanging Rock, and J. B. Davies and John Couser

to preach at Miller's. Miller's church appears on the records of the first presbytery of South Carolina, after the division of the presbytery in existence at this time, and seems to have flourished for some years. The "First Presbytery" held its sessions there, in March, 1805. When Mr. McCulloch took his seat as a member of presbytery, in 1789, the elder J. Miller also took his seat as representative of one of the churches which had called him. The Millers resided on Hanging Rock Creek, some five or six miles eastward of the church of Beaver Creek. Both Hanging Rock and Miller's church were absorbed eventually by the church of Beaver Creek.

In April, 1790, a congregation in Edgefield county petitioned presbytery for supplies, but where it was situated is not said, nor is it again mentioned in this century on the records of presbytery.

CATHOLIC CHURCH on Rocky Creek, in Chester district, enjoyed, at the commencement of this period, the frequent labors of Rev. John Simpson, pastor of Fishing Creek, who administered the sacraments to them, especially that of baptism. In 1793 they applied to presbytery, and Messrs. McCaule, McCulloch, Yongue, and Montgomery, were appointed to visit them. In April, 1794, calls were presented from Catholic and from Purity (which had also applied to presbytery as a vacancy), for the pastoral services of Rev. Robert McCulloch, who had been for some time settled at Beaver Creek. These calls were accepted, and he was regularly inducted into the pastoral charge of the two congregations.\* The session was at this time increased in number by

\* "Mr. McCulloch's residence was on the Rocky Mount road, near four miles from Catholic, and about eight miles from Purity church. He was of Scotch-Irish parentage. He was born in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, on the 20th of March, 1760, in the bounds of which of the seven churches then in Mecklenburg is uncertain, but it is rather supposed in the bounds of Sugar Creek, as there were three brothers, Robert, Thomas, and James, all educated at Liberty Hall, North Carolina. After the close of the Revolutionay war, he taught a classical school in the bounds of Bethel congregation, York district, South Carolina.

"The writer hereof remembers to have heard the Rev. Robert Cunningham, of Kentucky, while on a visit at the house of Rev. James Wallis, in the year 1814, make the remark, to wit: 'That he had often thought of the log school-house in which Mr. McCulloch taught, the country impoverished by the war, and everything in appearance unpromising, yet he could hardly recall a single individual scholar but who had succeeded well—many of them were now distinguished,' viz.: Andrew Jackson, then a general in the American army, William Smith, a distinguished lawyer in Yorkville, Rev. W. C. Davis, Rev. J. W. Stephenson, and his humble self, Robert Cunningham, and several others,

the election and ordination of Messrs. James Harbison, Robert Harper, James Peden, William Peden, and John Bailey. Mr. McCulloch continued the regular pastor of these congregations through the remainder of this century.

The congregations called FISHING CREEK once existed, and met, for convenience, as three congregations, viz.: Lower Fishing Creek, Middle Fishing Creek, and Upper Fishing Creek. Lower Fishing Creek, which was first organized, had declined and become disorganized after Mr. Simpson discontinued his labors among them. It was reorganized in 1792 by Rev. John Brown, then preaching at Waxhaw, and was called by him Richardson, after its first founder. Messrs. James Crawford and John Gaston, are believed to have been of its bench of elders at this time. It sought and obtained supplies from presbytery, of whom Messrs. McCulloch, Gilleland, and J. Brown, in 1794, Mr. Walker in 1795, and Messrs. Rosborough, J. Brown, Walker, and Dunlap, in 1797, are mentioned.

Fishing Creek (formerly Upper Fishing Creek) became vacant in 1789, by the dissolution of the pastoral relation, but was still served for a year by Mr. Simpson, its former pastor. It solicited supplies in 1790, and Messrs. McCaule, Montgomery, Walker, A. Brown, McCulloch, Foster, Dunlap, and Wm. C. Davis, were appointed to minister to it at different times till 1795. One instance, out of several others, occurs of the fidelity of presbytery (which it is to be feared was not constant), in securing the fulfillment of contracts between people and pastor. September, 1792, "the congregation of Fishing Creek produced a receipt from the Rev. Mr. Simpson, and is now considered as on good standing." In 1793 Mr. John Bowman, a licentiate

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not now recollected. After teaching three years he went to Mount Zion college, then under the care of Rev. Thomas H. McCaule, where he graduated. He was licensed in the year 1788, and ordained on the 15th of April, 1789. He was married to Miss Mary Simonton, of Iredell county, North Carolina, before his removal to Catholic.

"In person, Mr. McCulloch was large, and became very corpulent—his majestic appearance in the pulpit was very striking. He was under a cloud during a portion of his life, subsequent to the period of which we speak; but aside from this he was considered a very orthodox divine, a warm and lively preacher. He appeared at all times to feel, and be in earnest—none could sit under his ministry and go to sleep. He had a well-selected library of books. His sermons were well prepared, methodically arranged, and well suited to the times and circumstances. His language was chaste and classical, and at times he was truly eloquent. For one or two years before his death, his health failed him, which sad event took place on the 7th of August, 1824, at the age of sixty-four years four months and seventeen days. He was buried in Catholic graveyard—Mrs. McCulloch having died a few years before."—(D. G. Stinson.)

of Orange presbytery, became their supply, assisted by others, as above mentioned, and continued with them till 1795. In September of this year they called Wm. G. Rosborough to be their pastor, and he labored among them under considerable infirmity of body for two years, and was at length compelled to return their call. In April, 1798, they united with Richardson in requesting the services of Rev. John B. Davies, then a licentiate of the presbytery of South Carolina, as a supply. In October, they extended to him a formal call, which was accepted, and he was ordained and installed over the two churches on the 14th of May, 1799. His labors among them extended far into the next century. The elders of the Fishing Creek church, when Mr. Davies assumed the charge of the congregation, were Samuel Neely, David Carr, David Neely, Thomas Neely, and Thomas Latta.

The church of BULLOCK'S CREEK was still served by the Rev. Joseph Alexander, with varied success, through the period of which we write. His connection with the church terminated in 1801. On the 27th of March of that year, his pastoral connection with the church was dissolved at his own request, and with the consent of the people. He had preached the gospel and taught among them twenty-seven years. In the letter to presbytery (dated June 24, 1801), giving a report from his congregation, at the close of which he asks a release from his pastoral relation, he says his church at that time consisted of eighty-five communicants. He had baptized eleven adults and seven hundred and fifty-three in infancy. He gives "a want of interest and harmony among his people" as a reason for the dissolution. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the college of South Carolina in 1807. Having reached a good old age, he remained without pastoral charge until his death, on the 30th of July, 1809. He was a man of small stature and lame withal, as we have been informed by one of his pupils\* who greatly admired him. He was endowed with fine talents and accomplishments, and was an uncommonly animated and popular preacher. He was an ardent patriot in the Revolution. His wife was a daughter of President Davis, our American Chrysostom. A small volume of his sermons was published in Charleston in 1807.

Dr. Alexander was as much distinguished as an educator of youth, as he was as a minister of the gospel. This is re-

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\* His Excellency David Johnson, Chancellor and afterwards Governor of South Carolina.

heard in the act of the legislature passed in 1797, bestowing a charter on the Alexandria College, named after him, which was to be located at Pinckneyville in his immediate vicinity. The trustees embraced most of the clerical members of presbytery, as well as some others who were laymen. Their names are Joseph Alexander, James Templeton, John Simpson, Francis Cummins, Robert McCulloch, James White Stephenson, John Brown, Robert Wilson, William Williamson, Robert Becum Walker, Samuel Whorter Yongue, John Foster, John Kennedy, James Gilleland, William Smith, Abraham Nott, Andrew Love, Alexander Moore, Thomas Brandon, William Bratton, Samuel Dunlap.—(Statutes at Large, viii., 198.) This college had occupied the attention of presbytery (Minutes, p. 108), but as it was chartered by the legislature, it was regarded as having an independent existence, and was remitted to the trustees who had been appointed.

During the first four years of this period, the church of BEERSHEBA, in York, was vacant, as it had been before, and a suppliant to presbytery for supplies, and Joseph Alexander, Robert B. Walker, and William Montgomery were appointed to visit it. But this church united with the Bethel church in a call to Rev. George McWhorter, who was ordained and installed as pastor of the two churches at a meeting of presbytery held at Beersheba on the 6th of July, 1796; Rev. Robert B. Walker preaching the sermon, and Rev. Joseph Alexander giving the charge to the newly-ordained pastor and people. He continued in this charge until September, 1801, when he removed to Salem, Black river.

The BETHEL CHURCH, in YORK district, had been under the pastoral care of Rev. Francis (afterwards Dr.) Cummins, from 1783 till April 17, 1789. This congregation had for some time been in a very flourishing condition; being very numerous and largely extended in its bounds, embracing an area of ten miles in every direction from the place of worship. Without any special revival of religion, many had been added to the church, and it was probably the largest congregation west of the Catawba. About the time of Mr. Cummins' departure, it began to decay. A spirit of sloth and inattention to the gospel seems to have prevailed. Unhappy dissensions arose among the people through animosity and party spirit, so that they not only became disaffected with one another, but some were, unhappily, disaffected with their honorable and devoted pastor, who had spent some of the best years of his life among them. This want of unanimity weakened their strength, and

prepared the way for the changes which took place. The congregation sought supplies from presbytery, and was visited for this purpose by their former pastor, Mr. Cummins, Mr. Templeton, W. C. Davis, Mr. Dunlap, Mr. Gilleland, and Mr. James McRee, of North Carolina. A part of the congregation resided across the State line in North Carolina, and besides the disaffection to which we have referred, were remote from the place of worship, and uniting with those contiguous in South Carolina, they congregated as a church under the name of OLNEY, and built themselves a house of worship. This division took place in 1793, and the Olney church was connected with the presbytery of Orange, and Wm. C. Davis became their pastor. The southern part of the congregation continued under their former organization, with a renewed earnestness and zeal after the division, though with diminished numbers. In 1796, Bethel united with Beersheba in calling Rev. George G. McWhorter to be their pastor, who was ordained, as we have already said, July 7, 1796, and remained with the two congregations until the 29th of September, 1801, after which he removed to the South, and eventually to Alabama.\*

The Rev. Robert G. Wilson, D.D., and the Rev. Samuel B. Wilson, D.D., were born in this congregation. Some account of the elder of these distinguished men will be found under the head of Long Cane church, of which he was the pastor.

“From some memoranda in his handwriting, it appears that Samuel B. Wilson was born March 17, 1783, in Lincoln county, North Carolina. His father, John Wilson, was born in Pennsylvania, of Scotch-Irish ancestry; and his mother, Mary Wray, also born in Pennsylvania, was of Welsh origin. Marrying in early life, they removed to North Carolina, and followed the tide of emigration that commenced in 1764, to the waters of the Yadkin and Catawba, and the Green river, extending across South Carolina; choosing their abode not far from the South Carolina line, and within a few miles of King’s Mountain, the noted battle-ground in the Revolution. Here, during the strife of the Revolution, particularly disastrous to that region of country, was reared a family of eight children; five sons and three daughters. The parents were pious people, and were connected with the church of

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\* MS. History of Churches in York County, reported to Presbytery in 1794, in hands of Stated Clerk of General Assembly; J. B. Davies, Sketch of Bethel Presbytery; History in Yorkville Enquirer, November, 1855; and Minutes of presbytery.

Bethel, of which the Rev. Francis Cummins was pastor, and by whom Mr. Wilson says he was baptized.

"The father, John Wilson, was engaged in cultivating the earth, and kept his family in good circumstances, as people lived, in those days of active labor, and frugality, and suffering from the war. He held the office of elder in the church, and Register of the county. He gave his second son, Robert G. Wilson, a classical education, in some of the excellent schools set up and carried on by the ministers of the emigration to which he belonged.

"The father of the family died in 1797, leaving his son Samuel, a youth about fourteen years of age, his education not far advanced. His brother's course in education stimulated Samuel, and, encouraged by his mother, he resolved to pursue a classical course of study, and after mature reflection, he resolved to follow the footsteps of his brother, and to prepare for the ministry.

"He began his classical course in a school set up by the Rev. Joseph Alexander, in York district, South Carolina, a man of eminence, both as a teacher and preacher. For prudential reasons, he then attended a classical school in Spartanburg district, managed by Rev. James Gilleland, who became a member of South Carolina presbytery in 1796, and in 1805 removed to Ohio. He spent one year in study with his brother Robert, at the Long Canes, and then entered Washington College, Lexington, Virginia, under the presidency of Rev. George A. Baxter, assisted by professors Rev. Daniel Blain and E. Graham, Esq. At this college he made the experiment that has allured young men of small pecuniary means, with strong desires for an education, to the brink of ruin, and not unfrequently left them, like wounded men after a catastrophe, hobbling through life, dyspeptics. He attempted to double the studies required, and recite with two classes. Want of exercise, and over-mental exertion, soon brought on hemorrhage, and for a time forced him to intermit hard studies.

"On receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he put himself under the care of the Lexington presbytery as a candidate for the ministry, and began a course of reading under the direction first of Dr. Baxter, and then of Rev. Samuel Brown, of New Providence. He was licensed to preach the gospel at the Stone Meeting-house, by Lexington presbytery, on the 17th of April, 1805. After performing some missionary work for the presbytery, in the region of the Kanawha, Mr. Wilson

visited his birth-place, went to Fairforest and preached a while; and returned to Virginia, refusing to accept an invitation to visit Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina, with the expectation to become pastor and teacher; and early in January, 1806, he was sent to Fredericksburg, Virginia, and labored there with so much success that a church was organized, of which he became and continued to be the pastor for thirty years. His church grew, under his judicious and faithful ministry, into one of the largest and strongest in the Southern States.

"In 1841 he was transferred from his pastoral charge in Fredericksburg, to the chair of Systematic Theology in the Union Theological Seminary, and continued to discharge the duties of this chair until within a few years of his decease, when the accumulating infirmities of age made it necessary that his burdens should be lightened. He still taught some branches of the seminary course until the close of the session of '68-9, and at that time, being less than three months before his death, he examined his classes in the presence of the Board's committee, though laboring under the weight of four score and six years.

"He fell asleep in Jesus on the morning of the Sabbath, the 1st day of August, 1869, after weeks of severe suffering, which he bore with that calmness and fortitude which had always been his marked characteristics."

Rev. James Gilleland, pastor of Bradaway church, who removed to Ohio in 1805, originated in this congregation. He fitted for college under Rev. Wm. C. Davis.

Rev. John Howe, who removed with his father to the vicinity of Lexington, Kentucky, in 1788, at the age of twenty, is supposed to have been born and partially educated in this congregation. He was licensed by Transylvania presbytery in 1795, preached in Barren county, and subsequently at Greensburg, in Green county, Kentucky, where he taught an academy. He died at his daughter's, in Missouri, December 21, 1856, at the age of eighty-eight, having been sixty-one years in the ministry.

Rev. John McElroy Dickey, of Lexington, Kentucky, was born in York county, but whether within the bounds of this congregation we are not informed. He died in Indiana, in 1848.

## CHAPTER III.

The BETHESDA CHURCH, in York, continued vacant until December, 1794. Mr. Harris, in his MS. history of Bethesda, speaks of the Rev. John Simpson, of Fishing Creek, as supplying this church for six years, from the departure of Mr. McCarra, whose ministry was interdicted by presbytery in 1788.

But the contemporary history of the churches of York county, prepared by Joseph Alexander and W. C. Davis, by order of presbytery, after saying of the church that "they are pretty numerous and considerably able," adds: "They are a pretty well-organized people, and seem to be striving for the gospel; but they have never been happy enough yet to have the gospel regularly stated among them, except one year they enjoyed the one-half of Rev. John Simpson's labors. They were first supplied by ministers from the synod of New York and Philadelphia, afterwards by the Orange presbytery, and ever since by the South Carolina presbytery. The present state of the congregation seems to be encouraging. They are pretty numerous, and profess themselves able to support the gospel. As to matters of faith, they are, with few exceptions, agreed, though the state of religion appears to be but low among them."—(Account of the Churches in York County, submitted to Presbytery, April 10th, 1794, in the hands of the Stated Clerk of the General Assembly.) Bethesda congregation were petitioners for supplies in 1790, '91, '92, and '93. The appointments are not always distinctly recorded in the minutes; but Robert Cunningham was appointed to preach to them twice in 1792, and Messrs. Cummins, Newton, Wilson, and Yongue, in 1793. The presbytery held an adjourned meeting at Bethesda, October 7th, 1792. A call was laid before presbytery at its sessions at Fairforest, April 8th, 1794, from this church, for the pastoral labors of Mr. Walker, which was accepted by him at the fall meeting in September. His ordination took place at an intermediate session held at Bethesda, on December 4th, 1794. The ordination sermon was preached by Rev. James Templeton, from 1 Cor. iv., 1, 2, and the charge was given by Rev. Robert McCulloch.

Robert Becqum Walker was born in South Carolina, in 1766, and was graduated at the Mount Zion college, Winnsboro, in 1791. In September of this year he was received under the

care of presbytery as a candidate, and on the 28th of September, 1793, he was licensed to preach. He married the daughter of Dr. Joseph Alexander, of Bullock's Creek.

Thus commenced a pastoral relationship, which lasted for forty years. He was brought into the pastorate while the demoralizing effects of a long and bloody war were still perceptible among the people. Spiritual languor and internal dissensions had made sad havoc, and greatly abated their religious warmth and energy. From this prostrate condition he was instrumental in raising them. The history of his ministerial life and labors belongs to the nineteenth century, rather than to this, in which these labors commenced. We can only anticipate by saying, in the words of one of the latest of his successors, "That as few men have ever lived and labored so long among one people, few have been so universally beloved as was he; and few have been permitted to influence and mould so many characters for good, and few have contributed more to the upholding and spreading of true religion, and in strengthening the stakes and lengthening the cords of Zion." The late and lamented Mr. Bishop, in his funeral sermon, occasioned by Mr. Walker's death, says of him: "Father Walker possessed, naturally, a robust constitution, and was blessed with good health during the greater part of his active life. His mind, by nature, was much above the ordinary grade, and was informed and cultivated by an education such as our southern country at that time afforded. He was well versed in the Calvinistic system of theology, so ably illustrated and defended by our old divines. These, with the essential prerequisite of decided and unquestioned piety, certainly qualified him for a life of usefulness in the gospel ministry." "Taking into view the power of his example, his influence in the school-room, his influence in the house of mourning and at the funeral, and the effects of his public preaching, and remembering these labors continued, without ceasing, *forty years* in the same community, not to an ever-changing population—I say, take all these things into view, and I frankly confess that when I thus contemplate the man, there appears to my mind to be a grandeur, nay, a moral sublimity connected with his life and labors which I cannot describe."

We continue the succession of the elders in this church from page 339. "John Murphy was elected in 1780, and was, for a time, pre-eminent as an elder, and was leader of the music in public worship. Through a misplaced confidence in the

impostor McCarra, he was led to adhere to him after the popular verdict turned against him, so that his influence was greatly diminished. He continued in office through the period of which we write.

“John Cooper was called to the eldership in 1780, was a very devout man and zealous Christian, ready for every good word and work.

“Elijah Fleming was a son of the elder Robert Fleming, and entered upon the eldership in 1780.

“Col. Andrew Love served as ruling elder from about 1780 to about 1801, when he removed to Kentucky, leaving a son who afterwards succeeded him in the eldership here.

“Arthur Starr entered the eldership in 1794, and was a man of more than ordinary intelligence and of great conscientiousness. His official term was brief but active and useful. As illustrative of the times, we may add that it was objectingly said on his inauguration to the eldership, that ‘he was not a substantial man;’ and the explanation was, that ‘he did not own a distillery.’ He died about the close of the century, but left an honored name and cherished memory.

“Thomas Black was made an elder in 1794. He was a man of business capacities, diligent in his spiritual calling, and faithful as an officer.

“Elias Davidson was born in Pennsylvania and emigrated to this community about 1780. He was constituted an elder about 1794. He was clerk of the congregation for many years.

“Andrew McCreary was chosen to the eldership in 1795, and served until his removal to the West, at the close of the century.

“Samuel Williamson’s name is recorded in history as having resided on the battle-ground of Houck’s defeat, and having killed the first man slain in that battle. He was elevated to the bench of elders in 1795, and in a most commendable manner did he exemplify the spirit of his station. His official life extended into the next century. His father, James Williamson, senior, served a while as an elder in Purity church, Chester, but he returned to Bethesda in his latter days. Mr. Williamson left two sons for the ministry, two elders and a deacon for the church of Christ, and five daughters who were exemplary members of the Presbyterian church.

“William Clinton began to perform the duties of the eldership in 1799.

“Robert Hanna, a native of Mecklenburg, North Carolina,

was brought in early youth to Bethesda, of which he was made an elder in 1799."

Mr. Harris, to whose MS. history of this church we are indebted for this account of the eldership, speaks of this church as having been always characterized by its firm adherence to Presbyterian doctrines, principles, and usages, and having had a decided preference for the gospel in its simplicity and un-mixed purity.

Its officers have generally been men of decided characters, fair representatives of the intelligence and piety of the membership, and able to command the respect of all. Practical godliness and a high tone of morality have in general prevailed, and the church has always been one of the most reputable and prominent in the up-country, ranking with any in its materials, ecclesiastical organization, and its exhibitions of practical godliness and charity. The density of the population, and the predominance in it of Presbyterian training and predilection, have always contributed to its numerical strength. Notwithstanding the losses it had met with, it is believed its membership was about one hundred at the close of this century and the beginning of the next.

Among the large contributions which this congregation has made of men to the several walks in life, who were born previous to 1800, Mr. Harris enumerates Rev. James McElhenny, who, although born in the Waxhaw church, was brought to Bethesda when ten years of age.\* Rev. John McElhenny,

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\* "Among the men of my name who resided in the northwest part of the State," says Rev. John McElhenny, D.D., "was my brother James. His life was full of incidents well calculated to illustrate the mysterious dealings of God's providence, but to enter fully into his history would now be impracticable. I shall therefore only set down a few of the prominent facts connected with his life. His ancestors were of Scotch descent, who emigrated from Pennsylvania to South Carolina at an early day, and settled in the Waxhaws, in Lancaster district. His father, John McElhenny, was the eldest son of S. McElhenny, and his mother's maiden name was Call. They had six children, four sons and two daughters. James was the eldest of the family, and was born in the Waxhaws about the year 1766 or 1767. At the close of the Revolutionary war his father died. Soon after this, the family moved into Chester district, where he was partly raised. It was not until he was somewhat advanced in life that he became impressed with religion. When he obtained a hope he determined under God to prepare for the ministry. To reach this end he had many difficulties to encounter, but his energy and perseverance overcame them all. He commenced his classical education with Mr. Alexander, and completed the study of the languages with him. He studied the sciences with Doctor Hall of North Carolina; and with him studied theology, and was licensed to preach in that State. Soon after he was licensed he was invited to take charge of the congregation in John's island, near Charleston. How long he continued to preach in that congregation, or

D.D., his brother, born in the Waxhaw congregation, March 22d, 1782, was the youngest of six children, and was brought to Bethesda when only a few months old. After prosecuting his academical course under his pastor, Rev. R. B. Walker, he began the study of the languages with Dr. James Hall, of North Carolina. After a few months he repaired, in 1800, to the large academy, taught by Rev. James Gilleland, in Spartanburg district, and joined the church, probably Nazareth, in that neighborhood. In 1802 he entered Washington College, Virginia, having left home for Yale, but the prevalence of yellow fever had occasioned the suspension of its exercises. He studied theology under the Rev. Dr. Baxter, and was licensed by Lexington presbytery, February 11, 1808. In April following, he received a call from the church at Lewisburg, and soon after from the church of Union, twenty miles distant, and was ordained April, 1809. He preached in this united charge till 1834. For many years he was also principal of Lewisburg Academy. He preached his semi-centenary sermon at Lewisburg, June 5, 1858. Among his pupils were Rev. Henry Ruffner, D.D., and Rev. William S. Plumer, D.D., LL.D. He has been pastor of that church now (1869) sixty-one years. He was for a long time the only Presbyterian minister around and west of Lewisburg, and is the patriarch of Presbyterianism in that whole region, where he has stood a noble and devoted herald of the cross for nearly two-thirds of a century.—(Mr. Harris, MS. History, and the Central Presbyterian, August 4, 1869.)

"For more than fifty years," says Dr. Plumer, his former pupil, he has travelled far and wide, and preached the gospel with great earnestness and success. His personal and ministerial influence are of course prodigious.

"My first acquaintance with him began forty years ago, when I entered his classical school. He taught with great diligence and success. He was then also preaching stately in several places in two counties. He was a lively and powerful preacher. He was very joyous on wedding occasions, and was often sent for to a great distance to celebrate that honored rite. He always travelled on horseback; and has seldom, if ever, been known to fail punctually to meet an engagement.

"As an equestrian he has had few equals. He is a good judge of a horse. I

what success attended his ministry, I cannot say; but finding it hazardous to his health to spend his summers in that region, he purchased property in Pendleton district, where he spent the summers. His residence was not far from the court-house, and near to the Stone church. This congregation was at this time without a pastor. He was called to take charge of the congregation during his residence there in the summer. In the fall of 1813 a most malignant fever prevailed in his neighborhood; to this he fell a prey, and was buried in the graveyard at the Stone church."—(Letter of Rev. John McElhenny, D.D., to J. H. Saye.)

never saw him riding a mean one. He has not carried a watch for more than twenty years. He says it misleads him if he relies on it; but that his horse always brings him to his appointments in good time, if he relies on him alone.

"When this venerable man came to his present pastorate there were not more than *fifty* members of the Presbyterian Church within *seventy* miles of him in one direction, *one hundred and fifty* miles in another, and a *hundred* miles in two others. In the same region are now *nine hundred and ten* members of Presbyterian churches, and great numbers of good people have passed away. He has married one thousand and five hundred couples. He has baptized at least thirteen hundred persons. He has preached about eight thousand times, of which, probably, full one thousand were funeral discourses.

"In hospitality, he is boundless; in energy, indomitable; in friendships, ardent; in good-will to all, a model. He is known by almost all the children and servants for many miles around him. A year ago last summer there was a gathering of his friends at a meeting, which lasted several days. It was the *fiftieth* anniversary of his settlement. Many came twenty miles. One of his ministerial brethren rode on horseback 100 miles to be there; and one of his old pupils, a preacher of the gospel, came 700 miles by railroad, steamboat, and stage, to greet this venerable man, and tell him the debt he owed him, but could never pay.

"In stature this man is above the average height, rather thin than robust, with a musical voice, in which strangers notice a defect in pronouncing some syllables, and always having a manner of extreme earnestness. Sometimes his tones of voice and whole appearance melt down all his pious hearers. I once heard from him a sermon, which so affected the late Dr. Baxter, then President of Washington College, Virginia, that for three or four days he was heard repeating it as he walked over College Hill.

"As long ago as 1845 a member of the New York press visited this region, and was so struck with the power of this man, that he wrote to his paper: 'Wherever, in the hundred valleys that lie hidden in the mountains of South-western Virginia, you shall observe a dwelling, around which reign thrift and neatness, and within which are found domestic happiness and enlightened piety more than is common, there shall you hear them speak with reverence and affection of this good man, and tell many a story of days spent at school in Greenbrier. Let it be known that he is to preach, and all will be seen moving as when John the Baptist preached in the wilderness of Judea; for even those who at all other times neglect the house of worship, will not neglect it when this earnest veteran officiates. For the space of 200 miles all around him, he is *the* Bishop acknowledged by all hearts. . . . No man in Virginia rides and preaches more than he. None but the well-mounted shall be his company for a whole day, on one of his preaching tours to the destitute settlements of these mountains.

'He appears to be ever in a hurry to do good. He has been in a hurry all his life. He has no time for elegant circumlocutions. As soon as his message is delivered, he is in motion again, to deliver his message somewhere else. He is the very personification of motion. He is a striking illustration of how much a man can do who does it with all his might.

'I may add that such a man, in the best sense, never dies. His spirit and principles will live in ten thousand hearts, in successive generations, while a single human voice is heard, or footstep seen among the mountains of Virginia.'

"This venerable man, now [in 1860] in the 79th year of his age, yet lives with the excellent wife of his youth. Three of his children, two daughters and one son, still live. He has no child in the ministry; but one of his grandsons is now studying divinity. May his grandfather's mantle fall upon

him. The church at Lewisburg has lately procured a worthy helper to their old pastor in the person of Rev. Calvin Barr.

"During the recent sessions of the Baltimore Conference in Lewisburg, this venerable man was seen even to a late hour at night in the assembly, helping together by prayer and expressions of hearty good-will that reverend and able body of gospel ministers. They paid him the kindest attentions, and he and his generous people returned it all with interest. I had almost forgotten to add that I have been speaking of Rev. JOHN McELHENNEY, D.D."

Rev. Francis H. Porter, father of four sons who are now ministers in the Presbyterian church, and were educated at the seminary in Columbia; Rev. John Williamson, of Hope-well, North Carolina; Rev. Samuel Williamson, D.D., his brother, former president of Davidson College, both sons of the elder, Samuel Williamson; Rev. Lossing Clinton, son of the elder, William Clinton. The history of these men, and others he mentions, belongs rather to the nineteenth century than to this. He enumerates also Dr. Josiah Moore, Dr. William Bratton, Dr. Haslett Clendennin, Dr. William Gibson, Dr. James Davidson, Dr. John S. Bratton, Dr. Charles Hanna, Dr. William Moore, Dr. Alexander Clendennin, and Dr. Nathan Marion, who must have been born within the bounds of this congregation before the close of the eighteenth century, and various families that have emigrated from it into other States, to illustrate the influence for good which has gone forth from this community of Christians. But their history, and that of others born in the next century, does not belong to the times of which we treat.

EBENEZER (INDIAN LAND) remained vacant through these ten years. In the account of the churches in York county, to which we have before referred, this is spoken of as "a small congregation, who have never had the gospel statedly among them, except by stated supplies on week days, by the Rev. Francis Cummins, of the South Carolina presbytery; and also one summer season they had the one-half of Mr. John Bowman's labors, a probationer under the care of Orange presbytery." It is reported to the synod as a vacant congregation in 1791, 1796, and 1799. It solicited ministerial supplies, and Messrs. Foster, Davis, Dunlap, Walker, and Rosborough were appointed to preach to it in 1793, 1794, and 1796. "They are considerably divided in religious sentiments, and religion seems but low amongst them. They have been supplied by the South Carolina presbytery."

UNITY CHURCH, in the northeastern part of York, in the Indian Land, is represented by the same authority as not very unanimous in sentiment, and as dependent on presbytery for

supplies. It however became part of the charge of Rev. John Brown, after his settlement at Waxhaw, in 1793, and he devoted to it one-fourth part of his time. Their call to him was laid before presbytery in 1798. The fall meeting of presbytery was held at this church October 11, 1798.

The small congregation known as SHILOH, or CALVARY, in the upper part of York, and near the North Carolina line, was partly supplied from Orange presbytery, and partly from South Carolina. It never had the gospel preached to them statedly before the close of this century. We find Messrs. W. C. Davis and G. G. McWhorter appointed to visit it and preach in 1795, 1796, 1797, and 1798.

OLNEY also, formerly the upper part of Bethel congregation, and over the North Carolina line, received occasional supplies from the presbytery of South Carolina.

OLD WAXHAW CHURCH.—The Rev. Mr. Finley was dismissed from the Waxhaw church and the presbytery in 1788, having been in this pastorate four years and a half.\* The presbytery ordered as supplies for this congregation that year, Rev. James Edmonds, Rev. James W. Stephenson, and the licentiates, Mr. Humphrey Hunter and James Wallis.† Mr. Davis says: "The eastern part of the congregation who incline to worship at their new house, have, since his (Rev. Mr. Finley's) departure, discovered some inclination to join another community. The reason of this is thus explained. During the period that the church was vacant "a foreign clergyman (Bryce Muller) from Ireland, and of very eccentric character, stationed himself in this section of the country, and itinerated extensively, and ingratiated himself into the favor of a large proportion of the supporters of this congregation, and in others in its vicinity, and prevailed on many to withdraw from the Presbyterian church, and to form themselves into separate societies. It was about this period that changes were being made in sundry churches by the substitution of Dr. Watts's Psalmody for that of Rouse's, commonly called the Old Version of the Psalms of David. Of this circumstance this foreign minister availed himself, to excite and fix the prejudices of those who attended on his ministrations, and that

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\* Mr. Finley was received by the presbytery of Redstone in Western Pennsylvania, November 10, 1780. He removed to Kentucky in 1791, where he labored a short time in the ministry.

† Mr. Crockett also mentions a Mr. Samuel Finley, who preached after Mr. Robert Finley, and before Mr. Brown.

with considerable success. He continued his labors in this region for four or five years. But at length his irregularities becoming notorious, his influence was weakened, and he was eventually constrained to remove to the western country. Although the agent by whom this state of things was produced was removed, very few of those who were drawn off from the Presbyterian churches returned to them. They generally attached themselves to the Associate or the Associate Reformed presbytery. And by this means the Presbyterian churches were divided and weakened."—(MS. of Dr. Thornwell, pastor of this church in 1835.) "In the beginning of the year 1792, application was made to Mr. John Brown, then a probationer under the Orange presbytery, who has since joined the presbytery of South Carolina, and in October last (1793), was ordained our minister." This gentleman was born in Chester district. At the age of sixteen he enjoyed the advantages of a country-school for nine months; and in his nineteenth year he was sent for an equal period to a grammar-school taught by Mr. Humphries, at the Waxhaw church, where he was associated with Andrew Jackson as a fellow-student. These eighteen months embrace the whole period of his school education. At the age of sixteen he bore arms, as Jackson did, under General Sumter. He was shot at by the Tories who were in pursuit of him, when on one occasion he had returned from camp. He was in the battle of Eutaw, and others of that period. After the war was over, he availed himself of every opportunity of improvement his circumstances would allow. He studied theology under Rev. Dr. McCorkle, of Salisbury, and was licensed in 1788. In 1793, he was received as a licentiate from the presbytery of Orange, and was ordained, as before mentioned, by the presbytery of South Carolina, at Waxhaw, on the 10th of October. Dr. Brown, during his pastorate, preached one-fourth of his time at the Black Jack church, on the southeastern side of Cain creek.

The beginnings of a BETHANY CHURCH, in Lancaster district, also now appear. A letter was received by the presbytery, "from a number of the inhabitants of Lancaster district, requesting to be known on our minutes by the name of Bethany Church, and who petition for supplies."

There were three congregations to which Rev. Robert McClintock ministered during this decade, as he did for some years before. One was the congregation of Concord, in Fairfield district, received under the care of presbytery in April, 1796; another was Indian Creek, in Newberry; a third was

Rocky Spring, in Laurens district. For twelve or thirteen years he seems to have preached to these congregations with great regularity, rather oftener than once a month in each, exchanging frequently with his brethren Morrison and McCosh, most often with the latter. He appears to have been a man of great activity. His register of baptisms embraces the names of two thousand and eighty persons whom he baptized in various parts of the State, the last record being June 5, 1803. He died soon after this, it is believed in the year 1803, aged about fifty-seven, and lies buried in "McDowel's Old Field" on Warrior's creek, near the church of that name, which was not then built. He left three children, two sons and a daughter—John, Robert, and Mary. John is dead. Robert survives, and is a ruling elder in the Clinton church.

The church of DUNCAN'S CREEK was visited by Mr. Humphrey Hunter, then recently licensed, by the appointment of presbytery. He preached for them in the closing part of 1789, and also at Little River. In April, 1790, these churches sent a call to presbytery for his services, which was placed in his hands. Meanwhile Mr. Hunter had made use of the "Gospel Psalmody" instead of the version of Rouse, which provoked the displeasure of some, and the call was declined by him at the next meeting of presbytery. After this the church was supplied by James Templeton and Messrs. Williamson, Hunter, Wilson, A. Brown, and John B. Kennedy. The people of Duncan's Creek, in conjunction with the congregation of Little River, preferred a call to the last-named candidate, which was introduced to presbytery in September, 1795, accepted by Mr. Kennedy at the Spring-meeting in April, 1796. His ordination took place at Duncan's Creek, September 8th, 1796, Rev. William Williamson preaching the ordination sermon, and James Templeton delivering the charge. Mr. Kennedy claimed the liberty of using either version in the worship of God, and did so for a season; but this giving offence to some who were more zealous than discreet, he intermitted the use of the old version, which again gave great offence to a number, who left the church altogether; among whom were two elders, Samuel Laird and James Underwood, whom Mr. Kennedy had ordained. On Mr. Kennedy's accession to the church but two of the old elders, Joseph Adair and Robert Long, were surviving. These differences of sentiment, with deaths and removals, left this church and congregation considerably diminished at the close of the eighteenth century.

The history of LITTLE RIVER CHURCH was nearly parallel with

that of Duncan's Creek during those ten years. It made the same efforts to provide itself with the ordinances of the gospel. During the period of their destitution of pastoral supervision, they obtained occasional visits and ministrations of the word and ordinances from the presbytery, by different preachers, often the same who were appointed to visit the congregation of Duncan's Creek. They united with it in the call to Mr. Hunter, and afterwards to Mr. Kennedy, who became their pastor, in April, 1796. The interests of this congregation suffered much by differences of political opinions, during the war which terminated in our national independence, and since that time by divisions connected with religion. Besides the supplies granted by the presbytery of South Carolina, we find, by a letter addressed to Robert McClintock, that Rev. Hugh Morrison, whose connection was with the presbytery of Charleston, preached at Little river for one year. The letter of Mr. Morrison is dated Little river, April 25th, 1791. In July, 1790, Mr. Morrison wrote from Belleville, on the Congaree, his ministry at Little river being at an end.

GRASSY SPRING makes its *first* appearance in the minutes of presbytery during this decade. On page 73, under date of September 24, 1794, is the record, "Grassy Spring petition to be taken under our care and to be supplied." It could not have been associated as a distinct congregation much before.\* William Williamson was appointed to preach to them one Sabbath, April 13, 1797. J. B. Kennedy and J. B. Davies were appointed for one Sabbath. J. B. Davies again at the Fall meeting of presbytery, and William Williamson in October, 1798, who was also to "examine." The same order of *examinations* is enjoined upon all the supplies appointed for destitute congregations at this meeting of presbytery. Previous to 1795 or '6, the visits and ministerial labors of Dr. Joseph Alexander, of Bullock's Creek, were frequently enjoyed by them. They seemed to have worshipped first at Indian Creek, on the other side of the Enoree. That congregation appears to have passed under the care of Robert McClintock. The Rev. William Williamson became pastor of the church of Fairforest in 1794, and, according to a MS.

\* "It has not existed as a society above six months, and as it appears to be in a growing state, it exhibits a more promising appearance than Brown's Creek, though it is much smaller. A few in each of these places are earnest to hear the gospel preached among them."—(Materials for the Church Hist. of Union County, South Carolina, April 7, 1794.)

history of a committee of presbytery now in hand, he became thenceforward a stated supply of the church of Grassy Spring. The specific appointments of presbytery would seem to indicate the contrary, but he is set down as such in the roll of presbytery at its division in 1799. He preached to it one-fourth part of his time until 1802, when he resigned his pastoral charge. Grassy Spring was distant from his residence between thirty and thirty-five miles. Families of the name of Otterson, Dugan, Crenshaw, Gordon, Johnson, Valentine, Buford, Caldwell, and Hamilton were connected with the congregation at this time, and Major Samuel Otterson and Thomas Gordon were elders. The Bufords and Crenshaws came from Virginia, subsequent to the war of the Revolution, and settled on Tyger river. Mrs. Davies, the widow of J. B. Davies, former pastor of Fishing Creek church, was brought up in this congregation. So were Dr. E. A. Crenshaw, of Yorkville, and Dr. Otterson, of Limestone Springs. The commencement of a church at Cane Creek, distant twelve miles from this, seems to have terminated the existence of Grassy Spring church, though there was probably preaching at the place afterwards. About 1800, or soon after, many families moved West, and left the majority of the members nearer to Cane Creek than to the old place of worship. The church of Grassy Spring continued down into the following century.

ROCKY SPRING, Laurens.—We have seen (see p. 528) that Rev. Robert McClintock preached at this church, in connection with Indian Creek and Concord, from November, 1787. From his register of the places and times of his preaching, he must have continued to preach to this congregation at least till the latter part of April, 1798, the last date in this register. The testimony of his son is that he preached at this and the other churches he served, till his death, in 1803. Among the ministers with whom he exchanged, were Morrison, Logue, and McCosh, chiefly the latter. That he was in disfavor among the stricter Presbyterians is evident from a number of circumstances. A letter written to him by Andrew Smith, from Old Cambridge, June 9, 1794, alluding to some difficulty touching the church, says: "And I cannot suppose but they, in their present situation, ought and would quarrel with you about principles. It would appear bad to be reported that they had even thought of forsaking a clergyman who was remarkable for toleration and love of liberty."

LIBERTY SPRING.—The Rev. John McCosh was the minister

of this church until his death. His people were in limited circumstances, and when a subscription was made for his services, it is recollected by Dr. Campbell, our informant, that only fifty cents were paid in silver; the rest was to be paid in grain. He had, therefore, to resort to teaching, which he commenced doing in 1792. He had been educated at Glasgow, and was a very competent teacher. He was not very prepossessing in his personal appearance, being much pitted by the small-pox. He was of a frigid temperament, and had a bad delivery; but his discourses are represented to have been solid and instructive. He is described as being a man of great sincerity, humility, and modesty, and his teaching and preaching as having a salutary influence in advancing the morals and intelligence of the community, which had suffered much from the rude times which had preceded. His method as a teacher is spoken of in the highest terms by those who were his pupils. Mr. McCosh was never married. He died September 5, 1795, and was buried in a cemetery at a Baptist church, about three miles from Liberty Spring. The house erected for public worship went to ruin after his death, and there were not more than four or five families who appeared desirous of obtaining the public means of grace. Mr. McCosh had not affiliated with the South Carolina presbytery, his connections, like that of other Irish ministers who were among his friends and associates, being with the presbytery of Charleston. The old elders died, and the little church became disorganized. The few that were left felt unable to obtain and to support the regular ministrations of the gospel. They applied, October 27, 1796, to be taken under the care of South Carolina presbytery and to receive supplies, and the Rev. John B. Kennedy, who was appointed to supply them at their request, preached to them on Saturdays during that and the succeeding year. On these occasions numbers attended public worship who were not professors, some of whom became serious and applied for admission as members of the church of Christ. The families who were attached to the doctrines and discipline of the Presbyterian church were advised to choose men for the office of ruling elders, in order that they might become organized as a religious society. This they did; after which Mr. Kennedy attended, conversed with those elders elect, and ordained them in the presence of the congregation. From this time he became more particularly attentive to them, and preached to them, as far as convenient, until the year 1803, after which his labors became

more regular. The elders thus elected were Jonathan Johnson, Esq., Major John Middleton, Captain John Robinson, James Neikels, Joseph Hollingsworth, and Samuel Truman, all men of sterling worth. On the 6th of December, 1798, the congregation purchased thirty acres of land, for the use of a church and school. The deed or title was afterwards executed by John Wells. Mr. Kennedy was an excellent, sound, doctrinal preacher, a man of great piety and indefatigable industry. His useful labors were extended into the next century.

UNION PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.—We find the name, "Brown's Creek (alias Union)," used in the minutes of presbytery, Oct., 1796. At that time Wm. Williamson was appointed to visit the church. Joseph Alexander was appointed twice in 1797, and J. B. Kennedy and J. B. Rosborough in 1798. The church seems to have owed much to Mr. Alexander for his labors, who probably visited them much oftener than the presbyterial appointments would indicate. Nor had they ceased when the century closed. The settlement began to receive supplies from presbytery as early as 1767, but in April, 1797, it had not yet been organized as a church.—(Materials for the Church History of Union County.)

FAIRFOREST CHURCH in Union district.—This church was without a pastor, and depending on the presbytery for occasional preaching. In 1790, in connection with Brown's Creek (or Union), they called Mr. Hunter to be their pastor, but were unsuccessful. He, however, labored among them from six to twelve months.—(Letter of Jephtha Harrison, D.D., of Burlington, Iowa, to Rev. J. H. Saye, dated June 22, 1857.) In the same year James Templeton administered to them the Lord's Supper. W. C. Davis visited them, and preached in their pulpit by order of presbytery. After the licensure of Mr. William Williamson, in 1793, they were so well pleased with his ministerial labors and qualifications, that a regular call was preferred to him through the presbytery. To this invitation he acceded, and he was ordained in September, 1794, at the Fall meeting of presbytery, which was held at that church; Wm. C. Davis preaching the ordination sermon from 1 John, iv. 1, and Dr. Joseph Alexander pronouncing the charge. He divided his labors chiefly between them and the church of Grassy Spring. He continued among them, useful and esteemed, until 1804, when, from a desire to manumit his servants, and for other reasons, he removed with a portion of his congregation to the State of Ohio, where he

resided in the region of Sciota river, and died at an advanced age. The church prospered greatly under his ministry. Mr. Williamson's family came from North Carolina. His father lived at Spartanburg Court-house during the Revolutionary war, and afterwards removed to Greenville, and again to Ferguson's Creek, where he died. Mr. Williamson was brought up in Spartanburg district, and received his collegiate training at Hampden Sydney College, in Virginia. He was received under care of presbytery on the 17th of April, 1791, and was licensed on the 16th of April, 1793, at the same time with Robert Wilson, David E. Dunlap, Wm. Montgomery, and Samuel W. Yongue. He began preaching at Fairforest as a candidate in 1792, and at first had little life and spirit as a speaker, but improved greatly, and especially as the interest in religion increased in the great revivals which the churches enjoyed at the commencement of the nineteenth century. Mr. Williamson had a brother, Dr. Thomas Williamson, who was a physician, but abandoned the practice of medicine for the ministry. He was licensed to preach, and began his labors as a preacher with great zeal, but died before he was ordained.

The first meeting of session, noticed in the present records, was held August 16th, 1791. The Rev. David Barr, moderator; elders present—John Davidson, William Patton, Joseph Kelso, James Mayes, Hugh Means, James McIlwain, and Robert Harris. These records, as kept through many subsequent years, contain scarcely anything except its judicial business. Other transactions connected with the congregation are not recorded. Of the earlier elders, some account has been given before. As to John Davidson, Wm. Patton, and Joseph Kelso, tradition gives no other information than that they were true and worthy men in all the relations of life. The same is true of some others whose names appear on the records of session as elders before the close of the century, viz., Henry Story, James Means, Samuel Kelso, and William Davitt. Major Samuel Morrow was a native of Baltimore county, Maryland, and was born about 1760. He was brought by his parents in early life to Fishing Creek congregation. He served his country faithfully as a soldier of liberty. About the close of the war, he married Jeannette Nelson, a native of Ireland, and soon after they became communicants of Fishing Creek church, then under the care of Rev. John Simpson. Soon after, he removed to Spartanburg district and settled on Dutchman's Creek, some nine or ten miles from where Fairforest church then was. Mainly by his influence a new house

of worship was erected about 1786 or '87, some two miles nearer his residence, and on the same lot where the present house of worship stands. Soon after Mr. Williamson became pastor, he was ordained a ruling elder, and served the church in this office as long as he was able to reach the house of worship. He died in February, 1842. Honest, sincere, candid, systematic, humble, meek, always strong in faith, giving glory to God, his image rises before us as a model of whatsoever is true and lovely in man, as a husband, father, master, neighbor, and friend. His worthy companion survived him a little over seven years. She died, April, 1849, and was buried in the midst of the famous snow-storm which occurred on the 15th day of that month."—(MS. Hist. by Rev. James H. Saye.) "Richard Thompson was ordained an elder at the same time with Major Morrow. His father, John Thompson, removed from Pennsylvania or Maryland to Fairforest in 1776. Richard was then ten years of age. Being too young to take the field as a soldier, he remained at home with his mother in the perilous times of 1780 and '81. In the summer of 1780, his father was taken by the Tories and imprisoned at Ninety-Six. In company with his mother he visited the place, shortly after the battle of Musgrove's Mill, to carry food and clothing to the starving prisoners. His father was released in the Fall, returned home, and died before the commencement of 1781. This event made Richard the main chance to perform the labor on two farms, upon which two families of orphans were dependent for subsistence for many years. He, however, applied himself, in addition, so closely to study, that he was soon qualified for teaching, and became the most accurate and reliable surveyor in the up-country. His skill in mathematics was great, but the Rev. Mr. Templeton, whose forte was in this department, found a problem in the Fairforest congregation, about 1786, which neither he nor Mr. Thompson could solve, to wit: 'The church had five elders, and each elder had his *quarter* of the congregation to overlook.' Mr. Thompson was a man of very uniform character, upright demeanor, fond of discussing questions in science and theology. He died February 28th, 1848."—(Rev. James H. Saye.)

The Fairforest congregation have always known how to make their pastor comfortable, let his salary promised be ever so small. They have never been ostentatious in promises, nor slow in finding out when a supplement was desirable. They have always appreciated the services of the schoolmaster. From the period of the Revolution there has been a succes-

sion of well-qualified teachers in different parts of the congregation. A Mr. Mullen, a fine classical scholar, taught in the congregation soon after the war, and others have succeeded him. The men that have been reared in the congregation have been generally staunch and enterprising citizens, steadfast in the principles of morality and faith acknowledged by their fathers. They have succeeded in all professions and callings. Though few have become ministers of the gospel, many have been highly acceptable ruling elders in different congregations. Existing with the very first settlements in the up-country, it stood for a time on the frontiers of civilization, "the Ultima Thule" of missionary operations in the Presbyterian church. All the motives for emigration have existed here. It was in a region fruitful in men, enjoying a climate favorable for the development of all the energies of our nature. When half of a crowded community emigrates, the space vacated gives room for expansion to that which remains. Fairforest has passed through many such seasons of depletion and reinvigoration. Her temporary losses have been the beginnings of new influences for good in other regions. Her vigorous scions have, in some instances, outgrown their parent stock. The daughters have acquired proportions the mother never reached. Some of her sons were of the first settlers in Pendleton district, and aided in founding the first church there. Six of the male members of Hebron church, Georgia, were sons of Fairforest. Two of them were elders of that congregation, and a third became an elder there, and subsequently of Fairview, in that State. Of the other three, one became an elder of Thyatira, and another of Newnan, and the third died young. These three were brothers, and were grandsons of George Story, one of the pioneers of Fairforest. Two of the elders of Fishing Creek, in 1835, were sons of a Fairforest man. One of the elders of Waxhaw is the grandson of one of the first settlers on Fairforest. North Pacolet church was very much an offshoot of the same old stock. One of the colony which formed Zion church, Maury county, Tennessee, was a son of one of the first elders of Fairforest. Some of the members of Newhope, Georgia, soon after its formation, were from Fairforest, and some of its descendants have always been among its most efficient members. Emigrants from Fairforest laid the foundation of some of the most flourishing congregations in Green county, Alabama, and other parts of that State. The same is true of Mississippi and the western district of Tennessee."—(MS. History, by J.

H. Saye.) Thus has Fairforest, like the vine of Sibmah, sent forth its branches eastward and westward, an illustration of what has occurred in many other churches of South Carolina, and which could be still further and more strikingly exhibited if our present plan permitted us to describe the migrations of our Presbyterian people, southward and westward, which has occurred in the nineteenth century.

NAZARETH CHURCH.—William C. Davis was pastor of this church, in connection with MILFORD, in 1791. He was dismissed from this charge in 1792. In April, 1793, these churches apply as vacancies, and Dr. Cummins, D. E. Dunlap, S. W. Yongue, and Wm. Montgomery are appointed to supply at Nazareth, and James Templeton, Wm. Montgomery, W. C. Davis, and D. E. Dunlap at Milford. Joseph Alexander, D. E. Dunlap, A. Brown, John Simpson, John Foster, and J. B. Kennedy at Nazareth; and A. Brown, John Brown, and J. B. Kennedy at Milford, in 1794. James Gilleland, senior, supplied at Milford in 1795, J. B. Kennedy in 1797, James Templeton and J. B. Rosborough in 1798. *Milford* appears to have been an organized church. There was a reference from Nazareth and Milford sessions to presbytery, in 1789, and the name Milford is continued down in the records of presbytery for some years after the close of this century. Its exact locality is unknown to the present writer. It is supposed it was in the upper part of Greenville district, on one of the branches of the Tyger, although said in the record to be in Laurens, which may be a clerical error. In 1794, the Rev. James Templeton became the stated supply of the Nazareth church, and continued so for nearly eight years. Mr. Templeton is spoken of as being far from an animated speaker, but as taking great interest in the general business of the church.\* Mr. Davis, on the contrary, is said to have been

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\* "James Gilleland, Jr., taught a grammar school in Spartanburg district. He was not at this time licensed to preach, but was preparing for the ministry. He stood high as a linguist, and a number of youth attended his school, which was located in Mr. Templeton's congregation. It was with Mr. Gilleland, mainly, that I studied the languages, and attended the preaching of Mr. Templeton, from the year 1798 to 1801. He was then an old man, and my impression is that he had not been preaching long in that congregation. The only individual that I now recollect, who was with me at school in Spartanburg, who studied theology, was Dr. Samuel B. Wilson, who is now Professor of Theology in Union Seminary in Prince Edward county. He was a native of North Carolina, and brother to Dr. Robert G. Wilson." —(Letter of Dr. John McIlhenney of Lewisburg, Virginia, to James H. Saye.) The Philanthropic Society, with James Templeton at its head, was organ-

“a powerful and popular preacher.” His introduction of Watts's Psalms and Hymns gave great offence to many in the congregation who had been used to Rouse's version. In October, 1797, Mr. Davis was dismissed to join the presbytery of Concord, North Carolina, and was, at that time, pastor of Olney, or New Bethel, an offshoot of Bethel, in York.

NORTH PACOLET.—In 1790 the Rev. Thomas Newton labored in this church. The elders at this time were R. Caruth and J. Jackson. Of the members were R. Caruth, his wife, and his son, A. Caruth, and his wife; J. Jackson and his wife; J. Logan and his wife; T. Jackson, and Mrs. Jackson, his wife; S. Jackson, senior, and his wife; S. Jackson, junior, and Mrs. Jackson; J. McDowell and Mrs. McDowell; R. McMillan and Mrs. McMillan. After this it continued a vacant congregation, dependent on such occasional supplies as could be procured. Messrs. Templeton, Montgomery, Williamson, W. C. Davis, and Dunlap were appointed to preach to them in 1793; W. C. Davis, Williamson, A. Brown, J. Gilleland, and J. B. Kennedy, in 1794. In 1795 they obtained leave to join Mounting Creek, in North Carolina, in calling a pastor. It was reported, however, to the close of the century, as among those weaker congregations that were unable to support a minister.

FAIRVIEW CHURCH remained without a pastor, and received the occasional labors of Messrs. J. Foster, J. Simpson, William Montgomery, until 1794, when they called the Rev. James Templeton, and enjoyed the half of his pastoral labors until 1800, when their connection with him in this relation ceased. Besides these, William Williamson and James Gilleland were supplies in 1798.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

UPPER LONG CANE.—We have seen that Rev. Robert Hall was settled as the pastor of the Upper Long Cane and Saluda (or Greenville) churches in 1787. He continued in these congregations till the end of the year 1791, to the great satisfaction of all parties. About this time his health became much impaired, and at length, in April, 1793, he was dismissed by

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ized with the view of advancing and perpetuating an academy of high order, and was incorporated by the legislature in 1797. James Gilleland, junior, was licensed by the second presbytery of South Carolina, April 8th, 1802. He was ordained as pastor of Nazareth and Fairview, on the 7th of April, 1803.

presbytery from his pastoral charge at Greenville and Long Cane. He had then for a long time been unable to preach. He removed to Pendleton district, and soon afterwards, while travelling in the West for the benefit of his health, he died. The record on the minutes of presbytery, October 11, 1797, is thus :

“ Our reverend and dear brother, Robert Hall, has deceased since our last.”

In 1793 a society was formed by most of the members then belonging to the Upper Long Cane congregation of Presbyterians, associating themselves to provide a permanent fund for the support of the gospel in their congregation, for endowing one or more schools where orphans and poor children might be taught free of expense, and for other purposes of benevolence, so as to place these great objects above the vicissitudes of society and the inconveniences of a new country. This society was incorporated in 1799. At first it consisted of thirty-five members, and in a few years increased to sixty; but has generally been below thirty-two. In the course of time, the original subscription of sixty-five dollars had, by the annual payment of one dollar by each member, and from the compounding of interest, produced a fund in 1852 of about \$15,000, and had paid in addition to the clergyman's salary, \$11,392.83; a striking illustration of the rise of a considerable fund from small beginnings, carefully invested and wisely managed.—(Constitution and By-laws of the Long Cane Society of Abbeville district, printed in 1832.)

The congregation now remained vacant from the year 1791 until the spring of the year 1794, when calls dated the 5th of April, 1794, were presented to the Rev. Robert Wilson, then a licentiate of South Carolina presbytery. These calls were accepted, and Mr. Wilson was ordained at the GREENVILLE church, on the 22d of May, 1794, Rev. Thomas Reese preaching the ordination sermon, and Francis Cummins giving the charge. He continued the settled pastor in these congregations, each receiving one-half his labors, until the spring of the year 1797, when some difficulties arose between them on account of their pecuniary matters, the result of which was that he was dismissed from his pastoral care of both congregations, and immediately accepted a call from Upper Long Cane for three-fourths of his time and ministerial labors.

This eminent clergyman continued to labor with great ability, and to the great edification of his people, until the spring of the year 1805, when, to the mortification and regret of the

congregation, he took his dismissal and removed to the State of Ohio, where he afterwards presided over the university of that State as its president. The college of Princeton conferred on him the degree of doctor of divinity, after his removal to Ohio, and he assumed the additional name of Gilleland (Robert Gilleland Wilson). Of this distinguished servant of God it is worthy of remark, that on the organization of the South Carolina college, the trustees appointed him first professor of languages, with the professed object of making him successor of their distinguished president, Dr. Maxcy. But this appointment he declined, his motive for which being the same that induced him to leave his pastoral charge, as appears by his answer to an address presented to him in behalf of the congregation in November, 1804, in which he says: "But please to remember; my predecessor, Mr. Hall, continued too long in this country; his constitution was broken, and his health irrecoverably lost. Had he moved a few years earlier, perhaps he might yet have been a useful man." "I must also remind you that the proceedings of our legislature have been highly distressing to me, and render the prospect of usefulness in the ministry (in my view), very small." In explanation of this letter it is necessary to remark, that Mr. Wilson had been for some time afflicted with the fever and ague; but the proceedings of the legislature were what principally operated with him. This was the act opening the African slave-trade. He had always been opposed to slavery in every shape; but this new instance of unfeeling cupidity in the State, as he says, in his view, rendered the prospect of usefulness in the ministry very small, and finally determined him not only to decline the appointment offered him in the college, but to leave the State for one where slavery was not tolerated."—(MS. History, by Robert H. Wardlaw, Esq.)

Although our purpose has been to close the present volume with the eighteenth century, yet as Dr. Wilson's labors in South Carolina were terminated early in the nineteenth, we trespass against our general purpose, and insert here a brief history of his life.

The Rev. Robert G. Wilson, D.D., was born in York district, South Carolina, December 30th, 1768. His parentage has been given in the biographical notice of his younger brother, under the head of the old Bethel church, on p. 605. When about four years old he became the subject of religious impressions in a singular manner. He was lying alone on a little bed, suffering greatly from an aching tooth, when it occurred to him that God is the hearer of prayer, and that it was his privilege to ask for relief. Kneeling by his bedside, he earnestly besought God to take away his pain, and it ceased at once. The impression made upon his mind by this sudden relief was deep and lasting.

He did not suppose that his conversion took place at that time; but in this he may have been mistaken. He was, when a boy, remarkable for his peaceful temper; and at that early period he loved the house of God. At length, in his seventeenth year, he heard from the lips of his pastor, the Rev. Francis Cummins, the sermon to which, under God, he attributed his conversion. The text was, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock," &c. He soon after this made a profession of his faith. On the 4th of July, 1784, he commenced the study of Latin, with the view of preparing for the ministry. During a part of his preparatory course he was a fellow-student with Andrew Jackson, and with others who have since figured largely, both in the political and religious world. In 1789, he entered Dickinson college, then under the presidency of Dr. Nisbit. In 1790, he graduated, and returning to Carolina, commenced the study of theology under the direction of Messrs. Cummins and William C. Davis. On the 16th of April, 1793, (just fifty-eight years before his death), he was licensed to preach the gospel by the presbytery of South Carolina; and on the 22d of May, 1794, he was ordained and installed pastor of the Upper Long Cane church, in Abbeville district. He had, at the same time, the charge of the church at Greenville. While connected with these churches, his labors were much blessed. The great revival, which about that time, in spite of all its errors and extravagances, sent a tide of salvation over the West and South, reached, and beautified, and enlarged, the churches under his care.

The trustees of South Carolina college offered him a professorship in that institution. The salary, with sundry perquisites, amounted to \$1800 per annum. The trustees of an academy in Augusta, Georgia, invited him to take charge of their school, promising him \$2,000 a year. But breaking asunder these ties, and rejecting these offers of a competent support for a now growing family, he accepted in 1805, a call to become pastor of a little newly organized church in Chillicothe, Ohio, with a salary of \$400. He had visited Chillicothe the year before, on his way home from Philadelphia, where he had been attending the General Assembly. While remaining there a few days to recruit himself and his jaded horse, an incident occurred, which in its results, gave him joy and gratitude when worn out with age.

Learning that the Rev. Robert B. Dobbins, with whom he had been acquainted in Carolina, had a week-day appointment to preach twelve miles from town, he rode out to see him. On being invited, he preached for Mr. Dobbins, under a tree near the spot now occupied by the Concord meeting-house. Nearly half a century passed away, when, enfeebled with age, and laid aside from all public duties, he came to Salem to close his life; and there he found three members of the Presbyterian church, who attributed their conversion to the blessing of God upon that sermon. Thus having cast his bread upon the waters, he found it after many days. After removing to Chillicothe, he gave half of his labors for seven years to Union church, five miles from town. On resigning his charge there, he found his reduced salary, before so small, inadequate for the support of himself and family. At the earnest solicitation of his people and others, he accepted, with much reluctance, the office of Postmaster, with the view of eking out a living. This proved to be profitable. After paying a deputy, who did most of the labor, his office brought him in \$600 per annum. At length a change was made in the postal arrangements, which required the mail to be opened on the Sabbath. He at once resigned his office, and wrote to the government a letter of earnest remonstrance. He remained pastor of the Chillicothe church nineteen years, greatly beloved by his people and fellow-citizens, and much blessed in his labors. In 1818, he was honored with the degree of D.D., from the college of New Jersey. In 1824, by the advice of his presbytery, he resigned his charge in Chillicothe, and removed to Athens, to take the presidency of the

Ohio university. Over this college he presided with great dignity and popularity until 1839. Induced by increasing infirmities, he then gave up his presidency and returned to Chillicothe. Dr. Wilson was now an old man, bending under the snows of more than seventy winters, but he had still a heart for his Master's work. He agreed to preach as a stated supply for the Union church. Here he labored seven years. An anecdote will illustrate his characteristic punctuality. The writer found in the pulpit Bible, after the Doctor had left Union, the following memorandum: "On — day of —, a very wet day, rode out from Chillicothe (five miles) to preach here, and found no person present—no, not one." When seventy-eight years old, Dr. Wilson left public life, and after that time he appeared but very seldom in the pulpit. He retained his mental vigor, and his love to the cause of Christ, but his voice and his strength were gone. The last four years and four months of his life he spent at South Salem, in retirement with his children. During all this time he was but four Sabbaths absent from the house of God. When unable to rise from his bed, or from his knees without help, he would still lead the worship of the family. He did this on the day preceding his death, on the fifty-eighth anniversary of his licensure. It was impossible to commune with his peaceful, cheerful, hopeful spirit, in his last years, without feeling the conviction that he was reposing in the land of Beulah. During his last sickness he gave this as his dying testimony: "My hope of salvation rests on the sixteenth verse of the third chapter of John—'God so loved the world,' &c. I understood the plan of salvation there revealed to us. As a lost sinner I feel my need of it, I acquiesce in it, I rest upon it. I have long been engaged in examining my hope, and can find in it no flaw." A few days before his death, when speaking of the mysteries of providence and grace, he said: "I sometimes think that in a few minutes more I will know all these things in heaven." Thus lived and died Robert G. Wilson. He was a wise man; a cheerful, happy man; a useful man; and all because he was a sinner saved by grace. In person, he was tall, strongly built, and well proportioned, of manly carriage and pleasant manners; and in his preaching, earnest, fearless, and kind. He died at South Salem on the 17th of April, 1851, in the eighty-third year of his age. On the 9th of October 1797, he was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander and Frances Gilleland, of Lincoln county, North Carolina. She died December 21st, 1813. In 1818, he was again married to Mrs. Crafts, who died in 1838.

The following are his publications: *Satan's Wiles*; a sermon preached at Chillicothe, 1817. A Sermon preached at the opening of the synod of Ohio, 1828. A sermon on *Temperance*, preached at Athens, 1829. A sermon in the Presbyterian Preacher, 1833. An Address to the graduating class of Ohio University, 1836.—(Presbyterian, 1851. Sprague's Annals, iv., p. 122.)

**GREENVILLE CHURCH** (formerly Saluda).—We have seen that the history of Greenville and Upper Long Cane congregations were parallel down to March, 1797, both being under the pastoral care of Robert Wilson, as they had previously been under the care of Robert Hall. The Greenville congregation did not regard themselves able to pay the half of Mr. Wilson's salary, and Long Cane was not willing to pay more than half. On application to presbytery, the union of the two congregations was dissolved. Mr. Wilson, however, continued to preach at Greenville church once in the month for one year. This period having passed, the church was left dependent on the few

occasional supplies that could be procured, until the Spring of 1800. About this time it numbered forty communicants.

HOPEWELL CHURCH (formerly Lower Long Cane, and Fort Boone).—This church had been united with Rocky River under the care of Robert Mecklin, who died in 1788. These congregations had been taught to appreciate “the word of life” too highly, to endure the want of it with indifference. In the latter part of 1789, they preferred a call to Rev. Francis Cummins, who, laboring perhaps under some grievances in his congregation at Bethel, accepted their call and became their pastor early in 1790. In this relation he continued until 1796, when his connection with Hopewell ceased, but he retained his connection with Rocky River. While Dr. Cummins yet remained pastor at Hopewell, the French membership reached its climax at this church, and it was deemed important for them to have a representation in the session. An election was held, in which Joseph C. Calhoun, Andrew Weed, E. Pettigru, Mr. Milligan, and Pierre Gibert were chosen, who were ordained to their office by Dr. Cummins. Hopewell remained vacant, and dependent on occasional supplies, through the last years of this decade.

The Huguenots had not long enjoyed a representation in Hopewell, when an opening was made for the exercise of their religious privileges in a more convenient and advantageous position. In 1797, their attention was called to a missionary who travelled through the neighborhood on his way to a station, probably about Ninety-Six. This was the Rev. John Springer, formerly president of the college at old Cambridge, Abbeville district, but now resident in Georgia. Immediately on his road from Barksdale’s ferry was a small log school-house near a fine spring, and within a mile of the site of New Bordeaux. Here he was induced to stop and preach once a month till his death, which occurred in 1798.

His labors being very acceptable to serious people of all denominations, they agreed to build a house of worship, and call it *Liberty*, implying that any orderly minister should have admission to preach in it. But the seed sown by the wayside was not left to perish; for the Rev. Moses Waddel, also a member of Hopewell presbytery at that time, followed soon in the footsteps of the faithful missionary, and cheered the hearts of the Huguenots by the efforts of his youthful zeal. Early in the nineteenth century, a suitable frame building was erected at this spot; many of those who had joined Hopewell,

transferred their membership to this place, and Pierre Gibert and Pierre Moragne, junior, were elected elders.

**ROCKY RIVER.**—The history of this church has been mainly given in that of Hopewell, with which it was associated, under Dr. Cummins. The Rev. Mr. McMullen, of the Associate Reformed church, had occasionally preached in it in the latter part of the preceding decade, but the Rev. Francis Cummins (afterwards D.D.), became its pastor early in 1790. He continued his valuable labors in this congregation until 1803, when his pastoral relation was dissolved, and he removed to the State of Georgia.

This was the last pastoral charge of Dr. Cummins in South Carolina. He was born of Irish parents, near Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, in the spring of 1752. In his nineteenth year, his father removed to Mecklenburg, North Carolina, where he was educated at Queen's Museum, partly under Dr. McWhorter, and graduated about the year 1776. He was engaged for several years in teaching, and indeed pursued it a considerable portion of his life. He was, first, preceptor at Clio academy, a respectable seminary in Rowan (now Iredell) county, North Carolina; then, at Bethel (York); afterwards, at Smyrna church, Wilkes county, Georgia; at Lexington, Oglethorpe county; at Bethany church, Greene county; and at Madison, Morgan county, Georgia. Among his more distinguished pupils were the late William Smith, judge and United States senator from South Carolina, and the late Andrew Jackson, president of the United States.

He was present at the reading of the Mecklenburg declaration, in 1775. He was licensed by the presbytery of Orange, December 15th, 1780. During the year 1781, he preached at Hopewell and other places; in the spring of 1782, accepted a call from Bethel, York, where he was ordained at the close of that year. He was one of the original members of South Carolina presbytery, when it was set off from Orange, in 1785. He did not remain long in any one place; about twenty congregations having considered him, in some sense, their pastor for a period longer or shorter. He labored one year in North Carolina, twenty-four years in South Carolina, and twenty-five years in Georgia. He had great vigor of constitution, and in 1830 stated to his grandson, that the rising sun never caught him in bed, when not confined by illness, for fifty years.

He was married on the 26th of March, to Sarah, daughter of David and Elizabeth Davis, who had emigrated from Wales, and were at that time members of the Presbyterian church of

Steele Creek. She died December 10th, 1790, the mother of eight children—two sons and six daughters. His two sons were graduated, one at Hampden Sidney, and the other at Princeton college. In October, 1791, he married, in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, Sarah Thompson, a native of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, with whom he lived forty years. In January, 1832, he was attacked with influenza, which terminated his life on the 22d of February. He was an admirable scholar, and a well-read theologian. He was uncommonly gifted in prayer, was vivid and clear in his conceptions, having great power of condensation in the use of language.

In stature, he was above the common size, with broad shoulders, expanded frame, large limbs, a high, capacious, intellectual forehead, and a deep-toned, guttural voice.

Among his pupils and protégés, at Rocky River, was Rev. Daniel Blain, who was born in this congregation in 1773, and commenced his classical studies with him. Young Blain, at twenty years of age, repaired to Liberty Hall (now Washington college), Virginia, where he graduated, and in which he was a professor, under the presidency of Dr. Baxter. He was a man of great amiableness of disposition, but was called from earth in the meridian of life, on the 19th of March, 1814.

ROCKY CREEK, or ROCK CHURCH, is not mentioned from 1790 to 1796 in the minutes of presbytery, save as a vacant church, unable to support a pastor. On the 31st of October, 1796, R. Wilson, J. B. Davies, and J. Couser, were appointed to supply one Sabbath. In April, 1797, R. Wilson and J. Couser are again appointed. The list of presbyterial appointments is not always recorded, and ministers and licentiates may have visited the church by private invitation and agreement. Mr. McLees says it was supplied (occasionally) by presbytery; and that about 1798 or 1799, it had the labors of the Rev. Robert Wilson, of Upper Long Cane, once a month, after which it was vacant for several years. Dr. Cummins speaks of this church, in 1794, as almost extinct. This was before the presbyterial appointments above mentioned.

NINETY-SIX, or CAMBRIDGE, petitioned for supplies in April, 1790 and 1791, and they were doubtless appointed, though no record of it was made. Dr. Cummins, alone, is mentioned as preaching as a supply in 1794. There is no further mention of this locality in the minutes of presbytery during this decade.

SMYRNA.—A petition from the inhabitants in the vicinity of

Whitehall, in Abbeville district, was received by presbytery in October, 1799, the petitioners praying to be known on the minutes by the name of Smyrna, and to receive supplies. The prayer was granted. Robert Wilson had been appointed to preach for them, the year before this request came formally before the presbytery.

The congregation of BRADAWAY, in Pendleton district, had been supplied by Robert Hall, Robert Mecklin, and W. C. Davis, until 1791, when elders were ordained and the congregation organized by Rev. Daniel Thatcher. The names of Reese, R. B. Walker, A. Brown, Gilleland, Williamson, and Simpson, occur as supplies in 1792, '93, '94, and '97. The number of professors, though small, was respectable, and they continued to enjoy the attention of presbytery. In April, 1795, a call was forwarded to presbytery from this church for the pastoral services of James Gilleland, which was accepted by him; and an intermediate session was appointed to be held on the 20th of July, 1796, for his ordination. At this meeting a remonstrance, signed by eleven or twelve persons, was presented against his ordination, on the ground that he had preached against the government and against slavery. To this, Mr. Gilleland replied that he had not preached against the government, but had preached against slavery, and should still do so. He at length consented to yield to the counsel of presbytery, as to the voice of God, and if they should so counsel, he would be silent, unless the consent of presbytery should be first obtained. The difference between Mr. Gilleland and the remonstrants was made up, and his ordination proceeded: Dr. Cummins preaching the sermon, and Rev. John Simpson pronouncing the charge. From this time he devoted to them the chief part of his pastoral labors. In 1797, after his ordination, a considerable revival appeared in this church, when upwards of thirty persons were admitted to the communion for the first time.

At the meeting of the synod of the Carolinas, held at Morganton, November 3, 1796, Mr. Gilleland memorialized synod, "stating his conscientious difficulties in receiving the advice of the presbytery of South Carolina, which had enjoined upon him to be silent in the pulpit on the subject of the emancipation of the Africans, which injunction Mr. Gilleland declares to be, in his apprehension, contrary to the counsel of God. Whereupon synod, after deliberation upon the matter, do concur with the presbytery in advising Mr. Gilleland to content himself with using his utmost endeavors in private to

open the way for emancipation, so as to secure our happiness as a people, preserve the peace of the church, and render them capable of enjoying the blessings of liberty. Synod is of the opinion, that to preach publicly against slavery, in present circumstances, and to lay down as the duty of every one, to liberate those who are under their care, is what would lead to disorder, and open the way to confusion.

Mr. Gilleland, finding it difficult to reconcile his mind to a residence where negro slavery prevailed, resigned his pastoral charge in 1804, and removed to the State of Ohio in April following. He was of a social, cheerful disposition. His sermons, though unwritten, were carefully thought over and well arranged, and often highly original. Even those who differed from him gave him the credit of consistency, and had a high appreciation of his character. He was born in Lincoln county, North Carolina, October 28, 1769. His grandparents emigrated from Ireland. He was fitted for college under W. C. Davis, of South Carolina; was graduated at Dickinson college in 1792; was licensed by the presbytery of South Carolina, September 26th, 1794. On the 3d of April, 1805, he was dismissed to join the presbytery of Washington, Kentucky. He settled at Red Oak, Brown county, Ohio, and died of ossification of the heart, February 1, 1845, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He was married to Frances Baird about 1793. They had thirteen children, three of whom received a collegiate education, one being a clergyman, and two lawyers. Mrs. Gilleland died August 23d, 1837.

ROBERTS and GOOD HOPE congregations were chiefly composed of families formerly resident in North Carolina, or in the northern parts of South Carolina, who migrated hither, after the cession of Pendleton district was obtained from the Indians, shortly after the peace of 1783. As numbers of them had formerly been within the circle of his acquaintance, or under his pastoral care, and they had become further acquainted with him by recent intercourse, they first sought the Rev. John Simpson as a stated supply from presbytery, on the 13th of April, 1790, and then at the Fall meeting, September 28, they presented a call for his pastoral services. This call was accepted, and he settled among them. He found here a people frugal and industrious, and though far removed from markets, yet well supplied with the necessaries of life. Though they had difficulties to encounter, as is always the case in frontier regions, he found a number warmly engaged in religion, and inquiring after that knowledge which is profitable

for this world and the next. Zeal for the spiritual welfare of his flock, with a most conciliatory temper and exemplary deportment on his part, secured him an unusual interest in their affections. It is anticipating what belongs to the early part of the next century, to say that the revival of 1802 made its appearance in these churches in a most extraordinary degree. In no other place within the limits of the presbytery were its effects more astonishing or so permanent. In October, 1807, as we have already related, page 559, Mr. Simpson was attacked with a painful disease, under which he languished, with Christian patience, until the 15th of February following, when he obtained release from all sufferings, and, it is confidently hoped, entered into the joy of his Lord. He was interred in the graveyard at Roberts church; a marble stone still marks the spot where he lies, bearing his name, with the date of his birth and death, and for an epitaph, the text from which his funeral sermon was preached, by the Rev. Andrew Brown, viz.: "Mark the perfect man and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace." The widow of his youngest son, now an aged lady, still owns and lives at the venerable homestead with some of her children, and they still compose a part of the church rendered dear to them by the memory of such a good and honored ancestor.

The names GOOD HOPE and ROBERTS appear in the earliest notice of these churches in the records of presbytery, but in the report of the presbytery to the General Assembly, Mr. Simpson is said to have charge of "Big and Little Gen-erostee," the churches being near those streams, and probably being sometimes called by their names.

HOPEWELL (Keowee), remained still associated with CARMEL. The two congregations are in what was Pendleton county, a tract of land about forty miles square, ceded by the Cherokees at the treaty, in May, 1777. It was so rapidly settled, that when the census was taken by Congress, about five years after the chief settlements commenced, it contained about nine thousand five hundred souls, and was estimated to have reached ten thousand in 1793. Hopewell was first organized in 1788 or 1789. In December, 1792, in consequence of an invitation from these two churches, the Rev. Thomas Reese, having been dismissed from his former charge at Salem, on Black river, and having considerably lost his health by a long and laborious application to the duties of the gospel ministry, in the low country, removed his family into the bounds of Carmel congregation, and became the pastor of

the two churches, preaching to them alternately. Carmel consisted at that time of about sixty families, and Hopewell of about forty.

"Those who make a profession of religion," says Dr. Reese, "are well-informed, considering the opportunities they have had. They are attentive to the instruction of their children in the principles of religion, and many of them appear to be truly pious. A considerable number of the people in Carmel formerly leaned to the seceders; but they seem to become more liberal, and all join, except a few of the most ignorant and bigotted.

"The people who compose these two congregations are, in general, remarkable for the great simplicity of their manners, the plainness of their dress, and their frugal manner of living. At the distance of 250 miles from the Capital, they are strangers to luxury and refinement. Blessed with a healthy climate, brought up in habits of labor and industry, and scarce of money, they are for the most part clothed in homespun; nourished by the produce of their own farms, and happily appear to have neither taste nor inclination for high and expensive living. There is a quiet degree of equality among them. By far the greater part are in what might be called the middle station of life. None are very rich, few extremely poor. There are few slaves among them, and these are treated with great kindness and humanity. They enjoy all that liberty which is compatible with their situation; and are exempted from that rigorous bondage to which their unhappy countrymen in the lower parts of the State are subjected. These are all circumstances favorable to virtue and religion, and give ground to hope that these will flourish long here, when they shall have been in a great measure banished from those parts of the country where slavery, luxury, and wealth have taken possession. As the country is in its infancy, we have yet to expect that these congregations will soon become much stronger, and in the course of a few years, if peace continues, it is probable that each of them will be able to support a minister. It is a pleasing reflection to the friends of religion, that as the people travel westward, the gospel travels with them, or soon follows after them; that God inclines the hearts of ministers, respectable for learning, worth, and piety, to settle in these uncultivated regions. It is a consideration which often affects pious ministers and pious people, when convened for public worship, that in these wide-extended forests, where the cruel savage lately roamed, Christian churches are erected, and Christian congregations assemble to pay their homage to the great Lord and Father of all; and that in these very places, where a few years ago nothing was heard but the songs and the shouts of Indians, the glad tidings of salvation are proclaimed, and the voice of prayer and thanksgiving arise to the Creator and Redeemer of all. Reflections of this kind call to mind the words of the evangelic prophet, 'The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall blossom as the rose,' &c.

"Drawn up in great haste by

"September 15, 1793."

"THOMAS REESE."

We have copied this as a description of these congregations, by their pastor, and a witness contemporary with the times of which we speak. It is a portion of one of those brief histories of churches ordered by the General Assembly, and written by special appointment of presbytery, which was designed to furnish materials for the history of the American Presbyterian Church, to several of which papers we have been greatly indebted. It is a favorable specimen of the style of

this eminent clergyman, who was probably the most finished writer of that day in our portion of the church.

The birth, parentage, and earlier life of Dr. Reese, have been quoted on pages 411, 492, and 493, from a memoir written by Dr. Witherspoon, of Alabama, and forwarded for our use. We proceed to give that portion which belongs to the period over which we now pass, which proved to be the closing period of his life :

“About the year 1790, circular letters were written by Mr. Austin, editor of the American Preacher, to distinguished preachers of all denominations, requesting them to furnish two sermons annually, that a selection might be made from them, and published as specimens of pulpit eloquence in the United States. One of these letters was addressed to Dr. Thomas Reese, and he sent on two sermons which were published. In the 4th volume of this excellent miscellany, he appears as the only contributor south of Virginia. Among his unpublished manuscripts were specimens of poetical talent, highly creditable. His farewell sermon to his congregation in Salem was published at the request of his church, and is still possessed by some of the members, and esteemed for the excellent advice it contains. Dr. Reese was in person easy of access, a friend to human nature, but particularly attached to men of science and religion. With powers of mind equal to his benevolence and piety, he justly held a conspicuous place among eminent and good men. As a proof of the deference paid to his talents by his brethren in religious assemblies, he was selected by some leading men of the presbytery of South Carolina, on a certain occasion, to repel the charges brought by the Rev. W. C. Davis, in a discourse preached before that body, in which he, Davis, denounced all his fellow-christians who owned slaves. This reply of Dr. Reese met the entire approbation of the presbytery, and greatly mortified Davis, this early *advocate* of abolition, in 1794. It is an able argument on the subject of slavery, and shows how early this vexed question had been introduced into the Southern church. It is still extant, and in the possession of his quondam pupil. Dr. Reese's theological opinions were founded solely on the authority of the Scriptures, and of course Orthodox. His appearance in the pulpit was graceful and dignified, his style flowing and elegant. He was in the habit generally of writing out his sermons with great care, and seldom, if ever, took the manuscript in the pulpit. His preaching was of the extempore kind, adding to the mature reflections of the study, the powers of his native oratory. His flowing tears, and often suppressed voice, told the feelings of the heart, anxious only for the salvation of souls and the glory of God. Like Paul, he warned his hearers day and night with tears. His success in his ministerial labors evince the power and presence of the Holy Spirit. It is a subject of painful regret, that the examples of such men as Dr. Reese, Edwards, Whitefield, and others, should be lost, and that their successful manner of awakening and instructing their hearers, should be supplanted by the cold and prosy reading of sermons from the pulpit, which so effectually lulls to sleep a waiting audience, or binds them up, in the present day. Dr. Reese was also an ardent lover of sacred music, and was careful to have his congregation well instructed in this devotional part of worship. His own melodious voice, mingled with those of the whole congregation, filled God's court with sounding praise. He did not trust this part of divine worship to a *choir*, which, as the proxy of the congregation, might sing praises to God; but adopted in his teaching the language of David in the 67th Psalm. Let all the people praise thee, O God; repeating the injunction in the 5th verse, *Let all the people praise thee, O God.* For classical literature, so much decried by the super-

ficial, he was a great advocate, and to evince his sincerity, retained the knowledge of the dead languages as long as he lived.

"As a teacher, he had a peculiar facility of communicating knowledge, and the happy talent of commanding respect without severity. For a period of five or six years of his life, and that too past the meridian, exclusive of his performing the regular duties of a pastor, preaching on the Sabbath and lecturing to the colored part of his congregation, he superintended a small farm, and attended to a large classical school, with but little assistance, in the course of the week. And it is well recollected that during more than one season he preached two sermons on the Sabbath, and performed, besides, the other duties mentioned above.

"Dr. Reese was 'given to hospitality,' and evinced his benevolence by visiting the sick and afflicted, and relieving the wants of the poor and needy. Having read many medical authors, and being conversant with physicians, he had acquired a pretty general knowledge of Southern diseases, and in his visits to the sick frequently imparted not only spiritual consolation, but medical aid. This was the more acceptable, as at that time there were no physicians near him. In the winter of 1792 and 1793 he removed from Salem to Pendleton district, South Carolina, being among the first who removed from the low country to the upper.

"Having settled near Pendleton village, he took charge of two churches, one near Seneca river in the neighborhood of Generals Pickens and Anderson, the other church some ten or twelve miles distant. In these he labored some years; but the climate of the upper country not agreeing with his constitution, his health declined. He was attacked with Hydrothorax in the latter part of his life, and such was the nature of his disease, that he did not lie down for weeks previous to his death. He bore this affliction with great patience and resignation to the will of his divine Master, and died in 1796, aged 54 years. His remains lie in the grave-yard, attached to the Old Stone church, near the village of Pendleton.\*

"Chancellor James of South Carolina, in his Life of Marion, speaking of Dr. Reese, says:

"In contemplating the meek and unobtrusive manners of this eminent servant of the Most High, we do not hesitate to say he was a pattern of Christian charity, as nearly resembling his Divine Master as has been exhibited by any of his contemporary fellow-laborers in the Gospel."

"It may truly be said, in conclusion, of this excellent man, that he lived-esteemed, and died lamented by an extensive circle of warm and devoted friends.

"J. R. WITHERSPOON.

"BROOKLAND, near Greensboro, Ala., }  
6th September, 1851."

Hopewell and Carmel (late Twenty-Three Mile Creek), reported, sorrowfully, to presbytery, the death of Dr. Reese, and asked to be supplied.

\* EPITAPH OF THE REVEREND THOMAS REESE, D.D.

Here rest the remains of the Rev. THOMAS REESE, D.D., a native of Pennsylvania, who departed this life in the hopes of a blessed immortality, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, aged 54 years. He was pastor of Salem church, Black river, about 20 years. He was then chosen pastor of Hopewell and Carmel congregations, and died a few years after. Exemplary in all the social relations of life, as a son, husband, father, and citizen, he lived esteemed and beloved, and died lamented. His talents as a writer and preacher were of a highly respectable grade, and were always directed to promote the virtue and happiness of his fellow-men.

The following is their petition :—

“ To the Rev. presbytery of South Carolina, to sit at Nazareth, on the third Tuesday or Wednesday of October next :—

“ The remonstrance and petition of the united congregations of Hopewell, on Keowee River, and Carmel, on Twenty-Three Mile Creek, both of the county of Pendleton, and State of South Carolina,

“ Humbly sheweth : That we are left destitute of the ordinances of the gospel in both of our congregations, by the death of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Reese, of whose labors we had share in each congregation as our pastor. We, therefore, make known our destitute condition to your Reverend Body, that you may take our situation under consideration, and grant us supplies in such way and manner as to your wisdom may seem convenient.

“ And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will pray.

ROBERT ANDERSON,  
JOHN WILLSON,  
ROBERT M'CANN,  
ROBERT HENDERSON,  
ANDREW PICKENS.”

In pursuance of this request, J. Simpson and J. Gilleland were appointed in October, 1796, and April and October, 1797, and April, 1798, with the addition of A. Brown, at Carmel, to visit them ; and these supplies were probably continued to the close of the century.

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## CHAPTER V.

BETHLEHEM, and PHILADELPHIA (or EBENEZER), on Cane Creek, and BETHLEHEM (or BETHEL), churches in Pendleton.— In October, 1776, Mr. Andrew Brown was appointed to spend two months on the frontiers of South Carolina, and J. Newton one month on the frontiers of Georgia, in missionary labor ; and they were to receive sixteen dollars and sixty-six cents per month as their compensation. In April, 1797, two congregations, in the fork of Tugaloo, desiring to be known by the name of the United Congregations of Bethléhem and Philadelphia, petition for supplies, the latter especially for Andrew Brown, and one ordained minister in each of the congregations. At the same time, a people on Cane Creek and Keowee apply. These congregations had been gathered by the recent

missionary labors of Mr. Brown, then a licentiate. Their request is granted, and J. Simpson and A. Brown are appointed. At the October meeting, Bethlehem and Philadelphia seek Mr. Brown's ordination. The application not being sufficiently in the form of a call, was not acted upon till March, 1799, when a meeting for his ordination was appointed. This took place at Bethlehem church, on the 18th of July, 1799, and Mr. Brown was ordained and installed, the sermon being preached by Rev. James Gilleland, and the charge given by the Rev. Francis Cummins. In the list of churches given, in the close of 1799, the name of Philadelphia does not appear, but Rev. A. Brown is designated as the pastor of Bethlehem and Ebenezer, on Cane creek.

We have now gone over all the churches of our denomination that we know have enjoyed the labors of settled pastors. There are a number of names of churches that have been called by the ecclesiastical word "vacancies," which have either been organized churches, or congregations not fully formed. These, as far as mentioned in the minutes of presbytery previous to 1790, we enumerated on pages 561 and 562. We will name those which have petitioned for aid or received supplies during this decade.

FISHDAM (formerly JAGGERS).—This constantly occurs. It was supplied, if we may infer this from the appointments of presbytery, by J. Alexander in 1792, by R. B. Walker in 1793, '94, and '97, by J. Gilleland in 1793, by A. Brown in 1794, by J. Alexander in 1795 and '96. Fishdam Ford is on the Broad river, near the southwest corner of Chester, and there is a post-office of that name a few miles from it in Union. Fishdam Ford is on a route formerly much travelled. Families by the name Jagers live at the present time above the Ford who are Presbyterians. Tyger river is about ten miles distant, and the Presbyterians on that stream may have united with others on Broad river, and east of it, in maintaining worship near Fishdam. Population is continually changing. There is a Methodist people now in that vicinity, some of whom, viz: the Glenss, came into this neighborhood before the close of the century.

GOLDEN GROVE, or "THE GROVE," was supplied by R. B. Walker in 1794, by A. Brown in 1796, by J. Gilleland in 1796 and '97. It is still a preaching station, some ten miles south from the court-house, in Greenville district.

UPPER and LOWER UNION.—J. B. Davis, in his historical

sketch of Bethel presbytery, says these are extinct, the new organization of Cane Creek occupying their places. According to Rev. J. H. Saye, Lower Union was superseded by the church of GRASSY SPRING.

ENOREE.—Once mentioned. The present church of ANTIOCH may be its successor.

INDIAN CREEK.—The locality of an ancient house of worship, and of a congregation formed about the year 1768. Supplied once by James Wallis, and once, in 1798, by J. Templeton, in this decade. One of the churches ministered to by Robert McClintock was Indian Creek.

GEORGE'S CREEK, near Pickensville, in Pickens district, is still (1869) a preaching place of the Evangelists of South Carolina presbytery.

BEAVER DAM is named in 1791, among the small societies unable to support a pastor. The locality is unknown.

BUSH RIVER, in 1791, is named among the societies unable to support a pastor. Bush river is a stream which rises in Laurens, and extends through the central parts of Newberry. Its members may have been represented afterwards in the church of Gilder's Creek.

REEDY BRANCH and CUFFEY TOWN, in April, 1786, petitioned to be taken under the care of presbytery. Reedy Branch is an affluent of Long Cane creek, in the southwestern part of Abbeville. This station was visited, at the appointment of presbytery, by James Templeton in 1787, and by John Springer twice in 1789. There is a Cuffey Town creek in the northwestern part of Edgefield. James Templeton supplied Cuffey Town in 1788. Robert Wilson and Mr. Williamson in 1794.

"In the years 1766 and 1770, a considerable number of Palatines arrived in Carolina. They were settled in the township of Londonderry, in Edgefield district, at a place called Cuffey Town. In 1770 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts sent the Rev. Samuel Fred. Lucius as a missionary to this people. In a letter dated at Cuffey Town, October 25, 1770, he informed the society of his arrival in the Province the preceding April, and that he had officiated in his mission for the first time, on Easter Sunday, to a numerous and attentive congregation. He stated that he had two hundred families under his pastoral care, who had been so long without the ordinances of religion that their children were growing up 'like savages.' From April 13 to September 29, he had baptized forty children and thirty adults; and the Lord's Table

was attended by sixty communicants. No Episcopal clergyman has been settled here since the Revolution."—(Dalcho, p. 389.)

"That whole region of country lay in the course of the tide of immigration by way of Charleston, Cambridge or Ninety-Six, towards the Savannah river. It accords with my observation that removals within the State have mostly been from the South towards the North. At the dates indicated it was likely to be greater than at any period that has fallen under my observation. It was then that Greenville and Pendleton were filling up, and two channels of immigration were pouring people into Abbeville—one from North Carolina and Virginia, the other from Ireland. I may remark on the facility with which the first settlers in our country effected removals, and the motives which led to them. As a general rule they did not expect to cultivate much land, or put up costly buildings. They kept large stocks of horses, cattle, and some swine. These animals could not only subsist, but flourish upon the natural productions of the soil. They constituted the wealth of the people. The wild game was sought, not only for profit, but amusement. When people came with money and wished to buy land for cultivation, the first settlers were willing to relinquish their claims for a fair equivalent, and push out into the wilderness. So that I infer that our people that were in the Cuffey Town region in the last ten years of the last century, might have been found at the commencement of this, in Pendleton, or parts of Georgia contiguous. In their stead a people from Ireland, so attached to the use of Rouse's version in religious worship as to consider the Presbyterians idolaters, came to occupy." As to Reedy Branch, "I think our body was supplanted by others to a considerable extent in this section. The Associate Reformed exist in that neighborhood in great numbers, and the introduction of Watts's version gave great offence to our people."—(Letter of Rev. James H. Saye.)

THICKETTY, supplied by R. B. Walker in 1793.

MILFORD, supplied by W. C. Davis, H. Hunter, and Wm. Montgomery, in 1793. It had been united with Nazareth, under W. C. Davis, in 1791 and '92.

HITCHCOCK was a locality which Robert Finley was directed to supply in 1785. It is not mentioned in subsequent enumerations. He was then settled at Waxhaw, and is directed to supply Bethesda, Cedar Creek, and Hitchcock. Hitchcock Creek was a locality in Anson county, North Carolina,—see

Records of the Presbyterian Church, pages 403 and 405—at which Mr. Harris was to preach, in 1770. It is a tributary of Great Pedee, on which Rockingham is situated. There may, however, be no connection between these two places.

NEWTON, at the head of Tyger river, was received as a society, October, 1796, and James Templeton was ordered to supply it. It is mentioned as a vacant church at the close of the century and afterwards. Its locality is unknown to the present writer.

The jurisdiction and missionary labors of this presbytery extended over the upper portion of Georgia, beyond the Savannah, until the organization of Hopewell presbytery in March, 1797. In October, 1785, the presbytery, at its session at Jackson Creek, received John Newton, late a probationer from Orange presbytery, under its care, and ordered him to supply one Sabbath at Bethesda, and in Georgia at discretion. He was appointed to Duncan's Creek, in South Carolina, and to Providence and Bethsalem, in Georgia, and the rest at discretion, in October, 1786. In October, 1787, a people on Cann's creek petition to be taken under care, and to be known by the name of Bethel, in Georgia. Mr. Newton continued to labor in our sister State. A call had been presented from Bethsalem, Georgia, for his services in April, and measures were taken for his ordination. This took place at Duncan's Creek, October 18, 1788, Rev. James Edmonds preaching the sermon, and Rev. Francis Cummins giving the charge, and he was solemnly set apart to the above ministry by fasting, prayer, and laying on of the hands of the presbytery. Mr. Newton was received by Messrs. Park and Gilham, in the name of the people who called him in Georgia. On the 13th of April, at Long Cane, Bethany, Siloam, Goshen, Ebenezer, Salem, Little Britain, in Georgia, Bethlehem, New Hope, Falling Creek, Georgia congregations, petition for supplies, and appeals were brought up from time to time from the churches. Meanwhile, Mr. John Springer, who had been under the care of Orange presbytery, but had taken charge of a school at Whitehall, made application to presbytery by letter,\* which

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\* Dated Cambridge, October 6, 1787. From this letter we learn that the presbytery of Orange "had discontinued his name on their books for some time past, but if the South Presbytery insisted on a formal dismission he should have it as soon as they convened." It is probable that he had devoted himself to teaching for some years. Tradition makes him the first president of the college at Cambridge. The name *Ninety-Six* had been changed to Cambridge, as we have seen, in anticipation of the hoped for future eminence of this institution.

was seconded also by a communication from Rev. Hezekiah Balch, John Harris, and Andrew Pickens, desiring that his parts of trial, appointed by Orange presbytery, might be heard at an intermediate presbytery, which was accordingly appointed. His licensure, however, did not take place till the 18th of October, 1788. He continued to teach, but supplied the vacant churches that were near.\* In April, 1790, calls were presented to presbytery from Providence, Smyrna, and Washington, Wilkes county, then lately organized, for Mr. Springer. Giving up calls which he held from Little River, Rocky Creek, and Cambridge, which were in his hands, he accepted these, and was ordained by the presbytery of South Carolina, at Washington, July 21, 1790. The ordination service was conducted under the shade of a tall and spreading poplar, now of very large dimensions, standing on the grounds of A. L. Alexander, Esq., no house of worship being yet built. The house of worship of the Smyrna congregation stood some five miles southeast of Washington, on the Augusta road. Mr. Springer was the first Presbyterian minister ordained south of the Savannah river, and was the first minister in the up-country of Georgia. He had charge of an academy in great repute in Washington, Wilkes county, at which John Forsyth, minister to Spain, member of Congress, and governor of Georgia, was fitted for college. He was assisted in this school by Rev. Hope Hull, an eloquent preacher of the Methodist church, and the father of Hon. Asbury Hull and Dr. Henry Hull and of the wife of Prof. James P. Waddel, of Athens."—(White's Statistics of Georgia, pages 256, 596, and his Historical Collections, pages 233, 395. Dr. J. S. Wilson's "Dead of the Synod of Georgia," page 16.) The appointments of Mr. Springer for the supply of vacant churches were generally at his discretion. Once he was appointed to visit the congregations of Little Britain and Goose Pond. He was moderator of the presbytery at Fairforest, April, 1794. He was an attractive preacher, and delivered his discourses, which were unwritten, with uncommon ease and elegance. The lecture and sermon which were parts of trial before presbytery were published in 1805, at the press of Hobby and Bunce, Augusta, by his attached friends, and they were probably all that were found among his papers. A short sketch of his life was prefixed to these, from which we learn that he was born near Wilmington, Delaware, about the year 1745. In

\* Rocky Creek, Cuffey Town, Little River, Indian Creek, Duncan's Creek; April, 1789, Cambridge with Rocky Creek called him, also Little River.

his earliest days he had only the advantages of an English education, and was devoted to the pursuits of agriculture. His religious experience, and the dealings of God with him in his early life, will be best understood by the following letter, addressed by him to Mr. Thornton, a benevolent merchant of London, who had become acquainted with his character, and manifested a deep interest in his welfare.

“PRINCETON COLLEGE, 18th June, 1772.

“VERY DEAR AND WORTHY SIR,—As you desire me to give you a relation of my experience, I shall comply without any excuse or apology. I had from about the age of six years till two-and-twenty, been, from time to time, under some convictions of my miserable condition by nature. But the impressions which I had in my childhood, and for years afterwards, were neither deep nor lasting. However, I believe I generally felt more anxiety about my soul than those around me did.

“At the time above mentioned (viz., my twenty-second year) it pleased God to lay before me in a very affecting light my wretched state by nature and practise. My convictions were much more thorough and rational than before, and my distress more piercing and permanent; so that I resolved at once to forsake all known ways of external sin and wickedness. I was convinced of the sinfulness of my nature as well as of my outward conduct. I was willing to do everything short of yielding up my heart to God, that I might be saved from the wrath to come.

“The minister under whom I then lived being a man of bad morals, I had no opportunity of conversing with any: I would have given all the world for a skilful guide. After I had been under these exercises about four months, I heard a Swedish minister from Philadelphia preach, who, in a private interview I had with him after the sermon, gave me some very salutary advice. At parting, he invited me to pay him a visit. I also joined a religious society which was instituted by his means in the neighborhood of Wilmington. Shortly after this I heard him preach again; at which time I was very anxious to know what faith was. But, although it so happened that he preached on that subject, I did not understand anything he said; so little knowledge had I of the things of religion.

“After this sermon was ended, he conversed with a number of young persons at his own house; one of whom gave an account of the change which God had wrought in his soul; and upon hearing him I could scarcely forbear bursting into tears. Religion, at this time, appeared beautiful and excellent; I thought it was well worth spending my life for, even though I should never have in this world any comfortable assurance of my interest in the divine favor.

“On my return home in the evening, I was disconsolate under a view of my perishing condition: and my heart seemed to be somewhat tender and easily affected; but presently after this I was in a sweet serene frame of mind. I was taken up in contemplating the works of God, in which there appeared an unspeakable beauty and glory. The same views and feelings next morning increased; all nature, in silent though powerful language, seemed to proclaim the being, perfections, and glory of God. I felt myself surrounded with deity.

“I went home under a deep sense of my being most righteously condemned; wondering that God had suffered so vile a creature to breathe his air or tread upon his earth so long. I told my parents in a flood of tears, what a fearful thing it was to fall into the hands of the living God. The same day, as I was bathing myself, these words were, as it were, whispered

to my soul, 'Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee.' I was greatly afraid lest Satan was transforming himself into an angel of light to deceive me, and at the same time prayed that God would not suffer me to be deluded. I continued all that day in a sweet and delightful frame of mind. In the evening of the same day, as I was returning from a visit to one of my relations who was under some religious impressions, I had such a view of my odious and vile nature, that I burst out into loud cries, and continued crying for near two hours. In this condition I came home, which occasioned my parents and the family to think I was disordered in my mind, little knowing what sweetness I felt in the midst of all this sorrow.

"I felt at this time a bleeding compassion for the souls of my fellow-men: I could not look upon my parents without tears, when I thought of their being in a state of nature. The glory of the mediatorial character of Christ appeared in an amazing light: I could have risked ten thousand souls upon his merits. The Bible appeared to me like a new book—every line and page seemed, as it were, to shine with glory. About this time I had such a view of the divine glory that my soul was ravished, and for the space of half an hour was, as it were, lost in the contemplation thereof. My heart glowed with an ardent flame of love to the ever-blessed, glorious, and compassionate Saviour, who had thus visited and redeemed one of the most unworthy of his creatures. Such compassion and benevolence did I now feel for my fellow-sinners, that I thought I could cheerfully have burnt at a stake to have saved only one of them from eternal ruin and misery.

"Under these views and exercises, I was stirred up to converse with my relations and neighbors. For some time I could not speak to them without tears. Soon after this I felt a strong desire to become a preacher of the gospel, and intimated my desire to my parents, requesting their approbation and assistance. They readily consented, and accordingly I began my studies under the direction of Mr. Smith\* of Pequea, a pious dissenting minister, about thirty miles from my father's. About seven months after I had begun my education, the Lord poured out his spirit upon the whole of the students in that seminary, and many in the adjacent neighborhood. Many of those who were the subjects of this blessed work, told me that God had made use of me as the instrument of it.

"Shortly after this I went to Princeton, and put myself under the direction of Dr. Witherspoon. Everything was agreeable here. I found some pious companions—strict order and diligent application generally prevailed among the students, indolent and vicious persons were discountenanced and despised. A revival of religion began here also the next spring after I came to this place. It began with two of my classmates with whom I had conversed warmly and frequently on the nature and necessity of true religion. My soul was much engaged with God for some time before this blessed visitation, in praying that he would pour out his spirit upon us. A general seriousness took place in a few days, not only in the grammar-school, of which I was then a member, but also through college. There were a good number of those who hoped they experienced a saving change of heart. This was a blessed season of God's love to my soul. After the decay of this blessed season of grace, I began to apply myself more closely to study in order to enter college, upon which I perceived an abatement of the life of religion in my soul, and I enjoyed little comfort for a year and a half, till God was graciously pleased this spring to visit us again with an effusion of his Holy Spirit. A solemn seriousness and an anxious solicitude about eternal

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\* "The Rev. Dr. Robert Smith, who died a few years since, and was the father of Dr. Samuel S. Smith, the present president of Princeton college, and of the Rev. Dr. John B. Smith, who died in Philadelphia in 1745."

things prevailed. This was likewise a blessed season of God's love to unworthy me. My soul does truly magnify the Lord, and my spirit does rejoice in God my Saviour, in God my exceeding great reward. The ever blessed and never enough adored Lord Jesus, has given me such views of his divine glory, and such a sense of his redeeming love and pardoning mercy, that my mind is in one continued rapture. It is now five days and nights since I have closed my eyes. God's comforts fill my soul with such ineffable sweetness and joy, that they are infinitely more refreshing than all the rest or sleep that I could possibly have enjoyed in the same space of time. How beautifully hath Dr. Watts described the language of the soul in this situation? Lord, how divine thy comforts are! How heavenly is the place where Jesus spreads the sacred feast of his redeeming grace!

"This blessed revival has begun to decline, though a regular behavior, and a diligent improvement of time, prevails among the greater part of the students. By the prudent care and watchfulness of the governors of the college, a happy order and harmony in general is preserved. There is a spirit of inquiry into the truths of religion, among the serious students. In this merciful day of visitation, there are a good number who I hope have experienced the saving influence of the divine spirit upon their souls. This house was solemnly dedicated to God by its original founders, some of whom are still living. They were the lights of the age in which they lived. These holy men spent whole days and nights in prayer to God for his blessing upon it; he has graciously regarded their prayers by blessing the house with that choicest of all blessings, his own divine presence. There have been three or four remarkable revivals of religion in it since its first institution. It has been blessed with a succession of the most eminently pious and learned presidents, as Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Burr, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Davies, and Dr. Finley, who died in a quick succession. Dr. Witherspoon is the sixth and last president, and for his abilities and learning, as well as piety, is highly respected. May the same hand that has reared and supported this institution, continue to bless it to the latest ages and to make it a continual fountain from whence streams may issue to make glad the city of God. Thus, dear sir, I have given you a faithful account both of my experience and the state of the college. May I never forget how much I am indebted to the divine goodness for his infinite mercy to me, one of the most unworthy of all that he has thus visited.

"I am, dear sir, your sincere friend,

"JOHN SPRINGER."

From a sense of his own unworthiness, he did not enter the ministry till a later period than many of his friends wished and expected. During the war of the Revolution he was invited to the station of assistant tutor in the infant college of Hampden Sidney. When Virginia became the seat of war he retired to North Carolina, where he opened an academy. He then removed to South Carolina, where he taught with distinguished success at Whitehall and Cambridge, before and after his licensure.

In the month of August, 1798, he was called to attend the funeral of a venerable friend, John Talbot, Esq. The excessive heat of the weather, and the length of time Mr. Springer spoke at the grave, were thought to have brought on the fever which proved fatal to him. His disease assumed an alarming type.

What few expressions dropped from his lips in his lucid moments were either evidences of his own believing hope, or of his earnest desire that his surviving friends should secure an interest in the divine favor. In the evening of September 3d, 1798, he was released from the pains and cares of this world, and "this mortal put on immortality." His ministry was short, but fruitful in good, and his memory is not yet forgotten. He died at the age of fifty-three, greatly lamented.

In October, 1789, Robert M. Cunningham was taken under the care of the presbytery of South Carolina. He was born in York county, Pennsylvania, September 10th, 1760. When he was in his fifteenth year, his father removed to North Carolina. In 1782, he entered a Latin school taught by Robert Finley, (afterwards pastor at Waxhaw,) near Rocky river, North Carolina. He afterwards entered the school taught by Robert McCulloch, at Bethel, York, South Carolina, where he remained two years. He completed his preparation for college under Dr. Joseph Alexander, at Bullock's Creek. He was graduated at Dickinson college, in 1789, was licensed by South Carolina presbytery, September 29th, 1791, "and received a competent number of appointments." Those mentioned in 1792 are one at Purity, two at Bethesda, one at Lebanon, and two at Ebenezer, Georgia. In September, 1792, calls for his services from Ebenezer and Bethany, Georgia, were put into his hands, the first of which he accepted. He was ordained the pastor of both churches (having reconsidered the call from Bethany), at an intermediate session held at Ebenezer, July 31, 1793, at which only Daniel Thatcher and John Springer were present. He continued to preach to these churches, says Dr. J. S. Wilson, till 1808, when he removed to Lexington, Kentucky, and became colleague pastor with Rev. Dr. Blythe. Here he remained till the autumn of 1822, when he removed to Alabama, and settled at a place called Moulton, thence removed to Black Warrior river in the neighborhood of Tuscaloosa. He was instrumental in forming the church of Tuscaloosa, and another in Carthage. He occupied the pulpit of Tuscaloosa church about eight years. He was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity, by Franklin college in 1827, and died July 11th, 1839, in the eightieth year of his age.—(Sprague, iv., 58; Dr. J. S. Wilson, "The Dead of the Synod of Georgia," p. 16.)

September 29th, 1791, William Montgomery, who had been educated at Mt. Zion college, Winnsboro, was received upon trials. At Bullock's Creek, on the 16th of April, 1793, he received license to preach, and in April, 1794, was appointed to sup-

ply at Orangeburg, Turkey Hill, and James and John's Island. In September of the same year a call was presented to him from Sharon and Fergus Creek in Georgia. In April, 1795, a call was preferred to him from Siloam and Little Britain, which he accepted, returning the first; and at an intermediate session at Greensboro, Georgia, at which John Newton, John Springer, Robert M. Cunningham, and Moses Waddel were present, he was ordained.—Rev. John Newton preaching the ordination sermon from 2 Cor. v., 20, and Rev. John Springer delivering the charge to the newly ordained pastor. He became pastor of the New Hope church, and went to the West about 1812, and is supposed to have died in the State of Mississippi.—(Minutes of Presbytery, and Dr. J. S. Wilson, "Dead of the Synod of Georgia.")

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## CHAPTER VI.

Meanwhile, Moses Waddel had been received on the 11th of April, 1793, as a licentiate bearing letters of dismission from the presbytery of Hanover, in Virginia. And as he was destined to act a prominent part as a minister of Christ, and an educator of youth, in this part of the United States, we deem it not inappropriate to introduce here some passages from an autobiographic sketch of his extraction, and the struggles of his early life, which he commenced doubtless for the instruction of his own family, and never contemplated its publication. There are revelations as to the struggles of the earlier settlers of this country, as to the temptations of the young man, as to the dealings of God with his own soul, and as to what integrity, self-denial, and a resolute will can accomplish, which would well repay the labor of perusal.

He was born on the 27th of July, 1770, in Iredell, then Rowan county, North Carolina. His father, William Waddel, emigrated from the neighborhood of Belfast, Ireland, after a season of affliction in which they lost a daughter and an only son, which broke up, in a measure, the attractions of their old home, and led them to seek a new one in the West. Their intention was to have settled in Georgia, but baffling storms drove their vessel to Charleston, where the parents, with their five female children, landed on the 25th of January, 1767. Meeting soon after with a man from North Carolina, who represented that portion of the country in glowing colors,

and proffered his assistance in their removal, he concluded to seek his fortunes in that region, and settled on the waters of the South Yadkin river. Fifty guineas and a few shillings were all that were left them on their arrival in Charleston. But frugality, industry, and trust in Providence carried them forward. Here Moses Waddel, the tenth child and fourth son, was born, whose tenure on life was so feeble that, having received him, as it were, from anticipated death, they called him Moses, after the ancient prophet.

In May, 1777, he was entered as a half-scholar in the school of Mr. James McEwen, who taught some three miles from his father's, where he received about six months' tuition, and exhibited remarkable proficiency for one of such tender age.

In the summer of 1778, the Rev. (afterwards Dr.) James Hall, who had been settled over the congregations of Concord, Fourth Creek, and Bethany, conceived the design of establishing a grammar-school for the youth under his charge, which he carried into effect; opening it on the 28th of October, 1778, under the name of "Clio's Nursery," on the north side of the South Yadkin, under the tuition of James McEwen. This was six or seven miles from the residence of Mr. Hall; but though not himself the teacher, he was its originator and responsible head. Here, under the persuasion of his neighbors, and especially of Robert King, Esq., old Mr. Waddel, with many misgivings, yet at last trusting in Providence, placed his son Moses under the tuition of Mr. James McEwen, then a student of divinity. This was during the stirring period of the Revolution. In about a year Mr. McEwen was licensed, and commenced his ministry with pleasing prospects, but after a twelve-month fell a victim to the small-pox. In November, 1779, the school fell under the care of Rev. Francis Cummins, then a student of theology under Dr. Hall, the distinguished divine of whom we have spoken in the preceding pages, many of whose grandchildren were afterwards the pupils of Dr. Waddel. The school was suspended after the fall of Charleston, but was recommenced under the instructions of John Newton, afterwards a preacher of the gospel, in April, 1782, and then passed under the care of Samuel W. Yongue, afterwards of Winstonsborough. He then attended for a season an English school, to perfect himself in branches overlooked in his higher studies. At this time he was recommended as an assistant tutor in the academy at Camden, but his father objected on account of his extreme youth. Yet at the urgency of gentlemen some fifteen miles from his father's, he commenced his

career as a teacher on Hunting creek, on the 15th of October, 1784, being then but fourteen years of age, and was wonderfully successful. He had twenty pupils in English, and six or seven in Latin, his salary being seventy dollars per annum, for services for which he afterwards received thousands.

In the latter part of 1786, he removed to the newly settled Greene county, in Georgia, where, on that frontier neighborhood, near the North Ogeechee river, he opened a school, which was broken up by an invasion of the Creek Indians, in the succeeding summer. His parents now contemplated a removal to Georgia. In his impatience he preceded them; but he found that the Indians had crossed the Oconee, had burned Greensboro, and committed several murders still nearer. He now went to Augusta, hoping to obtain a position in the Richmond academy, in which he was disappointed, a punishment, he thought, for the filial disobedience which had led him to act contrary to parental advice, of which he resolved never again to be guilty. In 1788, he opened another school, nearly in the same neighborhood, where, at *Bethany*, the Rev. Daniel Thatcher, then a missionary of the Orange presbytery, had organized a Presbyterian church. Here young Waddel, as yet but fifteen years of age, though saluted by the name of *Dominie*, was exposed to the snare of certain amusements so attractive to the young, but which his conscience, under the influence of early education, disapproved. And now the things of this world, and those of the world to come, came into conflict. By frequent personal interviews with Mr. Thatcher, and by attendance upon his preaching, and that of ministers of other denominations, he became deeply impressed with a sense of religious duty, resorted to religious reading and secret prayer, was led to "embrace, receive, and rest upon the Saviour for the whole of his salvation," and was received into the membership of the Presbyterian church. At this communion, at *Bethany*, he had sweet and instructive Christian intercourse with Mr. Robert Creswell, of Wilkes, who had come twenty-five or thirty miles to this meeting, and again at a communion at *Smyrna* church, Wilkes county, near Mr. Creswell's, with him and a Mr. George Calhoun, an elder who lived a few miles northwest of Washington, a poor man, but mighty in the Scriptures. After this he conducted a social worship, by singing, prayer, and the reading of sermons of approved divines, at the request of Mr. Thatcher and the session, on vacant Sabbaths.

In the midst of this, he fell into the deepest spiritual

despondency and gloom, which weighed upon his spirits, bowed him deep in the dust, and preyed upon his health. His description of this is truly affecting. He was obliged at last to dismiss his school, to go and seek of Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Creswell that spiritual advice his heart longed for. These experienced servants of God were able to give him much excellent counsel, Mr. Creswell especially cautioning him against excessive attention to reading and intense thought. "Commit thy way," says he, "unto the Lord, and thy thoughts shall be established; trust in him, and he shall bring it to pass." At last, under a communion sermon of Mr. Thatcher's, at Bethany, from Romans v. 6, he obtained so clear and comfortable a view of the plan of salvation and of the Saviour's love, that he was filled with peace and joy. He now determined to study for the ministry, and, acting under the advice of Rev. Mr. Springer, then teaching at old Cambridge, in Abbeville district, he set out for Hampden Sidney college, in the fall of 1790; he entered the senior class on the 3d of January, 1791, in September of which year he graduated, after a college course of eight months and twenty-six days. On the first of August he had been received under the care of Hanover presbytery, and on the 12th of May, 1792, after the usual examinations and trials, he was licensed to preach the gospel. After remaining for some time in Virginia, he returned to the South, and resided for a season in the family of Mr. Thomas Legare, of South Carolina.

About this time, September, 1793, he was appointed by presbytery to preach as a supply at James Island, John's Island and Wadmalaw, and Dorchester, once each, and the rest of his time in Georgia. We next find a people on Coldwater petitioning presbytery to be received under its care, and to be known as New Hope, and at the same meeting, April, 1794, a call for half his labors by Carmel church, Georgia, was forwarded to presbytery and by him accepted. At a special meeting at this church, held on the 5th and 6th of June in that year, he was formally set apart and received into the order of gospel ministers, the ordination sermon being preached by Dr. Cummins, from Ezekiel xxxiii., last clause of the seventh verse. In 1793 or 1794 he opened a school in Columbia county, Georgia, about two miles eastward from the village of Appling. After teaching here for several years he removed to the village, where he continued his labors for a short time previous to his removal to South Carolina. The circumstances of his first marriage and his general appearance at this period

of his life, are thus described by a lady who was familiarly acquainted with his history and to whom we are indebted for many reminiscences and traditions of the churches of Abbeville :

“ In 1794 an appointment had been made for a new preacher at a school-house called Brewer’s, a few miles from Hopewell church, and just midway between the waters of Little river and Calhoun’s creek. It was on a week day, but a considerable audience had assembled ; for some indistinct and flying rumors had excited the curiosity of the Scotch-Irish colony. There were some blank countenances, however, when a very young man, of somewhat low stature, and rather boyish face, arrived and mounted the stand. His dress was plain and well suited to the times, his step manly and positive ; but the calm gray eye and heavy brow, when in repose, gave no indication of confirming the story which the ‘ trumpet tongue’ of fame had sent before him. He arose and stated his text in a voice which arrested the attention of his hearers ;\* it was deep, harmonious, and decided ; and as it rolled on in earnest and pointed declamation, like some smooth stream, rapid yet clear, the interest of the audience was manifested in a surprise, which, at the close of the service had reached its climax of delighted admiration. Then the people crowded round him, and a contest which bid fair to be scarcely amicable, arose as to the privilege of entertaining this wonderful young stranger. This point was at length conceded out of sheer respect, and he went with Mr. Patrick Calhoun, the patriarch of the flock.

“ We have often heard him describe with the pleasing garrulity of age, this first visit to the Calhoun settlement. That evening’s hospitable entertainment around the wide old-fashioned chimney—the sire in one corner, the fair old matron in the other, and beside her an interesting and only daughter—after some time a door was opened and a youthful head with very dishevelled locks and strong features, peeped in, but was instantly withdrawn. This was the introduction of the great teacher to his yet greater pupil, J. C. Calhoun ; what a page in his destiny did that door open to the incipient statesman. There sat a slender and smooth-cheeked man, with a bold brow and resolute gray eye, who was to become his future brother-in-law ; and was to be his pilot through the first shoals of his restless and ambitious life ! But the young min-

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\* It is said that those who heard him only in his later years could form but little idea of the depth and harmony of his voice, and the exceeding smoothness and volubility of his diction.

ister—what were *his thoughts*? As dreams are said to be the duplicates of our waking ideas, we shall see. On retiring to rest that night, he dreamed that he had married the lovely Catharine, and that she died soon after her marriage. Though there was nothing remarkable in the dream, there was something strange in the sequel; for in little more than a year it was literally fulfilled.

“He was at this time, though but little past twenty years of age” [he was twenty-four], “principal of a classical school in Columbia county, Georgia; and soon after his marriage, the young John C. Calhoun, then thirteen years of age, was placed under his care; but upon the death of his wife and father-in-law,\* the school was suspended for several years, the young minister devoting himself almost exclusively to missionary labors, which, from the increasing opening of fields before him, and from the peculiar religious excitement now awakening, he felt was demanded of him.”

In October, 1796, he was again appointed to preach at John's Island and Wadmalaw. Soon after this, on the 3d of November, 1796, the synod of the Carolinas separated the territory southwest of the Savannah, and detached the Rev. John Newton, John Springer, Robert M. Cunningham, Moses Waddel, and William Montgomery from the presbytery of South Carolina, and these brethren meeting at Liberty church, Georgia, now Woodstock, on the third Thursday, being the 16th of March, 1796, under the order of synod, held the first meeting of the presbytery of Hopewell; which was opened by a sermon from Rev. Mr. Springer, from Luke iv. 18. Mr. Springer was elected moderator, and Mr. Waddel clerk; three elders, Ezekiel Gillam, James Darrach, and Ludowick Tuggle being also members.

The services of Dr. Waddel were through the remaining years of this century bestowed upon Georgia, where he opened a school in Columbia county. The remaining and the larger portion of the life of this eminently useful man belongs to the next century, and we reluctantly refrain from pursuing it here.

There was another eminently useful clergyman who should be held in remembrance by the churches in upper Georgia, as well as by our own—Daniel Thatcher, who was born in New Jersey. His early studies were conducted under Dr. James Hall, at “Clio's Nursery.” He was reported as a candidate by Orange presbytery in 1786, and in 1782 as having been ordained.

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\* Patrick Calhoun, Esq., died February 15, 1795.

About 1781 or 1782, is, then, the year of his ordination.—(Minutes of Synod of New York and Philadelphia, pp. 486, 494. Minutes of Assembly, p. 19.) He is reported as a minister of the presbytery of Orange, without charge, in 1789. He sits in South Carolina presbytery as a corresponding member, Oct. 9, 1787, and March 18, 1788. April 13th, 1790, he expresses by letter a wish to become a member and to receive appointments in Georgia. In April, 1791, he is again present, and on April 11, 1793, is received by a dismission from Orange presbytery. He continued laboring chiefly, we believe, though not exclusively, in the State of Georgia, until about the commencement of the year 1795, when he visited his native State. He then took a mission under the General Assembly into the Genesee and Lake country of New York, for a twelvemonth; during which he gathered nine churches, administered the Lord's Supper ten different times, baptized twenty-six adults and two hundred and fifty or more children and minors. From views of duty toward God and a people greatly destitute of the gospel, he accepted a second appointment as missionary to those frontier parts, not seeing so much of a field opened to his ministry in the South. He thinks it probable that most of his future life will be spent at the North, but hopes to visit his fathers and brethren in two years, if life should be spared. Fearing they would think it wrong that his name should burden their minutes through so long an absence, he requests, unless they should prefer otherwise, that he may be dismissed to the presbytery of Hudson, or serve one more convenient, and that their letter of dismission should be addressed to the care of Rev. James F. Armstrong, of Trenton. His request was complied with. His report was made to the General Assembly, with the information that he had received on his mission £34 18s. 8d. from the people. He was reappointed with other missionaries at the monthly salary of forty dollars, but it is recorded that he died in the month of August, 1796, in the discharge of his important trust, to the great loss of the church.

The following is his account of the origin of some of the churches in Georgia to which he ministered.

GREENE COUNTY, STATE OF GEORGIA.

April 2d, 1792.

REVEREND FATHERS AND BROTHERS:—Agreeable to what I have understood, the General Assembly requested of the respective presbyteries of the synod of New York and Philadelphia, and agreeable to the request of your Reverend Body,

I now undertake to give some account relative to the planting and apparent rise of those churches now vacant in these parts, particularly where I am supplying at present.

“I am, etc.,

“DANIEL THATCHER.

“BETHANY CHURCH, I believe, was settled in the year 1788, and still exists as a church in Harris’s settlement, near the waters of Ogeechee, but by frequent deaths amongst the members of said church, and frequent emigrations of families belonging to the church, it is at present somewhat fewer in number and strength.

“EBENEZER CHURCH, on the waters of Shoulder-Bone, and in Greene county, was also settled about the close of the year 1788, has gradually been growing in number and strength until the present time, and appears still promising in these respects.

“SILOAM CHURCH, on the waters of Richland Creek, near to, and including Greensborough, was settled about the year 1790; has also been increasing in number and strength in some degree until the present time, and appears still promising in these respects at present.

“GOSHEN was also settled about the year 1790, near Greensborough, is but inconsiderable in number or strength at the present time.

“LITTLE BRITAIN CHURCH, on the waters of Little river, was also settled about the year 1790, and from present appearances we trust it may yet become something important.

“BETHLEHEM CHURCH was settled about the year 1789 on the waters of Little river; still exists as a church, but few in number, and seldom supplied, on account of its situation.

“RICHMOND CHURCH, near the Kiokees, settled about the year 1788, and something grown in number and strength since it was settled.

“Some people on Little Ogeechee and on Buffalo waters have lately attempted to congregate themselves in the denomination of Presbyterian churches; yet their prospects are not very superior.”

The following is the Rev. John Newton’s history of the churches of New Hope, Beth-Salem, Little Britain, and Siloam, written in 1792:—

“These churches are situated nearly in a direct line with each other from north to south, on the western frontier of the State of Georgia, in the counties of Elbert, Oglethorpe, and Greene. Of these four churches, BETH-SALEM was the first organized.

In the year 1787 the people of this church called Mr. John Newton, probationer, under the care of the South Carolina presbytery, to be their pastor. Their call was accepted, and he, the said Mr. Newton, was ordained in 1788, and did then become, and is still, the pastor of that church. In 1789 and 1790 religion was somewhat lively in Beth-Salem, but at present a kind of indifference with respect to gospel ordinances too much prevails. The above mentioned churches are made up chiefly by emigrants from the western parts of Virginia and North Carolina, with some few from South Carolina. In the bounds of these churches there are many of the Baptist denomination and several Methodists, which circumstance alone is a sufficient reason why they should be weak. No one of these churches alone considered itself able to support a pastor. They have greatly suffered by the Cherokee and Creek Indians. Those savages often visit the more exterior parts of the country in small plundering parties, and on such occasions do often commit murder, which is a continual check to the growth of these churches. It is to be observed, however, that under these distressing circumstances New-Hope has increased in strength these two years past, by a goodly number of worthy members of society from the State of Pennsylvania. SLOAN, also, is making considerable advances. It is the most southern of the four mentioned in this history, and lies in and around the village of Greensborough. The lands there are generally of a good quality, and from this village northward to New-Hope, in Elbert county, the lands on the whole depreciate. The people of these churches in general may be said to be neither wealthy nor poor, and possess the necessaries and many of the comforts of life. Luxury has not as yet spread its baleful influence over this people. The lands being fertile, agriculture is the principal business of the inhabitants. The above mentioned churches have all been formed since the conclusion of the last war in America, and consequently, are now in their infancy."

The presbytery of Hopewell, when first detached from that of South Carolina, was composed as follows:—

<i>Ministers.</i>	<i>Churches.</i>
Rev. John Newton,	Beth-Salem and New-Hope.*

\* On Coldwater, an affluent of the Savannah in Elbert county. The church was formed of immigrants from Pennsylvania, among whom were William Fergus, the Graves's, and others.

*Ministers.*

Rev. John Springer,  
 Rev. Robert M. Cunningham,  
 Rev. Moses Waddel,  
 Rev. William Montgomery,

*Churches.*

Liberty,\* Smyrna,† Washing-  
 ton, and Providence,‡  
 Bethany and Ebenezer,  
 Carmel,  
 Greensboro and Little Britain.

“‘Vacancies,’ unable to support a Minister.”

Sharon,  
 §Joppa,  
 Siloam,  
 Goshen,  
 ††Sherril’s Creek,  
 Richmond,  
 ¶ Salem.

Fergus Creek,  
 ¶Goose Ponds,  
 ¶Great Kioka,  
 \*\*Kettle Creek,  
 ††Falling Creek,  
 Concord, in Wilkes county,

## BOOK FOURTEENTH.

## - CHAPTER I.

HAVING brought the history of the presbytery of South Carolina down to the formation of the Hopewell presbytery in Georgia, and what appertains to South Carolina to the close of the century, we will add two statistical tables, one made out by a committee of the presbytery of South Carolina, October 1st, 1791, near the beginning of the decade, and one

\* Now Woodstock. † Now merged in the Washington church.

‡ Now Mount Zion, Wilkes county.

§ A preaching station of Dr. Waddel. *He* “went down to Joppa:” merged perhaps in Lexington. One of his pupils, writing to him from Princeton college, which he had then entered, compared the preaching he heard in New Jersey with *his* free and outspoken pulpit discourses at Joppa.

¶ Goose Pond, an affluent of Broad river, in Oglethorpe county.

¶ Great Kioka, an affluent of the Savannah, in Columbia county.

\*\* Site of the battle of Kettle creek, fought by Pickens, Clarke, and Dooly.

An affluent of Little river.

†† An affluent of Little river.

‡‡ An affluent of Broad river. There is a Falling Creek also, an affluent of the Oconee.

¶ Merged probably in Woodstock.

drawn up in 1799, after the Hopewell presbytery was detached.

The annual report to the synod of the Carolinas, October, 1791 :—

“The presbytery of South Carolina consists of the following members, viz. :—

Rev. Joseph Alexander,	Bullock's Creek,	
“ James Edmonds,		
“ John Simpson,		
“ Thomas Reese,	Salem, (B. R.)	
“ Thomas H. McCaule,	Lebanon, (late	Jackson's
	Creek.)	
“ James Templeton,		
“ Francis Cummins,	Rocky River and Hopewell,	
	(late Lower Long Cane.)	
“ Robert Hall,	Upper Long Cane and Green-	
	ville, (late Saluda.)	
“ John Newton,	Beth-Salem.	
“ William C. Davis,	Nazareth and Milford.	
“ Robert McCulloch,	Beaver Creek and Hanging	
	Rock.	
“ John Springer,	Smyrna, Washington, and	
	Providence.	
“ James W. Stephenson,	Williamsburg and Indian-	
	town.	

*Licentiates.*

Mr. Humphrey Hunter, Mr. Robert Cunningham.

*Candidates.*

George McWhorter,	Samuel W. Yongue,
Joseph Howe,	William Williamson,
David E. Dunlap,	Robert Wilson,
Robert B. Walker,	William Montgomery.
John Foster,	

*Vacancies in South Carolina, able to support a pastor.*

Catholic and Purity,	Good Hope and Roberts,
Fairforest and Lower Union,	Hopewell and Aimwell,
Bethel,	Bethesda,
Duncan's Creek,	Waxhaw.
Fishing Creek,	

*Vacant Societies in South Carolina, unable to support a pastor.*

Hopewell, on Seneca,	Rocky Neck,
Ebenezer, Indian lands,	Beaver Dam,

Beersheba,	Ninety-Six,
Upper Union,	Golden Grove,
Bradaway,	Rocky Creek,
Bush River,	North Pacolet,
Cuffey Town,	Reedy Branch,
Shiloh,	Little River,
Twenty-three Mile Creek,	George's Creek,
Indian Creek,	South Tyger.

*Vacant Societies in Georgia, unable to support a pastor.*

Great Kioka,	Bethesda,
Siloam,	Goshen,
Ebenezer,	Salem,
Little Britain,	New Hope,
Sherril's Creek,	Richmond,
Kettle Creek,	Bethlehem.
Falling Creek,	
Settled churches,.....	17
Churches able,.....	13
Small and unable, South	
Carolina,.....	20
Ditto, Georgia,.....	13
	<hr/>
Total, .....	63

AN Exhibit of the ministers, congregations, licentiates, and candidates in the presbytery of South Carolina, at its division in 1799, collected from the minutes.

The Rev. Joseph Alexander,	pastor at	Bullock's Creek,
" John Simpson,	"	Good Hope and Roberts,
" James Templeton, S. S.,	"	Nazareth,
" Francis Cummins,	"	Rocky River,
" Robert McCulloch,	"	Catholic and Purity,
" James W. Stephenson,	"	Indiantown and Williamsburg,
" John Brown,	"	Waxhaw and Unity,
" Robert Wilson,	"	Long Cane,
" William Williamson,	"	Fairforest and S. S. Grassy Spring,
" Robert B. Walker,	"	Bethesda,
" David E. Dunlap,	"	Columbia,
" Samuel W. Yongue,	"	Lebanon and Mount Olivet,

The Rev. John Foster,	pastor at Salem,
“ George G. McWhorter,	“ Bethel and Beer- sheba,
“ James Gilleland,	“ Bradaway,
“ John B. Kennedy,	“ Duncan's Creek and Little River,
“ John B. Davies,	“ Fishing Creek and Richardson,
“ Andrew Brown,	“ Bethlehem and Eb- enezer, on Cane Creek.

*Licentiates.*

William G. Rosborough,	John Couser,
George Reid.	

*Candidates.*

Hugh Dickson,	Thomas Neely.
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*Vacancies.*

Hopewell (Pedee),	Hopewell (Abbeville),
Hopewell (Pendleton),	Beaver Creek,
Carmel,	North Pacolet,
Hanging Rock,	Fishdam,
Shiloh,	Concord,
Horeb,	Miller's,
Bethany,	Aimwell (Pedee),
Aimwell (Cedar Creek),	Rocky Creek,
Greenville,	Ebenezer,
Milford,	Cuffey Town,
Beaver Dam,	Union,
Fairview,	Liberty Spring,
Newton,	Mount Sion,
Smyrna,	Granby (called Mr. Reid).

Ministers, . . . . .	18
Licentiates, . . . . .	3
Candidates, . . . . .	2
Congregations supplied, .	28
Ditto calling for supply, .	2
Ditto vacant, . . . . .	27

Total congregations, 57

N. B.—Mr. James McIlhenny, a licentiate, received from Concord presbytery, and has accepted a call from John's and Wadmalaw Islands.

Of two of the original members of the presbytery as set off from that of Orange, little has been said of late in these pages. One was the Rev. Thomas Hill, who was one of the missionaries sent into the province of South Carolina by Lady Huntington, at an early period. At the first meeting of the presbytery, he was cited before its tribunal, and, failing to appear, was cut off for contumacy. He had fallen a victim to that fell destroyer of so many men in the various professions, "strong drink." A sad ending of the days of one who had held the sacred office for so many years. The other is the Rev. James Edmonds, who was born in the city of London, about the year 1720, and died in the city of Charleston in April, 1793, at the age of seventy-three years. His earlier history has been given on preceding pages, and may be known by consulting the index at the close of this volume. In the records of the Independent church, Charleston, February 13, 1757, he is called "the Presbyterian minister," yet he was not ordained by the presbytery, but by the neighboring ministers, according to the Congregational usage. In 1767 he assisted Josiah Smith and Mr. Zubly in the ordination of John Thomas, sent out to the Independent church by Drs. Gibbons and Conder from London. In 1767 he removed to Sunbury, Georgia, but had returned to Carolina in the year 1770, and was a frequent supply of the Independent church, till the fall of Charleston. He had been received, however, as a member of Orange presbytery previous to May, 1774, and attended as a member of the synod of Philadelphia and New York, held in Philadelphia that year. He was present at the sessions of 1783, '84 as a member of Orange presbytery. The resolution of the synod of the Carolinas for the setting off of the presbytery of South Carolina from the presbytery of Orange was read, on the motion of Mr. Edmonds, in the latter presbytery, October 5, 1784. He presided at the first session of the new presbytery of South Carolina, held at Waxhaw, on the 12th of April, 1785, and opened it with a sermon from Mal. v. 14. He was present at a *pro re nata* meeting at Bethel, May 22, 1785, and preached the ordination sermon of Robert Finley from Psalm cxxxii. 6; again at a meeting, held at Col. Reid's, for the ordination of Robert Hall, July 26 and 27; at Mrs. Pettigrew's, July 28 and 29, for the ordination of Robert Mecklin, whose ordination sermon he preached from 2d Timothy, ii., 15, at Jackson's Creek, where he opened presbytery as moderator, with a sermon from Mark, xvi. 20. At these sessions he was ap-

pointed to preach at Fairforest, Little River, Indian Town, and Hopewell. Again, October 12, 1786, at Hopewell, and administer the Supper at Indian Town. He attended presbytery at Catholic, April 9, 1787, and was appointed to preach at Pacolet and Ebenezer, and elsewhere at discretion. He was present at an adjourned meeting at Bullock's Creek, October 9, 1787; at an intermediate session at Bethel, December 11, 1787, at which Messrs. Davis and McCulloch were licensed; at Duncan's creek, October 14, 1788, was ordered to supply at Williamsburg, Indian Town, and Hopewell, (P. D.) He preached at the ordination of John Newton; was the moderator at Bullock's Creek, October 13, 1789, and appointed to supply one Sabbath at Waxhaw; was present at presbytery, Bethesda, September 28, 1790, and was appointed to preside at the ordination of Mr. Stephenson, at Williamsburg, on the first Wednesday in December of that year. His name is mentioned on the records of presbytery till April 8, 1794, among the absentees.

Thus Mr. Edmonds appears to have been through life, till incapacitated by physical infirmity, a laborious and useful minister, and to have laid the foundations of Zion, and to have strengthened "the things which were ready to die," in the early periods of our Southern church.

The venerable J. R. Witherspoon, M.D., of Alabama, and formerly of Williamsburg, South Carolina, thus writes of him:

"He was an inmate for several years in my father's family, where all loved him. In the History of South Carolina, by the venerable Dr. Ramsay, vol. ii., p. 29, it will be seen that he became the pastor of the Independent or Congregational church in Charleston, South Carolina, December 15, 1754, and resigned his pastorship of the same about the year 1767; but from what cause it is not stated. But from that period," says Dr. Witherspoon, "it is believed he retired into the interior part of the State, for the purpose of establishing or organizing new churches in vacant places, as in Williamsburg, Indian Town, Pee Dee, Jeffries Creek, &c., and in riding about as a missionary, literally doing all the good he could in the cause of his blessed Master. If it should be inquired how, in a state of such indigence, he could travel as he did, it may be answered that he received, as a gift, from that noble-hearted and generous friend, Major John James, of Revolutionary memory, a fine riding horse, supposed to be worth at least \$100; and from the writer's father, a valuable servant-boy, as a waiter, and a horse, to attend the worthy old

gentleman in some of his tours. This servant is still living in the neighborhood of the writer, and, though now far advanced in years, could, no doubt, yet relate many interesting incidents of their travels. When not engaged in these tours, he spent the greater part of his time, to the great satisfaction of the family, in the mansion of the writer's father, or in that of his worthy friend and benefactor, Major James, and always found kind friends wherever he went. It has been stated to the writer that he married a Miss Broughton, of Goose Creek, near Charleston, and by her he had one daughter; but by some difference with one of his wife's brothers about the property, he gave it all back, and hence was the cause of his poverty in his after life." (He was married to Mrs. Sarah Broughton, relict of Thomas Broughton, Esq., in July, 1761.—South Carolina Gazette.) "It is believed his said daughter was afterwards raised by the worthy patriarch of Charleston. After losing his eye-sight, about the year 1790, he removed to the hospitable mansion of his worthy friend, Mr. Josiah Smith, in Charleston, and remained in that mansion until he died, in 1793. Mr. Edmonds was in person rather above the ordinary size of men, weighing, probably, over two hundred pounds; had a full face and heavy eye-brows; yet he was polite, affable, dignified, and more loquacious than usual for one at his age. His manner of preaching was plain, solemn, and unostentatious; his sermons were short but practical, and altogether extempore. After the entire demolition of the venerable church edifice, in 1786, near Kingstree, by the descendants of the original founders of the same, or by the party opposed to the late emigrants from Ireland, there being no other suitable building for public worship, Mr. Edmonds occasionally occupied for that purpose Mr. Witherspoon's barn. To show the great respect and esteem in which this good man was held by the writer's family, an elder brother and sister each gave his name in baptism to one of their sons. From the year 1789 or 1790, when Mr. Edmonds became blind, it is believed he removed to Charleston, and remained as a guest in the mansion of his worthy and generous friend, Mr. Josiah Smith, until his death. Whether he ever preached after he lost his eye-sight, is not recollected by the writer. The last affecting interview which they had, was in October, 1792, when the writer was on his journey, via Charleston, to Princeton college, where he acted as amanuensis to his venerable friend and preceptor, one day in every week during the years 1793 and 1794, and had the honor of graduating in the

last class under that eminent man, the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, then also completely blind, who, notwithstanding, still preached once a month or oftener, in his usual solemn and impressive manner. Dr. Witherspoon died 15th November, 1794. Though much more might be added of the character of this worthy gentleman, Mr. Edmonds, as to the labors bestowed by him on the organization of the different churches, Williamsburg, Indian Town, Pee Dee, Jeffries Creek, &c., the writer will close this brief sketch with a remarkable yet authentic incident which occurred a year or two before his death, but while in a state of entire blindness. There was established in the city of Charleston, and in some of the adjacent parishes or congregations, a society for the benefit and support of disabled ministers of the gospel, and of their widows and orphans, of the Independent church, consisting of fifty members or upwards, of which number Mr. Edmonds had always been one; and, according to a standing rule of the society, every member had to pay one guinea, or £1 sterling, annually; hence the fund soon became considerable, so that from the interest or annual proceeds, the society could easily carry out one of its principal objects. At one of their anniversaries, and the last that Mr. Edmonds, it is believed, was permitted to attend, but not unmindful of his annual contribution, he went with his guinea in his pocket, and when he was called upon for his contribution, poor and blind as he was, and extraordinary to relate, it was the last cent of money he could command; nor did he know where he could get the next, except from the charity of some of his worthy and pious friends. But recollecting that his annual contribution might be called for, he had carefully kept this guinea in his pocket for that particular occasion. As soon as he had retired from the church to return to his lodging, a gentleman proposed, as the funds were ample, that the society should vote Mr. Edmonds eighty guineas annually during life; whereupon the venerable Mr. Smith opposed the motion on the ground that he never had, and never expected to charge Mr. Edmonds or his daughter (then a young lady grown) anything for their board and lodgings; on the contrary, considered it a favor and privilege to have such guests in his family. It being then suggested that Mr. Edmonds was well known for his great benevolence, especially for his gratuitous distribution of good books when in his power, the resolution was unanimously adopted, and two of the members appointed to wait upon him at his lodgings, and bear him the welcome intelligence. When they

entered his chamber, calm and alone, they made the important communication; whereupon the good man burst into tears of joy and gratitude, lifting up his hand and declaring that was the last guinea he could command, but his trust in God was firm and unwavering. "J. R. WITHERSPOON.

"Greensboro, 22d September, 1851."

Mr. Edmonds had two children, one of whom died in earliest infancy. Mr. Hutson's Register of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, has the following entries: "September 24, 1786, baptized George, son of Rev. James and Anne Edmonds. September 28, buried George, son of Rev. James and Anne Edmonds. November 24, 1759, baptized Mary, daughter of James and Anne Edmonds." She (his daughter Mary) was living in 1815, when Dr. Ramsay published his history of the Circular church, and was for many years a pensioner upon the funds of the clergy society.

One cannot fail to have observed the number of young ministers that were raised up by the Head of the Church so soon after the war of the Revolution, and by the laying on of the hands of this presbytery, clothed with the ministry of reconciliation.

First, Robert Hall, Robert Finley, and Robert Mecklin, received as probationers from the presbytery of Orange, April, 1785. Robert Finley was ordained May 24, 1785, as minister of Waxhaw; dismissed to the presbytery of Redstone, April, 1790. He had previously taught a classical school near Rocky River, North Carolina.

ROBERT HALL, ordained pastor of Upper Long Cane and Greenville, July 27, 1785; died August 31, 1797.

ROBERT MECKLIN was ordained pastor of Rocky River and Lower Long Cane (or Hopewell), July 29, 1785, and died August, 1798.

WM. C. DAVIS was educated at Mount Zion: received as candidate, October, 1786; licensed, December, 1787; ordained, April, 1789; pastor of Nazareth and Milford, 1790; dismissed to the presbytery of Concord in 1797; and became pastor of Olney church, North Carolina. His subsequent history is well known. He died September, 1831, aged seventy years.

ROBERT McCULLOCH, from Mount Zion college: received, October, 1786; licensed, December, 1787; ordained, April, 1789; pastor of Beaver Creek and Hanging Rock, 1790. He became pastor of Catholic and Purity churches in 1794.

- JAMES WHITE STEPHENSON, D.D.**, from Mount Zion college : received, April, 1787 ; licensed, April, 1790 ; ordained, April, 16, 1791, as pastor of Williamsburg and Indian Town churches. He migrated, with a large colony of his people, to Maury county, Tennessee, in 1808. He received the degree of D.D. from South Carolina college in 1815, and died, January 6, 1832, aged seventy-six.
- JOHN NEWTON** : received from Orange presbytery as a probationer, October, 1785 ; called to Beth-Salem, Georgia, April, 1787 ; ordained, October 18, 1788. Mr. Newton was born in Pennsylvania, February 30, 1759. Educated at Liberty Hall, Charlotte, North Carolina ; graduated, August 20, 1780. Married Catharine Lawrence, 1780. Had a large family of sons and daughters. His widow lived at Athens, Georgia, to an advanced age. He died, June 17, 1797.
- JOHN SPRINGER**, a candidate of Orange: received, October, 1787 ; ordained, July, 1790, at Washington, Georgia, pastor of Providence, Smyrna, and Washington. He died, deeply regretted, in 1798.
- HUMPHREY HUNTER**, from Mount Zion college : received, March, 1788 ; licensed, October, 1789 ; ordained, May, 1792, pastor of Hopewell, P. D., and Aimwell. Dismissed to presbytery of Orange, September 17, 1795.
- JAMES WALLIS**, from Mount Zion college : received, March, 1788 ; licensed, Oct., 1789 ; dismissed to Orange, Sept., 1790 ; and in 1792 became pastor of Providence church, N. C., to which he ministered till his death, in 1819, conducting also a classical school of some eminence for many years, and contending successfully against the skepticism of his day. He was born in 1762, in Sugar Creek congregation, and was for some time before his death a trustee of the university of N. C.
- ROBERT M. CUNNINGHAM**, of Dickinson college, (afterwards D.D.): received, Oct., 1789 ; licensed, Sept., 1791 ; ordained, Aug., 1793, pastor of Ebenezer and Bethany churches, in Georgia ; removed to Alabama, 1822.
- GEORGE G. McWHORTER** : received, Sept., 1790. He was dismissed, April, 1793, to Orange ; received, from Orange, 1796 ; ordained, July, 1796, pastor of Bethel and Beersheba.
- SAMUEL W. YONGUE**, from Mount Zion college, was received, April, 1791 ; licensed, April, 1793 ; ordained, Feb. 4, 1796, as pastor of Lebanon church, Fairfield.

- JOSEPH HOWE**, from Mount Zion college, was received, April, 1791; licensed, Oct., 1792; was dismissed to presbytery of Transylvania, April, 1794.
- DAVID E. DUNLAP**, from Mount Zion college, received, April, 1791; licensed, April, 1793; ordained pastor of the Columbia church, June 4, 1795.
- WILLIAM WILLIAMSON**, from Hampden Sidney college: received, April, 1791; licensed, April, 1793; ordained, Sept., 1794, as pastor of the Fairforest church.
- ROBT. B. WALKER**, Mount Zion college: received, Sept., 1791; licensed, Sept., 1793; ordained, Dec. 4, 1794, pastor of Bethesda.
- WILLIAM MONTGOMERY**, Mount Zion college: received, September, 1791; licensed, April, 1793; ordained, May 28, 1795, as pastor of the churches of Little Britain and Siloam, now Greensborough, Georgia. He removed to the West in 1812.
- JOHN FOSTER**, Mount Zion college: received, September, 1791; licensed, September, 1793; ordained, February 4th, 1795, pastor of Salem, B. R.
- ROBERT WILSON**, Dickinson college: received, September, 1791; licensed in April, 1793; ordained as pastor of Upper Long Cane and Greenville churches on the 22d of May, 1794; removed to Ohio.
- JAMES GILLELAND**, Dickinson college: received, September, 1791; licensed, September, 1794; ordained pastor of Bradaway, 21st of July, 1796; removed to Ohio.
- ANDREW BROWN**, Hampden Sidney: received, September, 1791, licensed, April, 1794; ordained, 19th of July, 1799, pastor of Bethlehem.
- JOHN B. KENNEDY**, Mount Zion college: received, September, 1791; licensed, September, 1794; ordained, September 8th, 1796, pastor of Little River and Duncan's Creek.
- JOHN BROWN, D.D.**, licentiate of presbytery of Orange: received, April, 1793; and was ordained pastor of the Waxhaw church on the 11th of October, 1793.
- MOSES WADDEL, D.D.**, received from presbytery of Hanover, April, 1793, as a licentiate. He was ordained as pastor of the Carmel church, in Georgia, June 6th, 1794.
- WILLIAM G. ROSBOROUGH**, graduate of Mount Zion college; received, April, 1793; licensed, April 16, 1795; ordained by the first presbytery of South Carolina as pastor of the united churches of Concord and Horeb, February 4, 1801.

- ISAAC SADLER, student of Dr. Joseph Alexander ; received, April, 1793 ; passed through a portion of his trials, but did not prosecute his studies for the ministry.
- JOHN B. DAVIES : received, September, 1794 ; licensed, October 31, 1796 ; ordained pastor of Fishing Creek, March, 1799.
- JOHN COUSER : received, September, 1794 ; licensed, October 31, 1796 ; ordained by the first presbytery of South Carolina, pastor of New-Hope church, November 19, 1803.
- GEORGE REID, Dickinson college : received, October, 1796 ; licensed, October, 1798.
- WILLIAM A. DUNHAM, from New England : received, April, 1797 ; dismissed from trials, March, 1798.
- HUGH DICKSON, a graduate of Hampden Sidney : received, October, 1797 ; was licensed by the second presbytery, February 12, 1800, and ordained by the same as pastor of Greenville and Smyrna churches, November 11, 1801.
- THOMAS NEELY : received as candidate from Concord presbytery, March, 1799 ; was licensed by the first presbytery of South Carolina on the 1st of October, 1800 ; and was ordained by them pastor of Purity church, October 17, 1806.

This is a remarkable list of young candidates for the ministry, thirty-three in number, only two of whom failed to pursue their trials through to a successful completion. Those of them who died young had a successful ministry. Most of them have lived to a good old age, and came to their grave full of years. Some of them became professors in colleges, three of them presidents of such institutions, five of them were adorned with the title of D.D. Several of them were eminent instructors of schools and academies, which the necessities of the country and the small provisions made by the churches for their pastors obliged them to set up. It will not be known till the last day how many souls they have been instrumental in converting, nor shall we be able to measure the influence of the labors of these, our predecessors, into which we have entered. Those whose office it was to introduce them into the order of preachers of the gospel, followed the apostolic direction, to lay hands suddenly on no man. They sought to send these young men into the ministry with the most ample qualifications the country then afforded. The following views addressed to presbytery, by Thomas H. McCaule, president of Mount Zion college, were the views that controlled them.

“I need not use formality in assuring you that strictness and universality in the examination of our young preachers,

are expedients highly necessary to keep our order **RESPECTABLE**. The vocation of an attorney has become tenfold more odious than ever by an indiscriminate admission to the departments of Law. The physicians of this State are taking measures to be incorporated, with a view of ejecting every empiric, and admitting none to practice, but such as shall be regularly licensed by the most learned and respectable of that profession. I have seen some of their circular letters on the subject. They mention in terms of high approbation the strict discipline of the clergy in admission to ecclesiastical functions. If the medical part of our citizens should carry their intentions into effect, there will be as great outcries against wind-fallen Irish doctors, as there have been against wind-fallen Irish preachers."

And there are many evidences of their care in guarding the pulpit from unworthy intruders.

The migrations, too, of ministers and people, have carried the gospel from these regions into the adjoining States of the south, and the remoter ones of the southwest. The removals from the Fairforest and Bethesda congregations strikingly illustrate this, and if our plan permitted us to draw our materials from the next century, to show the ministers, elders, professional men, and others, who have gone forth from these congregations to carry the light of truth, and to form christian communities and churches elsewhere, it would appear that the Presbyterians of the newer States are but the sons and daughters of these, as these were the sons and daughters of those who dwelt beyond the broad Atlantic.

Wherever they have gone, they have carried with them those principles of republican liberty which shone forth in such brightness in Geneva, among the Huguenots in France, in the Low country of Holland, among the Dissenters in England, on the bleak hills and in the narrow vales of Scotland, and among the hardy sons of the North of Ireland. Hard by the church has been the school. And these schools have sometimes risen to eminence under the sole management, and by the talent and energy, of the teacher, as in the cases of Dr. Joseph Alexander, Dr. Moses Waddel, and others. Sometimes there has been concerted action, as in the foundation of Mount Zion college at Winnsboro. We find this presbytery of South Carolina at one time contemplating the foundation of a grammar-school, or public academy for the education of youth. They had been addressed by the Philanthropic society of Spartanburg, which had founded a school of this character of which we believe the Rev. James Templeton was the preceptor, proposing that they

should take this school under their patronage; and in 1797, they had raised a committee, consisting of Rev. Messrs. Alexander and Cummins (afterwards Drs. Alexander and Cummins), and Mr. Templeton, to devise a plan for the same. Afterwards the legislature granted a charter for a college at Pinckneyville, in which most of the clerical members of presbytery were named as trustees. This seems to have superseded the nascent plan of presbytery, but it was little more than a year before the division of this body into the first and second presbyteries of South Carolina. This college, which would have continued the succession of Dr. Alexander's school, seems never to have gone into effective operation, or if it did, we are not able to trace it down in the records.

Ecclesiastical bodies which have exercised jurisdiction over the Presbyterian churches in South Carolina to the close of the eighteenth century:

The first of these bore the name of the presbytery of South Carolina. It is sometimes referred to as the presbytery of the province. We have spoken of its early existence on pages 189 to 191. It existed during the ministry of Mr. Bassett of the Independent Church, Charleston, which extended from 1724 to 1738. How much earlier we are not able to say. It appears to have licensed Rev. John Baxter as early as January, 1733-4. The congregation of Williamsburg forwarded a blank call through it to the presbytery of Dundee, who sent out the Rev. John Rae, whom the presbytery installed over that church in March, 1743-44. In 1748 it forwarded a similar blank call of Bethel, Pon Pon, to the presbytery of Edinburgh for a minister, which resulted in procuring for them Rev. George Anderson. It licensed the Rev. Archibald Simpson, May 16, 1754, and ordained him April 2d, 1755. This presbytery received William Donaldson, from Pennsylvania, in 1756, and in the same year settled the troubles in the church of Bethel, Pon Pon. It installed Mr. Gordon at Pon Pon, in 1759; deposed Rev. Robert Miller, of Waxhaw, in 1758; received Rev. William Richardson into their body, May 16, 1759, and took action for his installation at Waxhaw in 1758; received the Rev. James Campbell from the presbytery of New Castle, and settled him in the pastorate of the Bluff church, on the Cape Fear river, in North Carolina; received the Rev. Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Hewat from Scotland, in November, 1763; forwarded the blank call of the Williamsburg church to the presbytery of Bangor in Ireland, who put it into the hands of David McKee, and on its

acceptance, ordained him to take charge of that congregation, and sent him and his credentials to this presbytery of South Carolina, who installed him in February, 1769. It sent a letter to the synod of New York and Philadelphia in 1770, to ascertain on what terms it could be united with them; but though fair and honorable terms were proposed to it by the synod, it never connected itself with that body. It continued its ecclesiastical action until the troubles which issued in the war of the Revolution, at which time its distinct organization seems to have ceased.

*Roll of Members.*

Archibald Stobo,	Independent church, Charleston. Wilton.
William Livingston,	Independent church, Charleston.
Nathan Basset,	“ “ “
Hugh Fisher,	Dorchester.
John Witherspoon,	James' Island.
Hugh Stewart,	1st church, Charleston.
Moore,	Edisto.
William Porter,	Wappetaw
John Baxter,	Cainhoy.
John McCallister,	Bethel, Pon Pon.
Turnbull,	Wappetaw.
John McLeod,	Edisto.
Robert Heron,	Williamsburg.
Thomas Kennedy,	Williamsburg, 1772.
Grant,	1st church, Charleston.
Ross,	Wilton.
Samuel Hunter,	Black Mingo.
Joseph Rae,	Williamsburg.
Archibald Simpson,	Stoney Creek.
John Martin,	Wappetaw.
Robert Miller,	Waxhaw.
Charles Lorimer,	1st church, Charleston.
Philip Morison,	Bethel, Pon Pon.
Thomas Bell,	James' Island.
James Rymer,	Bethel, Pon Pon.
John Alison,	Wilton.
George Anderson,	Bethel, Pon Pon.
Jonathan S. Porter,	
Charles S. Gordon,	Bethel, Pon Pon.
William Donaldson,	Waccamaw.
Banantine,	A licentiate.

William Richardson,	Waxhaw.
James Campbell,	Bluff church, North Carolina.
John Al(iso)n,	
T(a)t(e),	
Alexander Hewat,	First Pres. church, Charleston.
William Knox,	Black Mingo. Indian Town.
Patrick Kier,	James' Island.
James Latta,	John's Island.
Hector Allison,	Williamsburg.
Thomas Henderson,	Edisto.
John Maltby,	Wilton.
Hugh Alison,	James' Island.
James Gourlay,	Stoney Creek.
Robert McClintock, (?)	Then a licentiate.
John Logue.	

2. *The Presbytery of Charleston.*—The succession of the old presbytery of South Carolina was interrupted by the war of the Revolution. A new presbytery was subsequently formed, which was incorporated in 1790 by the name of "The Presbytery of Charleston." The main provisions of the charter were referred to on p. 573, and are as follows:—

The especial plan for providing for the widows and children of deceased ministers is set forth in the following articles. It would require a considerable association of churches, or greater and more constant liberality than they usually possess, to make these provisions effectual, yet they are worthy of our attention.

Article III. provides, "That each church of this corporation shall, at its first annual meeting, make choice of, and pay into the fund of the society, one of the five following rates, viz.: Three pounds six shillings and eight pence; five pounds; six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence; eight pounds six shillings and eight pence; or ten pounds, lawful money of this State, to entitle the corresponding annuity of twenty pounds, thirty pounds, forty pounds, fifty pounds, or sixty pounds money aforesaid." Each church shall pay the said rate annually, and be charged legal interest thereon till paid. Each "shall have power at the election of every new minister to choose which of the five rates they will pay for him during his ministry."

The IVth Article provided, that "if any minister leave or be displaced from his church, he shall be cut off from the privileges of the society, unless the said minister sustain a good

character, and pay annually to the corporation the same rate which his church was bound to pay for him."

The Vth and VIth Articles provide for the payment of the annuities to the widows and children of deceased ministers; the VIIth, for the admission of other churches to the society; the VIIIth, for the withdrawal or exclusion of churches from the corporation and its privileges.—(Statutes at Large, viii., 158.)

This presbytery was organized ecclesiastically, we suppose, previous to its incorporation. It never had the same extensive jurisdiction with the one which preceded it. In 1800 it petitioned the General Assembly to be received into connection with that body. Arrangements were made that this should be done, by and with the consent of the synod of the Carolinas. In 1804 they renewed their request for a union, "without connecting themselves with the synod of the Carolinas." Against this the synod of the Carolinas presented their remonstrance, and in 1806 the subject was dismissed. The request was renewed in 1811, and was granted on condition that the members should have adopted the confession and constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, "should effect a compromise or union with the presbytery of Harmony, which transactions shall be subject to the review and control of the synod of the Carolinas." These conditions were not complied with. It preferred "to remain independent of synods and General Assemblies."

The latest act of this presbytery with which we are acquainted was the licensing of James J. Murray of Edisto Island, on the 15th of April, 1819.

Its records, as well as those of the old presbytery of South Carolina, have eluded our search, and the former have probably ceased to exist.—(Minutes of General Assembly, 1800, p. 189; 1804, p. 296; 1811, pp. 467, 475. "The Veil Withdrawn," by Raphael Bell, member of Charleston presbytery, p. 36, Charleston, 1817. American Quarterly Register, xii., 168. Evangel. Intel., vol. i., p. 47.)

*Roll of Members, previous to 1800.*

Rev. James Gourlay,	Independent Presbyterian Ch., Prince William, Bethel, and Pon Pon.
" William Knox,	Black Mingo.
" Thomas Cooley,	Edisto.
" James Wilson, Jr.,	1st Pres. Ch., Charleston, 1788.

Rev. John McCosh,	Liberty Spring.
“ Robert McClintock,	} Concord. Indian Creek. Rocky Spring. John's Island. Williamsburg.
“ ——— Drysdale,	
“ Samuel Kennedy,	
“ John Hidelson,	
“ James Wilson, Sen.,	Wilton, 1787, 1788.
“ James Malcomson, M. D.,	Williamsburg, 1792.
“ George Buist, D. D.,	1st Pres. Ch., Charleston, 1793.

Tradition makes Robert McClintock and his correspondents, Hugh Morrison, John Logue, John McCosh, John Hidelson, Robert Tate, members of this presbytery, but except one or two allusions in their private correspondence, we have no other evidence of it.

Rev. Mr. Wilson continued in this pastorate only a short time after 1790. Sprague says he remained several years, then returned to Scotland, remained a year or two, came again to America, and died in Virginia, in 1799.—(Vol. iii., p. 160.)

3. *The Presbytery of Orange.*—The Rev. Hugh McAden, Henry Patillo, James Creswell, Joseph Alexander, Hezekiah James Balch, and Hezekiah Balch, were detached from the presbytery of Hanover, and erected into a presbytery to be known as the presbytery of Orange, in 1770, by the synod of New York and Philadelphia. Four out of its seven original members had an important influence upon the religious interests of the upper portion of the State. McAden's missionary tour in South Carolina, in 1755, was not without its salutary effects. Hezekiah Balch (afterwards D. D.) became pastor of Bethel church, York district, in the same year this presbytery was organized, and continued in its service for four years. Joseph Alexander (afterwards D. D.), after performing much missionary labor, settled at Bullock's Creek in 1774, and did much as a minister of the gospel and an educator of youth, many of whom have held stations of influence in this and other States. James Creswell was the minister at Ninety-Six, and Little River, at the opening of the Revolution, and had preached also in other churches around. James Edmonds, John Harris, Thomas Reese (afterwards D. D.), John Simpson, Francis Cummins (afterwards D. D.), Thomas Hill, and Daniel Thatcher, and Thomas H. McCaule, were members of it. The three Roberts, viz. : Finley, Hall, and Mecklin, and John Newton, and John Springer, came as candidates or licentiates from it. For fifteen years it stretched its fostering hand over the

feeble churches which were springing up in the frontier portions of South Carolina. Unfortunately, the early records of Orange presbytery were consumed by fire some years ago, and the particular facts of its connection with our churches cannot be ascertained.

4. *Presbytery of South Carolina*, in connection, first with the synod of New York and Philadelphia, and then with the synod of the Carolinas. The last fifteen years in this century the churches of the Presbyterian order were under the supervision of this presbytery, save those connected with the presbytery of Charleston before mentioned, and some few which may have stood aloof from both.

At the close of the century the presbytery took measures for its own division, which took place as provided for in the following extract from the minutes of the twelfth sessions of the synod of the Carolinas. "Hopewell Church, November 6th 1799 : a petition of the presbytery of South Carolina, praying for a division of the said presbytery, was handed in through the committee of overtures, read and considered; whereupon, resolved that the prayer of the petition be granted, and that agreeably to the request of the presbytery, Broad river in its whole course, as far as it passes through the State of South Carolina, be the line of division; and that the members on the northeast side of said river, viz. : The Rev. Messrs. Joseph Alexander, Robert McCulloch, James W. Stephenson, John Brown, Robert B. Walker, David E. Dunlap, Samuel W. Yongue, John Foster, George G. McWhorter, and John B. Davies, be, and they are hereby constituted a presbytery, to be known by the name of the First Presbytery of South Carolina, to hold their first meeting at Bullock's Creek meeting-house, on the first Friday in February next, afterwards to sit on their own adjournments. The Rev. Joseph Alexander to open presbytery and preside until a new moderator be chosen, or in case of his absence the senior member present.

"It shall be the privilege of the first presbytery to retain in their possession the records and papers of the original presbytery of South Carolina. It will, nevertheless, be their duty to furnish the second presbytery with such extracts from the former as may be of use to the latter. The moneys now in the treasury of the presbytery of South Carolina, are to be equally divided between the first and second presbyteries of South Carolina. The probationers and candidates under the care of the presbytery of South Carolina, are in future to be under

the direction of the presbyteries in whose bounds they respectively reside."

A history of this presbytery was prepared by Rev. John B. Davies and Dr. John Brown, committee of the "First Presbytery of South Carolina;" reported to that body in 1802, and ordered to be sent up to the General Assembly. The original was in the hands of the stated clerk of that body in 1858, and as it gives a continuous view of the action of this oldest presbytery of the up-country, we had designed to spread it out on these pages. We are deterred only by the size this volume has already attained, and from the fact that the activity of this early presbytery in the licensure of candidates, in guarding the pulpit against unworthy intruders, in supplying vacant churches, and in promoting the purity of the church, may be gathered from what we have already recorded. There is also a tabular perspective of the various sessions and proceedings of this body, written in Latin by the hand of some scholarly person, reaching from the first to the twentieth session in 1794, which we would also present here if space permitted.

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## CHAPTER II.

### SUPERIOR JUDICATORIES.—THE SYNODS.

WE have seen that the older churches of the low-country, whose members came into this State by a direct migration from Scotland and Ireland, for a long time looked to their former homes for ministerial supply. In many instances they forwarded a blank call through the old South Carolina presbytery, that existed before the Revolution, to some presbytery, of Scotland or Ireland, to be filled at their discretion by the name of some minister, whom they received as their pastor through the presbytery of South Carolina. Those, on the contrary, who mainly reached the State through a migration from Pennsylvania and other States, where they or their fathers first settled, looked northward for aid. The synods of Philadelphia and New York, after their separation, to which we have referred on p. 301, and again after their re-union, sent missionaries to them, either of their own motion, or in answer to the petitions of the churches here. Some of the ministers appointed for Virginia and North Carolina reached South Carolina in their tours of service; *e. g.*, William Donaldson, of the synod of Philadelphia, in 1754-5, who for a season

preached at Waccamaw, and joined the old presbytery of South Carolina; Hugh McAden, in 1755; John Alison, in 1756; Daniel Thane, in 1754, of the synod of New York; James Latta and Robert McMordie, of the synod of New York and Philadelphia, in 1765, in which year Long Cane petitioned for supplies. James Latta joined the old presbytery of South Carolina, and settled at John's Island. Long Cane, Bullock's Creek, Broad River, Little River, and Briar Creek, in Georgia, petition in 1766, and Messrs. Lewis, Caldwell, Chestnut, Bay, and C. T. Smith, were appointed to itinerate in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Again, in 1767, Long Canes, Duncan's Creek, Little River, and Briar Creek, in Georgia, petition, and synod appoints Messrs. Bay, Potter, McCreary, Alexander, Latta, junior, and Jackson, to journey through Virginia, North and South Carolina (and Georgia if they can), for six months or more. In 1768, Long Cane calls Mr. McCreary, of the presbytery of New Castle, urges synod to enforce the call, and if he cannot come, to send them a stated supply for six months. Synod gave the call into the hands of Mr. McCreary, requiring his answer, and as he was not ready to give it then, they recommended him to determine the matter as soon as convenient, and give his answer to New Castle presbytery, who are desired, if he accepts, to ordain him as soon as they can. A supplication came from the Upper Catawba for supplies, especially for Mr. Bay; from Bush River, Fairforest, Indian Creek, the Forks of Tyger, Union congregation, Bullock's Creek, Fishing Creek, Hitchcock Creek, upon Pee Dee, Pine Tree Hill. In 1769, John Harris, John Clark, Jeremiah Halsey, James Latta, Jonathan Elmore, Thomas Lewis, and Josiah Lewis were sent to supply vacancies in Virginia, North Carolina, and those parts of South Carolina under the synod's care. Hezekiah James Balch is also sent; the presbytery of Donegal to ordain him, if he accepts a call from Carolina. These appointees are directed to set off as soon, and to spend as much time as they can, on this important mission. As a foster-parent, the synod addresses these distant congregations. Mr. McWhorter brought in the letter he was appointed to write to the churches in South Carolina. Mr. Kirkpatrick is to visit Charleston, and such other places as may be expedient for him to apply to, to solicit their contributions for the college of New Jersey, in which the early churches felt a common interest. In 1770, Mr. John Maltby is reported as dismissed from New York presbytery to the presbytery of South Carolina (the

Scotch presbytery). He became pastor of Wilton church. It was ascertained that only Josiah Lewis, of those who had been appointed, had visited South Carolina and Georgia. Long Cane supplicates for his services a twelvemonth, with a view to his permanent settlement. Hitchcock Creek, in Anson county, North Carolina (a portion of Anson county was afterwards set off to South Carolina in the adjustment of boundaries), and Briar Creek, in Georgia, pray for supplies. Josiah Lewis was again appointed to supply at Long Cane settlements six months, three months at Briar Creek, Georgia, and three months at discretion in North and South Carolina; and the presbytery of New Castle was ordered to ordain him, if the way is clear, as soon as convenient. At the same meeting of synod, the correspondence between it and the (Scotch) presbytery of South Carolina, to which we referred, page 675, took place. At this meeting, too, the presbytery of Orange was set off from the presbytery of Hanover. Azel Roe, of the presbytery of New York, and John Close, of the presbytery of Suffolk, are ordered to itinerate in Virginia and the Carolinas, to preach the gospel, ordain elders, and administer the sacraments of the Lord's supper and baptism; and their presbyteries are to supply their pulpits in their absences. Mr. McCreary is to supply in the Carolinas for six months, and if Mr. Josiah Lewis should not fulfil his appointment to Long Cane, Messrs. Roe and Close are ordered to supply at Long Cane, each three months. These gentlemen fulfilled their appointments (Messrs. Lewis, Roe, Close, and Harris), and their labors were of lasting service to the places they visited. In 1771, Rev. Elam Potter signifies his readiness to go on a Southern mission, and he is accordingly appointed to visit the vacancies of North and South Carolina and Georgia, to spend at least six months in this mission, and to tarry in every congregation of importance three weeks or more, and carefully catechise the people. This was a useful mission, notwithstanding Archd. Simpson's criticisms (see p. 328, back) on this brother. He was stated supply for a season at Salem, B. R. Joseph Smith was appointed to spend five weeks in the Steele Creek congregation; two months and three weeks beyond the Catawba; to pay particular attention to Duncan's Creek congregation, and spend as much time there and at Bullock's Creek as he possibly can. The rest of the time at discretion; and he shall carefully catechise the people. The Rev. P. Alison was also appointed to Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, to set off as soon as he conveniently can. Mr. Potter

fulfilled his appointment, Mr. Smith was prevented by sickness. In 1772, Long Cane, Rocky Creek, and places adjacent, again petition. Long Cane call Mr. Joseph Smith, and the call is forwarded to the presbytery of New Castle. Robert McMordie and Joshua Hart are appointed to Virginia and the Carolinas, each for six months. Mr. McMordie complied with this appointment, Mr. Hart did not. In 1773, Mr. Caleb Wallace, a candidate of New Brunswick presbytery, was appointed to visit St. Paul's parish (Augusta), in Georgia, and preach there some time, and the remainder of the time in the other vacancies in the Southern provinces. In 1774 we find Rev. James Campbell, of the Bluff church on Cape Fear, leaving the (Scotch) presbytery of South Carolina, and joining the presbytery of Orange. The Rev. James Edmonds also joins the same, and is present at the meetings of the synod, at Philadelphia, in 1783, 1784. After the formation of the presbytery of Orange in 1770, and of the presbytery of South Carolina in 1785, the attention of the churches was gradually turned to these nearer and local judicatories for relief.

#### SYNOD OF THE CAROLINAS.

We have seen, page 563, the circumstances under which this was formed. To this body, according to the principles of our Presbyterian government, the presbytery of South Carolina and the presbytery of Hopewell, when formed in 1796, became immediately responsible, and the churches of this State and Georgia, under the jurisdiction of these bodies, had the right of appeal from their presbyteries to this synod. In reading its journal, through the eleven or twelve years of its existence in this century, we have been impressed with the intelligence, wisdom, faithfulness, moderation, and dignified bearing which its proceedings exhibit.

At its organization, in November, 1788, the number of its presbyteries was three. ORANGE in North Carolina, SOUTH CAROLINA, covering the States of South Carolina and Georgia, and ABINGDON, chiefly in Tennessee. The ministers were as follows:—

ORANGE, NORTH CAROLINA.	SOUTH CAROLINA.	ABINGDON.
H. Patillo,	J. Edmonds,	C. Cummins,
D. Caldwell,	J. Harris,	H. Balch,
S. E. McCorkle,	J. Alexander,	J. Cossan,
J. Hall,	J. Simpson,	S. Doake,
R. Archibald,	T. Reese,	S. Houston,
J. McRee,	T. H. McCaule,	S. Carrick,

ORANGE, NORTH CAROLINA.	SOUTH CAROLINA.	ABINGDON.
J. Lake,	J. Templeton,	J. Balch.—7.
D. Thatcher,	F. Cummins,	
D. Barr,	R. Finley,	
J. Beck.—10.	R. Hall,	
	R. Mecklin,	
	J. Newton.—12.	

The whole number of ministers reported was 28, but John Newton had been ordained in October, by the presbytery of South Carolina, making the number 29.

At the close of the century, the number of presbyteries was six; *Concord* having been set off from *Orange* in 1795, by a line running along the Yadkin river; *Hopewell* from the presbytery of *South Carolina*, in 1796, the dividing line between these being the Savannah river; *Union* from the presbytery of *Abingdon*, in 1797. The number of ministers in the presbytery of *Orange* was 14, licentiates 4, candidates 8, churches supplied 23, vacant (no returns). *South Carolina* had 18 ministers, 3 licentiates, 2 candidates, 27 settled churches, and 31 vacancies. *Abingdon* had 4 ministers (other statistics not returned). *Concord* 15 ministers, 1 licentiate; 1 candidate, 22 settled churches, and 12 vacancies. *Hopewell* had 3 ministers (no further returns). *Union*, 4 ministers, 8 settled churches, and 5 vacant. Total in the synod of the Carolinas at the close of 1799, 63 ministers, 8 licentiates, 11 candidates, 80 settled churches, according to the returns, and 48 vacancies. The presbyteries had doubled themselves in these 12 or 13 years; the ministers had more than doubled their number. The returns are so imperfect that the number of churches and members cannot be stated.

The first care of the synod was to meet the calumnies which had been circulated against the late synod of New York and Philadelphia, which had created out of itself the four synods, and united the whole church under the General Assembly. One of these calumnies was that the said synod had cast off the larger catechism, and that with difficulty the shorter was retained. As the Rev. Robert Finley, lately dismissed from the presbytery of South Carolina, was apparently implicated in the report, a letter was directed to be addressed to him on this matter, and one to the presbytery of which he was a member. The fair fame of the higher judicatory, their adherence to the Westminster Confession, and the principles of the Reformation, are set forth in the first pastoral letter of the synod of the Carolinas. The order of

worship, the mode of celebrating the Lord's Supper, the duties of vacant societies, and their protection against an unauthorized ministry, from which they had greatly suffered, the advancement of education, and a just regard to the relative duties owed to their families, society, and the State, form the appropriate topics of their first pastoral epistle.—(Adopted at Poplar Tent in 1789; printed at Fayetteville, 1799. 44 pp., 12mo.)

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### CHAPTER III.

VARIOUS questions which came before synod by overture or reference were decided, and their decisions ordered to be made known to the churches. They decided that "persons who practice dancing, revelling, horse-racing, and card-playing, are not to be admitted to sealing ordinances without being dealt with by their spiritual rulers in such manner as may appear most for the glory of God, their own good, and the good of the church." They denounce the conduct of "those who habitually neglect to attend public worship, on fast or thanksgiving days, as inconsistent with Christian character, as a disrespect paid to the call of God in his providences, and the authority of the church; offensive to the sober-minded, and in point of example, injurious to others." They "judge that the marriage of John Latham of Waxhaw, with his deceased wife's sister's daughter, is criminal and highly offensive; and that all such marriages are truly detestable, and ought to be strenuously discountenanced; and that said Latham, in his present standing, is by no means admissible to the sealing ordinances of the church."

They referred the question which came before them through the Committee of Bills and Overtures: "Are those who publicly profess a belief in the doctrine of universal and actual salvation of the whole human race, or of the fallen angels, or both, through the mediation of Christ, to be admitted to the sealing ordinances of the gospel?" to the decision of the General Assembly, who determined "that such persons should not be admitted."

They passed a recommendation, "That members of the church, transgressing the rules thereof, be called on as soon as convenient to account for their conduct, and not wait till they may ask the privileges of the church."

To the question overtured, "Is it expedient to admit bap-

tized slaves as witnesses in ecclesiastical judicatories where others cannot be had?" they returned a negative answer. And yet, that this did not arise out of any disregard or unkindness, is manifest from the order enjoining upon heads of families the religious instruction of their slaves, and that they teach the children of slaves to read the Bible.

The promiscuous communion with other denominations was brought before the commission of synod by an overture, and the answer given was, "that it is not necessary, and as it gives offence to some as implying a coalescence with other denominations in doctrines not held by him, from 'prudential' reasons a *minister* ought to abstain." Nothing was said in this, of the occasional communion of private members.

This leads us to say, that after 1791 much important business of synod was intrusted to a *standing commission*. This, which was the fourth session of synod, met at Thyatira, in the presbytery of Orange. The Rev. Samuel E. McCorkle, moderator; James Hall, James Templeton, James McRee, Robert Hall, William C. Davies, and Charles Cummins, *ministers*; John Dickey, John McKnitt Alexander, Adam Beard, William Cathey, William Anderson, Joseph Feemster, and John Nelson, *elders*; were appointed the commission. The moderator's council to consist of one minister, besides himself, and one elder. Two ministers, besides the moderator, and as many of the before-named elders as may be present, to constitute a quorum. They were empowered to take up and decide upon the case of Rev. Mr. Cossan, if not determined by the presbytery of Abingdon. The decisions of these commissions on ordinary matters were final.

The synod was called to act, as is always the case when the commission sat in a judicial capacity. The case of Mr. Cossan, who originally came into this country as a missionary, sent by Lady Huntington, and who preached for a season at Bethel, York district, was taken up and issued by the presbytery of Abingdon. The commission, however, sat upon that case at Salem church, on the Nolachuckee, Tenn., September, 1792. The presbytery passed a sentence of suspension from the ministry. The synod had substantially removed the censure, but on the fuller hearing by the commission, the commission confirmed the sentence of the presbytery, and their action was accepted by synod: Mr. Cossan was afterwards restored. Another case was that of Robert Archibald, of the presbytery of Orange, charged by common fame with preaching the doctrine of the universal restoration of man. The synod sug-

gested to the presbytery of Orange, that they should meet as a *presbytery*, and decide in reference to Mr. Archibald. This was done, and he was suspended from the communion and the exercise of his ministerial office, and the churches were warned against him and his doctrine.

The next case was that of Rev. Hezekiah Balch, of Abingdon presbytery. Mr. Balch had adopted the sentiments of Dr. Samuel Hopkins, of New England, and had published in the Knoxville Gazette a number of articles of faith which had given offence to many. He had maintained that disinterested benevolence was holiness, and essential to true religion; that there is no sin but in self-love; that Adam's sin is not imputed to us till we become moral agents, and have performed moral acts, and have a sinful nature; and that then, the consequences of Adam's sin are imputed, and not his personal act. In like manner, the fruits of Christ's righteousness are imputed, and not that righteousness itself. Man has the power, if he but had the will, to keep perfectly the commandments of God. For these doctrines he was called to account, but made such explanations as satisfied the majority of presbytery. Greatly grieved at this, a minority, consisting of Rev. Charles Cummins, Edward Crawford, Samuel Doake, Joseph Lake, and James Balch, withdrew and formed the *Independent Presbytery* of Abingdon. This occurred in 1796. At a meeting of synod, at Mount Bethel, August, 1797, near Greenville, Tennessee, the formation of this presbytery was condemned, and its members were suspended. On the 21st of November, a commission of synod, consisting of fourteen ministers and twelve elders, met at the same place; the Rev. Francis Cummins was chosen moderator, and Gideon Blackburn and Robert Wilson, clerks. They set apart the following day, November 22d, as a day of public fasting and humiliation, in which the people were requested to join. On the next day, the Rev. Samuel Doake, Jacob Lake, and James Balch appeared before the commission, renounced their independence, and made their submission; whereupon the commission removed their sentence of suspension and reinstated them in their ministerial office. The commission sat for fifteen days, patiently taking the testimony and passing their judgment. The case had become complicated. Mr. Balch had married Joseph Posey and Jane Reeves, when he knew that Posey's lawful wife was yet living within three miles of him. The old session had forbidden Mr. Balch from occupying the pulpit in Mount Bethel church, and had withdrawn from his ministry. Mr. Balch

created a new session, ordained them, cited the old session to the tribunal of the new one, and removed them from office.

On these counts the synod, at an extraordinary session, February 13-19, 1799, suspended Mr. Balch from the exercise of his ministerial functions, and remitted him to the presbytery of Union, which had meanwhile been created, and under whose jurisdiction he now fell. Four of the seven old elders they suspended from their office and from ordinances, for driving Mr. Balch from the church, and failing to support their charges; three of them they required to submit to a public admonition in presence of the congregation; two others of the congregation were to submit to a private admonition before the session. The commission had already decided that the new session was unconstitutionally created and its judicial acts null and void.

At the close of this protracted trial, the Rev. Hezekiah Balch read the following paper, which he requested to be entered on the minutes, viz: "To the Rev. Synod of the Carolinas: As I do not wish to do any thing which may have the least appearance of obstinacy, I cheerfully submit to your judgment; at the same time solemnly declaring that I am not conscious of any thing, in the matter referred to, more than imprudence; which I hope I shall always be ready to acknowledge, as far as I can without injury to my conscience or the truth. I humbly request that this my answer may be entered on your minutes.

"I am yours,

"HEZEKIAH BALCH."

A similar acknowledgment and submission was made to the General Assembly, by Mr. Balch, in 1798, before whom the case was brought by reference from the synod of the Carolinas. He owns that he was wrong in publishing his creed, and he sincerely engages, in reliance on Divine grace, never hereafter to teach or preach what the Assembly have stated to be erroneous. During this whole affair, the Assembly expressed its solicitude that these disquiets and divisions should cease. In 1797, it addressed a letter to the presbytery of Abingdon, exhorting them to guard against all innovations in doctrine, and "peaceably to submit to the synod of the Carolinas, that their hands may be strengthened in checking error, healing divisions, and maintaining the strict and prudent exercise of discipline."—(Minutes, 1797.)

The parties having both submitted to the judgment of the synod, received a suitable admonition from the moderator. At the request of Mr. Balch, he and Mr. Galbraith, his principal

prosecutor, shook hands in the presence of the synod, in testimony of their personal affection to, and cordial wishes for, the welfare of each other, and hopes of a permanent friendship hereafter. The extraordinary session of synod was terminated February 13th, 1799. Mr. Balch was president of Greenville college, Tennessee. The degree of D. D. was conferred on him by Williams college, in 1806.

Another judicial case was brought before this synod, by the appeal of Rev. John Bowman from a decision of the Abingdon presbytery, which had suspended him from the ministry for his views respecting the extent of the atonement. The synod censured Mr. Bowman for imprudence and inexactness in his expressions, but reversed the judgment of the presbytery.

Rev. John Foster, of Salem church, South Carolina, asked the opinion and advice of synod, by direction of the presbytery of South Carolina, in the case of a member of his charge, who had married his former wife's half-brother's widow. The response was, that synod having attentively examined the Mosaic law, is of the opinion that the above marriage does not come within the prohibitions therein contained, and that the person alluded to ought not to be debarred from the privileges of the church.

"A memorial was brought forward and laid before synod, by the Rev. James Gilleland, stating his conscientious difficulties in receiving the advice of the presbytery of South Carolina, which has enjoined upon him to be silent in the pulpit on the subject of the emancipation of the Africans, which injunction Mr. Gilleland declares to be, in his opinion, contrary to the counsel of God." We have recorded the decision of the synod on the 634th page of this history, and need not repeat it here.

The synod was desirous of placing a religious literature in the hands of the people, and took measures to reprint Doddridge's *Rise and Progress*, and his ten sermons on *Regeneration*, appointing a committee in each presbytery to obtain subscriptions; the subject was frequently brought forward, as both its minutes and those of the presbytery of South Carolina show, and money was raised for this purpose, but through the inability of the proposed publisher to meet his engagements, the project seems not to have succeeded.

The General Assembly seem to have left to the synod of the Carolinas, the matter of sending out missionaries to labor in the destitute neighborhoods within their bounds.—(Minutes of the Assembly, pp. 28, 40, anno 1791.) In October, 1791, the synod resolved to send out four missionaries to the destitute

regions east and west of the Alleghanies. James Templeton and Robert Hall, nominated by the presbytery of South Carolina, and Robert Archibald and John Bowman, nominated by the presbytery of Orange, were appointed, each to serve for six months, the compensation to be at the rate of \$200 per annum. The commission, on the 10th of October, drew up their instructions. They were directed to extend their labors chiefly to those places where congregations have not yet been formed, to assist them in organizing into regular societies where they were disposed to do so; not to tarry longer than three weeks at the same place in the bounds of twenty miles, except peculiar circumstances should make it necessary. They ordered Messrs. Templeton and Hall to spend each four months, before the middle of April, in the lower part of South Carolina and Georgia, and Mr. Archibald four months, and Mr. Bowman three months, in the lower part of North Carolina. On the 17th of April, 1792, the commission met at Steele Creek, North Carolina, to receive the report of the missionaries, each of whom had fulfilled his appointment in whole or in part, except Robert Hall, who was hindered by ill health. Mr. Templeton was appointed to itinerate for two months in South Carolina and Georgia, before October, Mr. Archibald in North Carolina, and Mr. Bowman in the frontier settlements of the synod generally. In October, 1793, synod appointed Rev. James Hall, Robert McCulloch, and Samuel C. Caldwell, ministers, and John Bowman, and Robert Montgomery, probationers, as missionaries, each for three months. The commission meeting at Colonel Bratton's, Bethesda, October 5th, 1792, directed Rev. James Hall and Samuel C. Caldwell to spend three months between the Roanoke and Cape Fear rivers; Mr. John Bowman to spend six months in the bounds of Orange and Abingdon presbyteries; the Rev. Robert McCulloch to spend three months in South Carolina, and Mr. Robert Cunningham in the State of Georgia. The Rev. Alexander Caldwell to be a substitute for Mr. Bowman, in case he did not accept. The next meeting of the commission was at Bullock's Creek, April 10, 1793, at which Messrs. Hall and Caldwell presented their reports. Again, at Sugar Creek, October 4, 1794, at which Mr. Bowman's report was sent in. Rev. Messrs. McCulloch, James Hall, and S. C. Caldwell gave in their reports. They declined to receive from the synod any compensation, beyond the collections they had made. The next appointments were Messrs. John Robinson, James Bowman, John M. Wilson, and Robert Wilson. These breth-

ren fulfilled their appointments, and the order of synod was passed to compensate them for their services. The commission, meeting October 5, 1793, at Sugar Creek, appointed Rev. James Hall, and Messrs. John Robinson and James Bowman, for three months, to the lower parts of North and eastern parts of South Carolina; John M. Wilson to the country adjacent to the Yadkin, and Robert Wilson to the lower parts of South Carolina; and ordered them to give in careful reports of their labors. At Steele Creek, October 7, 1794, their reports were handed in.

Mr. J. M. Wilson received on his tour, £17 5 0 hard money.

" Robert Wilson,	9 8 7 sterling.
" John Bowman,	9 11 3
" John Robinson,	12 7 0

The report of Robert Wilson, as it refers to our own State of South Carolina, is here spread out before the reader:

"Being appointed by the synod to the missionary business for the term of three months, and ordered by the commission to spend that time in the lower parts of South Carolina, on the 6th of December, 1793, I set out from Long Cane; and on Sabbath, the 8th, and Wednesday, the 11th, preached at Mr. Bell's, below the Ridge, where the roads from Long Cane to Charleston, and from Augusta to Granby, cross each other. No Presbyterian had ever preached in this settlement; yet no motive, not even curiosity, could excite the people, generally, to give their attendance. The country is thick settled, but the opinions of the inhabitants are so various in matters of religion, that no one denomination can obtain a settled pastor. Dunkards appear to be most numerous, having had for some time a small part of a preacher's labors. The number of Presbyterian families in this place does not exceed four, and only some of these appear anxious for the gospel. For my services, have received thanks.

"Sabbath, 15th of December, preached at Columbia, to a very respectable assembly. The great concourse of people rendered it difficult to obtain any certain information of the number and desires of this village, with its vicinity. And on hearing that they had a gentleman of the presbytery of South Carolina in view, and hoped to be supplied by him, a very particular acquaintance did not appear so necessary. Received £2 16s. 8d.

"Sabbath, 22d of December, preached at Mr. Smith's (the Indian Head), to a pretty large assembly of people, who, considering their poor opportunities, paid very good attention,

and discovered some sensibility. Some of the oldest settlers in this place had never heard a Presbyterian; nevertheless, as many as twelve or fifteen families declare themselves desirous of obtaining a good man of some kind or other. It is truly lamentable to see and hear of the great profanation of the Sabbath that is everywhere practised, even among those who make a profession of the Christian religion. Hunting, shooting, and all kinds of amusement, is engaged in on the Sabbath day; and, although such wickedness is connived at, even by those in authority, it is probable if they had the opportunity of hearing the gospel frequently by one who in doctrine and practice would condemn such things, they would be persuaded to forsake them. In this place there are both Baptists and Methodists, the former of which are most numerous. They have many followers, but few in communion with them; the most of the preachers of that denomination who have frequented this place are men of infamous characters, such as are an indignity to human nature, much more a disgrace to the Christian name. No man of the smallest discernment can possibly become one of their party. Received thanks.

“Sabbath, 29th of December, and Wednesday, 1st of January, 1794, preached in Orangeburgh, to pretty large assemblies. Before the war, this place was regularly supplied by a gentleman of the Church of England, who was removed by death, and since that time the place has been vacant. Numbers of the original settlers lost their property, and many their lives, during the war, and several have emigrated, whose places are now filled up by persons of different persuasions, but chiefly such as have been raised among Presbyterians. At the present time it appears the serious desire of every one to encourage and support a man who will both teach and preach the gospel. From the attention paid, and the expressions of inward concern manifested in many countenances, it is probable, through divine grace, a preacher would be successful. Received £1 13s. 1d.

“Sabbath, 5th of January, preached at Turkey Hill, about five miles above Orangeburgh, to a pretty large assembly, almost universally of German extraction, the majority of whom profess themselves Calvinistic Presbyterians. The attention paid, and the sensibility discovered by the majority of the congregation, was hopeful, though many irregularities are practised. The people here, since the war, have encouraged almost every man who came unto them, calling himself a preacher; and therefore have been supplied by a great number

in succession who have been invariably addicted to vice, and most commonly drunkenness. Hence, with the idea of a minister, here, is always associated the idea of a mercenary creature, unworthy the attention of gentlemen; and truly, it has been too much the case. Nevertheless, an upright and faithful minister might do much for this society if they were once convinced that his life was regulated by the precepts he inculcated. Received nothing.

“Sabbath, 12th of January, was detained by wet weather, and preached again in Orangeburgh, to a small audience. The day was cold and the notice could not be made very general. Received nothing.

“Sabbath, 19th of January, preached at Cattle's Creek, about sixteen or eighteen miles from Orangeburgh, down Edisto river, to a very large assembly of people. The Methodists, expecting one of their preachers at a church just by, and being disappointed, attended. This place was originally settled by Germans of the Presbyterian persuasion, some Lutherans, and some belonging to the Church of England. They once had a minister, to whose support they all jointly contributed, forming a society, in point of number and ability, pretty respectable. Of this society, about seven or eight families now belong to the Methodists; the remainder would willingly contribute to the support of a regular minister, and probably would profit by his instrumentality. The attention which is generally paid, and the feelings of the heart evinced by many countenances, is indeed a circumstance scarcely to be expected, when we consider the instructions and examples which the people have formerly enjoyed. Received nothing.

“Wednesday, 22d January, preached to a small assembly at the Indian fields. The most of the people here who make any profession at all, belong to the Methodist Church. About four or five families have refused to join their society, calling themselves Presbyterians. A settled pastor is indeed the professed desire of these families; but it is to be feared more out of opposition to the prevailing opinion and present choice of the neighborhood, than from love to God and the doctrines taught in his word. Many men, it is to be feared, make a pretext of a different persuasion to excuse them from embracing the truths, and living agreeably to the doctrines, of the Scripture. But if we cannot think as our neighbors do (which in this imperfect world is not to be expected), we ought, nevertheless, to live in obedience to the plain precepts of the gospel. Received nothing.

"Sabbath, 26th January, preached at the Four Holes, near the bridge, to an assembly counted large by the inhabitants. Most of the people here embraced the doctrines of the Methodists, but have since declined, and are now just anything you please, or nothing at all. There are a few who profess themselves Presbyterians in this place, who would willingly be supplied, and the majority of the people would probably join to support any good man, who would faithfully labor among them. The attention paid is indeed agreeable, and the sensibility discovered, flattering; but from the conduct of the people, there is reason to fear that their goodness too much resembles the morning cloud and early dew which passeth away. Received 7s. 11d.

"Tuesday, 28th January, and Sabbath, 2d February, preached at Wasamsaw church, to assemblies which were but small, probably on the account of rain. In this place there are not many Presbyterians (perhaps four or five families); the other inhabitants are either Baptists or those who make no profession. The people here declare themselves not yet able to support a minister, but hope to increase in strength by being supplied. Received 17s. 5d.

"Sabbath, 9th February, preached at Mr. Eckels, (Beach hill), to an assembly as large as can be expected in that part of the country. Once there was in this place a flourishing Independent church, but they have all either been removed by death or emigrated, so that the place is now occupied by a few Methodists, and those who make no profession at all. Received nothing.

"Sabbath, 16th February, preached at Wiltown, near Ponpon river, to a large assembly. There has been, in former times, and still is, a Presbyterian society in this place. They have not been regularly supplied since the war, and, therefore, in general, are much relaxed in, and very inattentive to, the precepts of Christianity, but there are not wanting even here, some who not only encourage but really love religion. A great number of negroes attended, and gave a sober and apparently anxious ear to the word. Received £3 4s. 6d.

"After spending three Sabbaths in fulfilling presbyterial appointments, returned to my missionary tour, and

"Sabbath, 16th March, preached at a new meeting-house, built by several denominations of Christians for the reception of any minister, on Cow Castle, a branch of the Four Holes, about twenty miles above the bridge. In this place there are nine or ten families who profess themselves Presbyterians,

and express a desire of being supplied. The sober attention of this people, and their engagedness in time of divine service, is pleasing, though their prospects must be melancholy. No doubt they would profit by the public means of grace, could they enjoy them. Received 9s.

“Sabbath, 23d March, preached at Orangeburgh, to a very numerous assembly, who send a petition, requesting supplies of the presbytery of South Carolina, signed by a respectable number of gentlemen.

“Tuesday, 25th March, preached at the Indian Head to a small assembly; the morning was very wet. Received nothing.

“The people among whom I have spent three months as a missionary, have indeed been needy, and their situation must be acknowledged one of the most solemn lessons to ministers that can possibly be given. Thousands of poor ignorant creatures, have (by the unholy lives of ministers), been made to believe there is no reality in religion, and therefore the most affectionate and earnest efforts appear to be in a great measure lost. They are like the deaf adder, who stoppeth her ear and will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming never so wisely. The lower parts of South Carolina, in general, appear to be in some measure sensible of the necessity of religion, even for the good of civil society. But in order to general usefulness, a minister would be under the necessity of tarrying so long in one place that the people would be convinced of his sincerity by his Christian walk and conversation.

“The practice of travelling from place to place in quick succession, is in many places unpopular, and, as has been hinted, probably not the most profitable.

“ROBERT WILSON.”

The next missionary appointed was Mr. William McGee. The General Assembly, in May, 1795, had given the synods of Virginia and the Carolinas “liberty to direct the presbyteries to ordain such candidates as they may judge necessary to appoint on missions to preach the gospel;” restricting the ordination “to such only as are engaged to be sent on missions.” The synod, therefore, passed this order: “Whereas, it appears necessary to this synod, that an ordained missionary should travel in our vacant churches in our Western territory, and as Mr. William McGee, a licentiate of the presbytery of Orange, proposes to take an appointment for this purpose—ordered, that the above presbytery be directed, and they are hereby directed, to ordain Mr. McGee, as soon

as may be convenient, agreeably to the permission granted to this synod in such cases, by the Assembly, in May last."

From this time to the close of the century, the subject of missions is not alluded to with any particularity in the records of the synod. The troubles in the Abingdon presbytery, arising from the disturbing influence of the Hopkinsian theology, in East Tennessee, seem to have engrossed its chief attention, and evangelistic labors were remitted to the presbyteries, or were carried on by individual ministers.

One other item occupied at different times the attention of the synod. In 1791, the Assembly enjoined upon the several presbyteries to procure materials for the history of the Presbyterian church in America, and repeated this injunction from time to time. The presbytery of South Carolina obeyed this injunction. The synod, in October, 1791, in September, 1792, October, 1794, October, 1796, urged this matter upon the attention of these presbyteries. Something valuable was thus secured, which has been of assistance to us, as to the older churches in the upper portion of South Carolina, in composing this history. The entire materials which had been sent up to the Assembly, were, in 1804, placed in the hands of Dr. Ashbel Green and Ebenezer Hazard, who were appointed to write the history. In 1805 they reported progress. In 1813 they requested to be discharged, and that Dr. Samuel Miller should be appointed to complete what they had begun. In 1819 Dr. Green was associated with Dr. Miller. In 1825 this committee requested to be discharged. A new committee was appointed, consisting of Drs. Green, Janeway, and Ely. In 1836, Rev. Luther Halsey was appointed in place of Dr. Ely, resigned. But the thankless and laborious task imposed upon these brethren by the Assembly, has never yet been performed.

The following is an exhibit of the synod of the Carolinas at the close of this century:—

- I. THE PRESBYTERY OF ORANGE (set off from Hanover in 1770), had 14 ministers, 4 licentiates, 8 candidates, and 30 congregations.

<i>Ministers.</i>	<i>Charges.</i>
Rev. Henry Patillo,	Grassy Creek and Nutbush.
“ David Caldwell,	Buffaloe and Alamance.
“ Colin Lindsay,	
“ William Moore,	Upper and Lower Hico.
“ William Hodge,	Without charge.

<i>Ministers.</i>	<i>Charges.</i>
Rev. Samuel Stanford,	Black River and Brown Marsh.
“ Angus McDiarmid,	Barbacue Bluff, McKay’s.
“ James H. Bowman,	Eno and Little River.
“ William F. Thompson,	New Hope.
“ John Gillespie,	Centre, Laurel Hill, and Raft Swamp.
“ William D. Paisley,	Union and Lower Buffaloe.
“ Samuel McAdo,	Speedwell and Haw River.
“ John Anderson,	Without charge.
“ Robert Tate,	South Washington and Rock- fish.

*Licentiates.*—Messrs. John Rankin, Robert Foster, Andrew Caldwell, and Edward Pharr.

*Candidates.*—Messrs. Daniel Brown, Ezekiel B. Currie, John Matthews, Duncan Brown, Murdock McMillan, Malcolm McNair, Hugh Shaw, and Murdock Murphy.

*Vacancies.*—Hawfields and Cross-Roads, Goshen and the Grove, Hart’s, Upper Cross-Roads, Stoney Creek.

II. THE PRESBYTERY OF SOUTH CAROLINA (set off from Orange in 1784), had Ministers, 18; Licentiates, 3; Candidates, 2; Congregations, 57.—(For particulars, see p. 660.)

III. THE PRESBYTERY OF ABINGDON (set off from Hanover in 1785), had Ministers, 4. Licentiates, Candidates, Congregations, not mentioned.

Rev. Charles Cummins,  
Samuel Doake,  
Jacob Lake,  
James Balch.

Vacancies (in 1802), Salem, Providence, Concord, Green Spring, Sinking Spring, Rocky Spring, Glade Spring, Upper Holstein, Boiling Springs, Eversham, Hopewell, Blue Stone, Gilmore Settlement.

IV. THE PRESBYTERY OF CONCORD (set off from Orange in 1795): Ministers, 15; Licentiates, 0; Candidate, 1; Congregations, 33.

<i>Ministers.</i>	<i>Charges.</i>
Rev. Samuel E. McCorkle, D.D.,	Thyatira.
“ James Hall,	Bethany.
“ James McRee,	Centre.
“ David Barr,	Philadelphia.
“ William C. Davis,	Olney.
“ Samuel C. Caldwell,	Sugar Creek and Hopewell.

<i>Ministers.</i>	<i>Charges.</i>
Rev. James Wallis,	Providence.
“ Joseph Kirkpatrick,	Third Creek and Unity.
“ Lewis F. Wilson,	Concord and Fourth Creek.
“ Humphrey Hunter,	Goshen and Unity.
“ John M. Wilson,	Quaker Meadows and Morganton.
“ John Carrigan,	Ramah and Bethphage.
“ John Andrews,	Little Britain.
“ Samuel Davis,	Mamre.
“ George Newton,	Swananoa and Rim's Creek.

*Candidate.*—Mr. Thomas Hall.

*Vacancies.*—Steele Creek, Poplar Tent, Rocky River, Smyrna, Knob Creek, Mineral Springs, Chestnut Springs, Mount Pleasant, Mountain Creek, Jersey, and Joppa.

V. PRESBYTERY OF HOPEWELL (set off from South Carolina in 1796), had Ministers, 4; Congregations, 26.

<i>Ministers.</i>	<i>Charges.</i>
Rev. Robert M. Cunningham,	Ebenezer and Bethany.
“ Moses Waddel,	Carmel.
“ William Montgomery,	New Hope.
“ Thomas Newton,	Hebron.

(For vacancies, see p. 657.)

VI. PRESBYTERY OF UNION (set off from Abingdon in 1797), had Ministers, 4; Licentiates, 0; Candidates, 0; Congregations, 13.

<i>Ministers.</i>	<i>Charges.</i>
Rev. Samuel Carrick,	The Fork and Knoxville.
“ Robert Henderson,	Westminster and Hopewell.
“ Gideon Blackburn,	Eusebia and New Providence.
“ Samuel G. Ramsey,	Ebenezer and Pleasant Forest.
“ Hezekiah Balch,	
“ John Cossan.	

Besides the body of Presbyterians whose history has been given in these pages, there was a small representation of the Reformed Presbyterians known as Covenanters. There were some four congregations of this division of the church in the vicinity of Catholic church, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. There was the church on Rocky creek, where Rev. William Martin first preached. There was Big Rocky Creek, Little Rocky Creek, and Beaver Dam. There were other *societies*, one in Newberry and one in Fairfield, for where-

ever they settled in the neighborhood of each other, they associated together for religious worship. The earliest minister who bestowed his labors upon them this side the Atlantic, was Mr. Cuthbertson, who came from the Reformed Presbytery in Scotland, in 1752. Mr. Martin and a number of his people came into South Carolina from Ireland, probably in 1772. Between the years 1773 and 1775, his adherents built a log meeting-house about two miles east from Catholic. This Mr. Martin tradition represents to have been a man of fine appearance, of no inconsiderable eloquence, a Whig in politics during the time of the Revolution, concerning whom many amusing anecdotes linger in the memories of men, and who was sometimes less temperate than became him in the use of strong drink. His war sermon after Buford's defeat, and its effects, are graphically described in "The Women of the Revolution," iii., 124. His church on Rocky river was burnt by the British and Tories in 1780. Mr. Cuthbertson was re-enforced in 1774 by Messrs. Linn and Dobbin, sent by the Reformed Presbytery of Ireland, and these three ministers, with ruling elders, united in forming the Reformed Presbytery in America. This union was dissolved, when in 1782 a union was effected between this body and the Associate presbytery, usually known as the Seceders, whence arose the United Church known as the Associate Reformed. To this, one minister of the Reformed, Rev. Mr. Martin, and several connected with the Associate presbyteries, did not accede, so that the distinction between the two was perpetuated. The churches of the Reformed, opposed to the union, now reverted mostly to the private fellowship meetings to which they were accustomed. Rev. James Reid was then sent as a missionary from Scotland, and having travelled in this capacity from Carolina to New York, returned in 1790. Rev. Mr. McGarragh, ordained in Ireland for America, arrived in South Carolina about 1791. Rev. William King came in 1792, and after spending some time in Pennsylvania and New York, became pastor of a church in Chester district, and died August 24th, 1798, at the age of about fifty.

The Rev. Messrs. Martin, King, and McGarragh regulated the affairs of the church, as a committee of the Reformed Presbytery in Scotland. This was a temporary expedient.

The Rev. James McKinney, a man of education and commanding talents, a native of Ireland, after spending four years in missionary labors, from 1793 to 1797, eventually settled in Chester county, but it was not till 1804.

Rev. William Gibson arrived in America, accompanied by Messrs. Black and Wiley, candidates for the ministry. The committee was now provisionally dissolved, partly by the misconduct of two of its members; and the reorganization of this branch of the church was accomplished by Messrs. McKinney and Gibson, with ruling elders, who constituted the "Reformed Presbytery of the United States of America," in 1798. Mr. King had departed this life before the day appointed for this transaction arrived.

Thomas Donnelly was born in the county of Donegal, Ireland, May, 1772, and entered the University of Glasgow. In 1791, he migrated to South Carolina, and going North, he became a student at Dickinson college, Pennsylvania. Returning South, he studied theology with Rev. William King, and was licensed at Coldenham, New York, in 1799. The ministerial life of this worthy minister belongs to the history of the next century. He was the last minister of this denomination in South Carolina. He died December 27, 1847.

The old Covenanters, while approving the government of the United States in its protection of persons and property, objected to it, that there is no acknowledgment of God or the Christian religion in its Constitution, but that Jews, Mohammedans, and Deists are alike admitted to its honors and emoluments; that it upheld slavery; that it admits men to office by swearing or affirming, without the name of God. They were strenuous advocates of an inspired psalmody, and would allow of no other. While admitting the validity of ordinances administered by other denominations, they refused to commune with them, either in word or sacraments. These views were modified to a very considerable extent, as to our government, in one branch of this church. The strict Covenanter refused to serve on juries, or to hold any civil office which required an oath to support the Constitution of the State or the United States. In the destitute settlements especially, they spent the greater part of the Sabbath in their society meetings, in prayer, praise, reading standard religious books, and in catechising the young. They were well indoctrinated, as the result of this, in the Calvinistic faith and Presbyterian discipline, while they held aloof from other communions.

The following "Six Terms of Communion," were read and explained on every sacramental occasion before distributing the "Tokens:"—

"1. An acknowledgment of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the word of God, and the only rule of faith and manners.

"2. An acknowledgment that the whole doctrine of the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Catechisms, larger and shorter, are agreeable to, and founded on, the Scriptures.

"3. An acknowledgment of the divine right of one unalterable form of church government and manner of worship—and that these are for substance justly exhibited in that form of Church government and the Directory for worship, agreed on by the assembly of Divines at Westminster, as they were received by the Church of Scotland.

"4. An acknowledgment that public Covenanting is an ordinance of God, to be observed by churches and nations, under the New Testament dispensation;—and that those vows—namely, that which was entered into by the church and kingdom of Scotland, called the NATIONAL COVENANT, and that which was afterwards entered into by the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, and by the Reformed Churches in those kingdoms, usually called the SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT—were entered into in the true spirit of that institution; and that the obligation of these covenants extends to those who were represented in the taking of them, although removed to this or any other part of the world, in so far as they bind to duties not peculiar to the British isles, but applicable in all lands.

"5. An approbation of the faithful contendings of the martyrs of Jesus, and of the present Reformed Covenanted churches in Britain and Ireland, against Paganism, Popery, and Prelacy, and against immoral constitutions of civil government, together with all *Erastian* tolerations and persecutions which flow therefrom; as containing a noble example for us and our posterity to follow, in contending for all divine truth, and in testifying against all contrary evils which may exist in the corrupt constitutions of either church or state.

"6. An approbation of the doctrines contained in the Testimony of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in North America, in defence of truth and opposition to error.

"These, together with due subordination in the Lord to the authority of the synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in North America, and a regular life and conversation, form the bonds of our ecclesiastical union."

The earlier Covenanters in South Carolina were owners of slaves; nor was any strenuous opposition made to slave-holding until the arrival of Mr. McKinney, and the influence he exerted.

Another branch of the Presbyterian Church in this State is the Associate Reformed; whose organization has been al-

luded to, having the same standards and government with ourselves, and differing from us only on the subject of psalmody and of close communion. Our limits do not allow us to enter upon their history, for which indeed we are in no way prepared; but we cannot speak too highly of these our brethren, for their orthodoxy, zeal, and self-denying service in the cause of Christ.

The first minister of this church settled in South Carolina, was, perhaps, the Rev. John Renwick, who preached at Cannon's Creek, in Newberry district, and died August 20th, 1775, aged forty years. This church, and Prosperity in its vicinity, are thought to have been planted earlier than those of Cedar Spring and Long Cane, in Abbeville. Of Dr. Clark, commonly regarded as the founder of the Associate Reformed Church in the State, we have spoken. His first visit to Carolina was in 1780, his settlement here in 1786. The State was visited by Rev. Mr. Lynn, a missionary of this church, about 1787. The Rev. John Boyce, whose father settled at Long Cane, in 1780, and who was graduated at Dickinson college in 1787, was a pious and pathetic preacher, the first pastor, it is said, of Hopewell congregation in Chester, but died of the consumption, after a very brief ministry.

Rev. John Hemphill came from Ireland soon after the Revolution; commenced his studies with Rev. Samuel Warnoch, an Irish minister, who sought admission to the South Carolina presbytery, but was debarred because of intemperance. His preparatory education was chiefly obtained under Dr. Alexander, of Bullock's Creek. He was graduated at Dickinson college, May, 1792; licensed May, 1794; ordained in October of the same year, and installed pastor of Hopewell, Union, and Ebenezer, in 1796. He was the father of the Rev. W. R. Hemphill, Hon. John Hemphill, Chief-justice of Texas, and James Hemphill, Esq., of Chester.

Alexander Porter, born in South Carolina, graduated under Dr. Nesbit, at Dickinson college; was licensed to preach the gospel in 1796; and ordained and installed pastor of Cedar Spring and Long Cane, Abbeville, in 1797.

William Blackstock migrated from Ireland to this country about 1794, and was ordained and installed, June 8th of that year, over the churches of Steele Creek, Ebenezer, and Neely Creek.

There were other ministers, whose record is not before us. These churches were planted side by side with ours, and, on the introduction of the New Psalmody, were largely increased,

as was natural, by both elders and people who withdrew from us. There may have been jealousies at that time between churches bordering upon each other. These have long since passed away, and we live in friendly and cordial intercourse as brethren, though as different branches of the one Presbyterian Church. Overtures for external union with us have been made, and fraternal conference has been had, within the last few years, looking to this end, but as yet without success. If it were accomplished, feeble churches in each other's neighborhood might coalesce, ministers might be released to occupy other fields now destitute, and an economy of instrumentalities and means in various particulars be secured. But a fictitious outward union, without sameness of views and oneness of heart, would only give rise to restlessness and further division. If we are not permitted to see the desired union on earth, we know it will exist in that higher and holier state, where, as our Redeemer assures us, we shall be one, as He and the Father are one.

With this brief notice of these two bodies, our history of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina, from the first settlement of the country, in 1670, to the beginning of the present century, reaches its completion.



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## ERRATA.

- Page vi., last line, for Dalglish read Dalglesh.
- " vii., 3d line from bottom, for Ravanel read Ravenel.
- " viii., 2d line, insert comma instead of period after Bethel.
- " " 3d line of Chapter II., Book Eighth, make same correction.
- " 188, 11th line, for *mensura* read *mensura*.
- " 253, 3d line, for Strathlean read Strathdean.
- " 326, 16th line, for Waccamau read Waccamaw.
- " 376, in note, for Carter read Cater.
- " 496, 12th line, for 1762 read 1769.

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