

S. Watson Reid.

"Be sure you are right, then go ahead."

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A SKETCH OF

By *SW* THE *Reid*

LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF THE

REV. DAVID CALDWELL, D.D.

NEAR SIXTY YEARS PASTOR OF THE CHURCHES
OF BUFFALO AND ALAMANCE.

INCLUDING

TWO OF HIS SERMONS; SOME ACCOUNT OF THE REGULATION,
TOGETHER WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY TRANSACTIONS AND
INCIDENTS IN WHICH HE WAS CONCERNED; AND A VERY BRIEF
NOTICE OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL AND MORAL CONDITION OF
NORTH-CAROLINA WHILE IN ITS COLONIAL STATE.

BY THE REV. E. W. CARUTHERS, A.M.

GREENSBOROUGH, N. C.

PRINTED BY SWAIM AND SHERWOOD.

1842.

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P R E F A C E .

The following account of a minister of the gospel, in connexion with the Presbyterian church, was not, in the first instance, intended or thought of for publication ; but the author began, about a year ago, to inquire into his character and to gather up some facts in his history, which were still circulating in his neighborhood as a kind of floating capital for conversation, partly in compliance with the wishes of two or three individuals who felt some interest in the matter, and partly to gratify a natural curiosity and find employment for a portion of time which, owing to some peculiar circumstances, might otherwise have been spent in mental inactivity, or to very little profit. Finding however that his interest increased with his progress, and that, when the first few sheets of collected materials were read to the same individuals above referred to, the effect was the same on them, he was induced, by their solicitations and by the growing interest which he felt himself, to extend and continue his researches until all the materials might be collected that could be found. Having done so, it was their opinion, and the opinion of some others who were then consulted, that they ought to be put into a more durable form and given to the public, believing that it was due both to his memory and to the community in which he had lived. How far the memoir, thus prepared, and now laid before the public, may be acceptable, remains to be seen ; but the object of the writer has been to preserve and extend, so far as he could, a knowledge of the character and services of one who ought never to be forgotten in a country to the improvement and welfare of which his life was devoted.

There may have been others in the country, belonging to the same period, who were equally entitled to the gratitude and veneration of posterity ; but my location on the same ground which

had formerly been the scene of his labors gave me a better opportunity perhaps of becoming acquainted with his history than any other person, and, whether this made it my duty or not, it seemed to devolve on me the task of writing his life if it was to be done at all. The employment has been thus far pleasant and profitable to myself; and no regret has been felt on my part, except that it had not fallen into the hands of some one who was more capable of doing justice to the subject.

It ought to be stated that, for reasons which will be found in their proper place, there was a want of materials for a minute and full biography; and therefore nothing more has been proposed than to give a mere sketch, or general account of his life. The materials for this have been obtained from different sources: Some things have been taken from the records of the church judicatories to which he belonged; others from communications furnished by two or three of his oldest pupils who are yet living, which are hereby most cheerfully and gratefully acknowledged; and a few more have been gathered in conversation with the most aged people in his congregations; but the principal part has been furnished by the surviving members of his family.

If any apology should be expected for occupying so much space with certain matters, such as the Regulation, and the Ecclesiastical condition of the country previous to the Declaration of Independence, which have only a remote, if any, connexion with the main subject, and which may be thought to belong more properly to the department of general history, it may be sufficient to say, that they are matters of much interest, and that they are but little known. They may perhaps be familiar to a few men of education and general reading; but to the community at large, if known at all, they are little more than tales of the nursery; yet they are certainly more important than the minute details of juvenile peculiarities and the every day occurrences of ordinary life, which, with slight variations, form so large a part

of most biographies; and therefore the present plan would have been adopted, under the existing circumstances of the country, if biographical materials had existed in abundance, and had been at my command. The things mentioned above are not to be found in any general histories we have, or in none that are within the reach of common readers; and besides, in the present destitution of such works, owing to past neglect, this is one of the principal ways by which the materials for such a history, both civil and ecclesiastical, are to be furnished; for the history of the men who lived and acted during that period, as public men, whether in church or state, is in fact the history of the country. In contemplating this subject we are surprised to find how soon oblivion comes over the most important transactions and events of time, when they have not been "given in charge to the historic muse," who may rehearse them with fidelity to one generation after another, and to as many as wish to hear the story; and every one who loves his country, values the blessings, civil and religious, which he enjoys, and venerates the men by whose patriotism and valor these blessings have been secured to us, must regret the apathy and want of public spirit which have been suffering one important character after another, and one interesting transaction after another, to be carried by the lapse of time into the darkness of the past, where they must remain as though they had never been, until time shall be no more.

That a religious establishment once existed in North Carolina, and, although it may not have been distinctly mentioned in the public documents or manifestos of that period, was really, at least with the mass of the people, one of the largest items in the catalogue of grievances which made the British yoke so intolerable, is matter of surprize, when mentioned, to nine-tenths of the present generation; and the Regulation, which is now regarded by our greatest men as the very germ of the Revolution in this State, is to most people like a tale of romance. It is said, and no

doubt with truth, by those who have paid most attention to our history during the period referred to, that a correct and authentic account of that transaction cannot be given without having access to the colonial office in England; but the writer professes to communicate only such facts as have come to his knowledge.—The subject of the following memoir having been present at what is called the *Regulation battle*, on the Alamance, some notice of it was unavoidable; and those who were disposed to patronize the work, whenever the subject happened to be mentioned in conversation, expressed a wish that a pretty full account of it might be given, so far as the facts could be ascertained.

For information on both these subjects the common histories of the country have all been consulted; and also the earliest legislative records that have been preserved, and the printed revivals of the laws that were made previous to the Revolution.—For access to these sources of information, and for some assistance in making the search, my acknowledgements are due to the present Governor and Secretary of State, and to the President of the University. For a number of things of minor importance no other authority could be obtained than local tradition or verbal testimony; but in such cases pains have been taken to get an account of the same thing from different persons, and from the same person at different times, whenever it could be done, for the purpose of comparing them together, and if possible ascertaining the truth. My wish and design throughout has been to state nothing which did not appear to be true; and my authorities are generally cited, whether history, tradition, or original records. If any mistakes have been made, I would be glad to have it in my power at any time to correct them; and if there are deficiencies, as there certainly are, I would willingly receive from any source the materials for supplying them hereafter.

THE LIFE OF
DAVID CALDWELL, D.D.

Of the parentage and early life of David Caldwell, the subject of this sketch, but little is known; and that little, though of a favorable kind, is not calculated to awaken in the reader any unusual interest, except from its connexion with those events which have deprived us of a more full and satisfactory account. Some of these events were of a public, and others of a private or domestic kind; and while the former, together with the general privations and sufferings then experienced throughout the length and breadth of the land, and from the same cause, have been long since followed by results in which we all rejoice, and which we hope will continue with undiminished lustre to the latest generation, the design and ultimate effects of the latter are probably better understood now, at least by himself and by those most deeply concerned, since they have exchanged the darkness and miseries of time for the light and blessedness of eternity.

The British army, when encamped on his plantation in the spring of 1781, with a virulence and recklessness more becoming barbarians than a civilized people, burned his library and all his papers of every description that could be found, not sparing even the Family Bible which contained the record of his age, and also the ages of all the members of his family. Thus by one ruthless and wanton act, his books, his manuscript sermons, his academical and college exercises, and his epistolary correspondence were all consigned to the flames. As he generally wrote out his sermons with care, so far as his other avocations permitted, he must have had a considerable quantity, and they were probably valuable, but his correspondence, whether more important or not, was no doubt more interesting; for it is known that he kept up a correspondence with some of his old college mates who were at that time among the most distin-

guished men of the age. The loss was to him irreparable, and would have been under any circumstances ; but in his situation nothing could be done. In relation to his library it was afterwards partially, and but partially repaired. By various demands upon his time and attention, and especially by a train of domestic trials which commenced not long after the war and continued without any abatement until his death, a return to his former habit of writing his sermons, or even of maintaining any regular correspondence with his literary friends, was out of his power.

From the period here referred to, he hardly ever wrote a sermon, or any thing else by which any thing like a correct estimate might be formed of the cast of his mind, of the tone of his piety, or of the usual style and manner of his preaching. These have to be learned from other sources ; for during the war, writing sermons, however it might be with some others, seems to have been out of the question with him, especially during the latter part of it ; and the same causes which prevented him from writing much afterwards prevented him from taking care of what little he did write. Only two or three of his sermons in manuscript remain ; and these cannot be regarded as fair specimens of his ability as a preacher, when we consider the haste in which they were necessarily written, the burden of his school, the pressure of domestic cares and troubles, and all the disadvantages under which we know he labored.

A minister's talents and acquirements may, in general, be estimated with tolerable correctness by his standing and influence in the judicatories of the church ; for there he is brought into contact with men who are educated like himself, and engaged in the same pursuits,—while the discussions which are often unavoidable on subjects of the greatest difficulty and importance, the occasions, of frequent occurrence, on which all the craft and power of the enemies of the truth have to be met, and which demand all the energy, moral courage, and fidelity that can be furnished ; and the ways and means which have to be devised for meeting the various exigencies of the church, and for carrying on the work of reformation in the world, are all calculated to test the strength of a man's intellect, the extent of his knowledge, the soundness of his theological opinions, and the state of his

piety. In this case, however, little or no assistance can be derived from that source; for the records of the Orange Presbytery, which was the only Judicatory on the meeting of which, until the Synod of the Carolinas was formed, he could attend with any degree of punctuality, were consumed some years ago when the house of the Stated Clerk was burned. ¶ Owing to the great distance, and the nature of his occupations, which rendered it inexpedient, if not impracticable, for him to leave home long at a time, he seldom attended the meetings of the higher Judicatories until a Synod was formed here in the South; and of course his name appears on their records like that of many others, merely as a member. But from a few facts which are known, and which will be noticed more particularly hereafter, it appears that he was much respected and possessed in a high degree the confidence of his brethren and of the churches.

It appears, therefore, that much of our knowledge of his character, attainments, and usefulness, being of a traditionary kind, must be gathered from the recollections of his family, and of the most aged people in his congregations. ¶ Here too there is much uncertainty; for such a length of time has elapsed since he was an actor on the busy theatre of life, that tradition is silent respecting much that it would be desirable to know; and the memory of the most aged is at fault except in relation to those things which were the most prominent, or which made the most vivid impression at the the time of their occurrence, and their recollection of even these is frequently indistinct. Much that would be interesting might have been obtained from this source fifteen or twenty years ago; but as half a generation or more has passed away since his death; and as he lived to the extraordinary age of a hundred years, or near it, something like the same length of time must have been passed by him, previous to that event, in such a decline of his physical and mental powers, that those who grew up around him during this period, or who had not known him before, could have but an imperfect idea of what he was when in the full vigor of his days, and *when the candle of the Lord shone upon his tabernacle.*

Thus all the co-temporaries of his active life, and many of the most interesting transactions and events in which he was con-

cerned have either passed entirely beyond our reach, or are to be seen only in the dim and shadowy distance; and, although the results of his labors remain, and probably will remain while sun and moon endure, the biographer is left to gather up such scattered mementos of his existence, and such occasional or indirect testimonies to his worth, as his connexions in life, and the institutions and common histories of the country have preserved. None of these have been knowingly neglected; and scanty as the materials are, it is hoped that they will not be uninteresting, nor altogether unprofitable to the reader.

David was the oldest son of Andrew and Martha Caldwell, who had but four children, all of whom were sons. He was born in Lancaster county, Pa., and on the 22d of March, 1725. As this statement rests on the authority of no record, it ought not perhaps to be regarded as absolutely certain; and yet there can be very little doubt of its correctness. His family recollect to have heard him frequently state this fact in the latter part of his life; and while there is perhaps nothing of which the memory of aged people is less tenacious than dates and numbers, the uniformity with which he mentioned the same date must be regarded as strong evidence of its truth. In confirmation of this, an old gentleman in the south part of this county, who is now over eighty years of age, but whose memory is apparently as good as it ever was, told me not long since that he recollected very well the first time Dr. Caldwell came to his father's house; and that in the course of conversation between him and his mother, when she happened to mention the date of her birth, he jocularly remarked, "If one died of old age, the other might begin to look out; for that was the year in which he was born." The subject was frequently mentioned afterwards, during his subsequent visits, and always as a settled matter that they had both been born in the same year; but it being improbable that he could be mistaken about his age at so early a period, and her birth being matter of record, the date of his may be considered as settled. Other circumstances might be mentioned, corroborative of the statement, if it were regarded as a matter of sufficient importance, or if there were any remaining doubt; but it is presumed that what has been said will be deemed satisfactory.

When a man has been so far useful in his day and generation, or has been so prominent in any way as to furnish materials of sufficient interest for a biography, it is expected, as a matter of course, that something will be said of his family and connexions. This is more a matter of curiosity perhaps than any thing else ; for it seldom happens that more than one of a family rises to much distinction in the world, or not by his own merits. Whole families, and for successive generations, may be respectable and useful ; but it seldom happens that more than one man of original or superior mind appears in any one line, who can rise to eminence by his own energies, in spite of competition, or whatever obstacles may be thrown in his way. The greatest men whom the world has seen have either risen from such obscurity that any notice of their descent, or of their immediate family connexions, could only serve as a foil to set them off to better advantage ; or they have stood alone amid the entire circle of living or known kindred, and appeared as much above them as they did above the mass of the community around. These facts are so notorious, and so much observed by all classes of people, and in every age and clime, that, in general, we do not expect to find a whole family possessing talents and making attainments in science, or performing exploits, which will command the admiration of society ; nor to see the son of a man of genius, in any given instance, inheriting the talents of the father.

All that is known to the writer of Dr. Caldwell's family may be given in a few words. They were respectable, and highly so, in their neighborhood ; but none of them attained or sought distinction in society. His father was a farmer, in comfortable circumstances ; and was a very worthy man. His brothers were some of them Ruling Elders in the church to which they belonged ; and all of them were respected in their station as citizens and neighbors. Andrew, the second son, and John, the fourth, never married ; but died at the paternal residence some years after the Revolutionary War—precisely when is not known to me, though it was near the beginning of the present century. The constitution of the latter was so much impaired by the hardships which he endured in the camp, in common with the rest of the army, during the winter of '77 and '78, that he never

enjoyed any health afterwards; and did not live many years.—Alexander, the third son, married and removed to North Carolina before the commencement of the war, in which he took an active part, and by which he lost his life. He settled on a farm adjoining that of his brother; and served as a soldier during most of the time that the British army was in North and South Carolina. In the course of the summer after the Guilford battle, he took what was called the *camp-fever*; and having been brought home by his friends, he died in the bosom of his family. He left a widow with seven children,—three sons and four daughters, who, as soon as the estate could be settled and the land sold to advantage after the conclusion of peace, removed with her family to Green county in Tennessee, where she died only three or four years ago, and where some of her children are still living.

When his circumstances enabled him to do it, or gave a sufficient impulse to his mind, or both, David devoted himself to literary pursuits and to the work of the gospel ministry. Why he did not commence earlier, or whether he gave any indications in early life of unusual aptness to learn, and of a desire to acquire knowledge, it would be useless to enquire; and the history of useful men in every age and clime, but especially in our own country, admonishes us not to attach too much importance to what passes in early life. The names of a man's parents, the date of his birth, and the incidents of his childhood, are matters which, however they may gratify a natural, and to some extent, perhaps, a laudable curiosity, can add but little to the stock of useful knowledge. It is to the character and principles of the *man*, and to the amount of good which he has accomplished in the world, that our attention must be chiefly directed; for the benefits which he confers upon society, of whatever kind, are the measure of his worth as a member of that society; and for these alone can he have any claim upon our gratitude; while the early promises of childhood are often falacious, and are seldom realized in after life to the extent of the fond anticipations indulged by parents and friends. The precocity of genius, or the extraordinary aptness to learn which is sometimes manifested in childhood; the sprightliness and vivacity, the sallies of

wit, and the various little achievements, of whatever kind, or however displayed, which, at that period, are so grateful to the parental heart, and which are so often extolled if not greatly exaggerated in works of this description, would in most cases never have been heard of beyond the walls of the nursery, or the immediate and intimate intercourse of the family circle, if the subject of eulogy had not become distinguished in subsequent life; but on the other hand, many of those who have stood high for talents, moral worth, and public usefulness, passed through the early stages of life without exciting any uncommon interest, or attracting any marked attention on the part of friends and acquaintance. Any man's biography must consist chiefly in an account of what he did and suffered for the benefit or for the injury of mankind. The biography of an *author* must consist mainly, at least in ordinary cases, in an account of his writings; that of a *soldier*, in an account of his adventures or exploits; and that of a *minister* of the gospel, or any body else, in a detail of his labors and plans for the welfare or the ruin of others.

Whatever qualities or traits of character may be observed in childhood, that might be fairly regarded as favorable indications of future usefulness in some sphere or other, their development depends on circumstances which are not under the control of man; and the fondest expectations are as often disappointed as realized. Men of the most gifted minds and who ultimately attained the greatest eminence, either in church or state, have been obliged, perhaps in a majority of cases, to struggle with great difficulties, and meet with many interruptions or long delays in the course of their preparation for usefulness; and there is as much variety in the operations and results of Providence as there is in creation.

It sometimes happens that a young man, who had gone so long and so recklessly in a course of dissipation, manifesting not only an utter disregard of moral principle, but an entire destitution of literary taste, that he was regarded by all who knew him as a hopeless case, unexpectedly receives an impulse from some source or other which, to the surprize of every body, leads him to abandon his evil practices and devote himself to the acqui-

tion of knowledge with an ardor and a perseverance that could hardly be surpassed, and he is soon found occupying an eminent rank in some of the learned professions. Nor are there wanting cases in which a man who was brought up in the most abject poverty, and kept employed in the most servile drudgery, without manifesting, or having it in his power to manifest, any desire to improve his own condition, much less the condition of others, until he has arrived to such an age that no one thought of his ever emerging from his native obscurity, is, by some propitious change in his circumstances which, at the same time, seems to work a radical change in his views and feelings, furnished with the means and inspired with the love of science; and soon astonishes the world by the extent and variety of his attainments, the power of his eloquence, or the display in some way or other of capacities and energies which had for half a generation lain dormant or unnoticed. Again, we meet occasionally with instances in which a man who had passed through the whole of what is usually considered as the seed time of life in some ordinary occupation, not from necessity, but apparently from inclination, when he has arrived to maturity or to that period in which most men are reaping the fruit of their early toils, suddenly manifests an energy of character and a firmness of purpose which surprize those who had known him from his infancy, and which soon place him with the foremost in the career of learning and of usefulness. In all such cases there were no doubt qualities which needed only to be placed in circumstances favorable to their development; but they were unnoticed by others, or not sufficiently known to justify any certain calculations as to what the man was capable of doing, until the proper impulse was given, or such a change of condition took place as waked up his energies, and set him forward on a career of improvement and usefulness.

• The first thing we know of David Caldwell after the date of his birth is that in the early part of his teens his father bound him to a house carpenter; and that after having served an apprenticeship to that business until he was twenty-one, he worked four years for himself, before he determined to change his occupation. Instead, however, of considering this any re-

proach, or being ashamed to have it known or mentioned afterwards, he made use of it himself, whenever occasion offered, to encourage other young men who were in similar circumstances. Beside the testimony of his family and others who had often heard him state the fact, it was told me not long since by Mr. C., one of our most venerable and useful ministers, who has been instrumental in bringing, not hundreds, but thousands probably, to the knowledge of salvation, and whose praise is in all our churches. Having professed religion when he was about twenty-five years of age, he soon felt an irresistible desire to preach the gospel; but was destitute of funds, and was too far advanced in life, as he thought, to work his own way in obtaining an education. He could not think of leaving the Presbyterian church to join any other denomination; for there was no other whose doctrines and discipline he approved. Being thus anxious and perplexed, he concluded that he would take an English school, if he could get one, in Dr. Caldwell's congregations, where he could study by himself and recite whenever he was prepared, leaving his subsequent course to be determined by circumstances. In execution of this purpose he was endeavoring to raise a school in some part of the Buffalo congregation, when Dr. Caldwell, who had been informed of his wishes and of what he was attempting to do, met with him at some neighborhood meeting; and having taken him aside mentioned what he had understood respecting his present plan and his ultimate object, and proffered to subscribe for three scholars himself if he went on with the school. After a pause however he observed to him with great kindness that if he could possibly raise as much money as would pay his board for one year, which at that time did not amount to very much, he had better go to school for that length of time himself, before he attempted any thing else; and then he could not only get a better salary for teaching, but could study privately to better advantage, adding that he would never ask him for a cent of money for his tuition until he would say himself that he was able to pay it without inconvenience. Mr. C. replied that he possibly could raise that much money; but being twenty-five years of age, he was afraid he was too far advanced to think of getting such an education as would fit him for

usefulness in the ministry. The Dr. told him not to be discouraged; for that was just his own age when he began, having been bound to the carpenter's trade until he was twenty-one, and then having worked four years for himself, before he ever saw a Latin Grammar. Mr. C. in giving this account added with feeling and emphasis that if Dr. Caldwell had not taken him by the hand then, and encouraged and aided him as he did he never could have got into the ministry; and it is given here because, while it is a striking proof of his generosity and kindness in helping forward others in their education, who were young men of promise but were struggling with poverty and other discouragements,—a trait of character for which he was remarkable through life,—it settles the point as to the manner in which his early life was spent, and the period at which he commenced his literary course.

That he was bound out to learn a mechanical trade at a period of life when he ought to have been at school, could not have been owing to absolute necessity on the part of his father; for, judging from the quantity of land which he owned in Lancaster county, and from the price at which it has been valued since, it appears that he must have been in comfortable circumstances. Still it might not have been convenient even for a Pennsylvania farmer, in the condition of the country at that time, to raise the funds that were necessary to give his son a liberal education; and the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of that day, or those of them who were plain farmers, not having the advantages of education themselves, and especially if they felt the importance of religion, were not disposed to make any great sacrifices for the sake of giving a son a liberal education unless he were pious and wished to enter the gospel ministry. People of that description, and in those circumstances, of whatever denomination, viewing the success of the gospel as a matter of supreme importance, are not generally disposed to patronize any thing which they cannot see will be likely to promote the cause which they have most at heart; and it was for a long time a very common remark that un sanctified learning had never been of any benefit to the church. Learning was valued then as it is now, and valued highly by people of this class; but only when it was consecrated to the

service of religion. Of course, parents of this character did not commonly think of giving a son an education until he had professed religion and formed the purpose of devoting himself to the work of the gospel ministry; and hence the most of those who came into the ministry at that day came into it later in life than at the present time. It was probably for some such reasons that the father of David Caldwell, instead of sending him to school when young, preferred putting him in a way by which he could make an honest living, in case he should remain a stranger to the power of religion; and leaving him to take his own course when arrived to maturity.

Whether he manifested in youth any uncommon thirst for knowledge, and availed himself of every possible opportunity for acquiring information, as many others have done in similar circumstances, cannot now be ascertained; for his history during that period is to us a perfect blank; but from the generous sacrifices which he made to accomplish his purpose when it was once formed, and from the avidity with which he pursued his studies when once engaged in them, it might be fairly inferred that he had not been hitherto a stranger to books. In contemplating the character, and in tracing the progress of any man who has filled a large space in the public eye, and for a time swayed the destinies of millions, or who has in a more silent and unobtrusive way exerted a more salutary and permanent influence, we feel some gratification in knowing by what reasons he was led to pursue the course which he did, or to take any important step in that course; but in this case we are left to mere conjecture, from which no certain conclusions can be drawn in any case, and no confirmation of principles derived. Why he delayed four years after becoming master of his own time, before he commenced a course of education, and what were the motives which influenced him then to take that course, are matters respecting which not a particle of information can be obtained; but on comparing the few facts which are known, of a subsequent date, it seems probable that about this time he made a profession of religion, and that it was the change effected in his views and feelings by the power of divine grace which led to a change in his pursuits. It has been mentioned to me by some of his family

who got their knowledge of the fact from what they had heard him or his friends say on the subject, that from the time he obtained a hope for himself, his supreme desire was to become useful in bringing others to a knowledge of the truth; and his subsequent conduct must be regarded as a confirmation of this statement. The very first measure which he adopted to accomplish his ends, was a proof either of his native generosity and love of learning, or of the extent to which his mind was under the influence of religion, and his consequent indifference to the world; for he made a proposition to his brothers, that if they would furnish him with money to carry him through college, he would relinquish all claim to any share in the estate. (This must be regarded as evidence of unusual generosity; of the high value which he put upon an education, or of his strong confidence in the divine goodness; for his portion would have been double the amount which they would be required to furnish according to the proposition; and they accepted it without any hesitation. No writings were drawn, however, and no receipts given, nor any other security required at the time than a verbal promise, and their confidence in each other's integrity; but at his father's death, which happened soon after his settlement in Carolina, he went all the way back to Pennsylvania and gave them a quit claim to every thing. As two of his brothers never married, he came in with his married brother, Alexander, for a claim in their property at their death; but he received only a third of the amount that would have been due to him, if the quit claim had not been given. This he never regretted; nor manifested any disposition to recede in any degree from the tenor of his first proposal.

Where, or under whose tuition, he commenced his preparation for college, is not recollected; but it is known that before going to college, he studied for some time with a Mr. Smith, who kept a classical school somewhere in the eastern part of Pennsylvania, and who was probably the father of the Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, D.D., afterwards President of the College of New Jersey. What progress he made, or what was his standing as a scholar during this period, nothing is known; but it seems that he taught school for a year or more before going to college. Thus was

stated to me not long since as a fact by a gentleman whose father was at that time living in the same neighborhood, and whom he had often heard speak of it; and it is probable, from the length of time which elapsed from his commencing the study of the classics until he took his bachelor's degree. In what year he entered college as a student, and what was his standing while there for talents and scholarship, we have no means of ascertaining; but he was graduated in the college of New Jersey in 1761, the year in which President Davies died, as is shewn by the college catalogue; and being then a member of the senior class, he was one of those who carried the remains of their venerated preceptor to "the house appointed for all living." This fact he mentioned incidentally in conversation with the writer not a year before he died; and, although he was then just entering his hundredth year, the mention of Davies seemed to revive the recollection of former days, and to restore for a time the vivacity and energy of youth.

Although the history of his childhood and youth may not have been regarded as a matter of so much importance that without it, his services and his very name must be forgotten in the country to which he was an ornament and a benefactor, yet some regret will, no doubt, be felt by the reader as well as the writer, that we have not a more full and accurate account of the manner in which he employed his time; the facilities which he enjoyed for mental and religious improvement; the state of his mind as to religious comfort, or his growth in grace; his plans of future usefulness, &c., at the period to which we have now arrived; but we are even here guided only by glimpses which we get at distant intervals, and which are barely sufficient to keep us in the direction of his path. Respecting his habits while in college, only one fact has come to my knowledge, which is an evidence at once of his strength of constitution, and his intense application to study. An elderly gentleman, of good standing in one of his congregations, stated to me a few weeks since, that when he was a young man, Dr. Caldwell was spending a night at his father's, one summer about harvest, and while they were all sitting out in the open porch after supper, a remark was after some time made about the impropriety of sitting so long in the night air, when he observed that, so far as his own experience

had gone, there was nothing unwholsome in the night air; for while he was in college, he usually studied in it, and slept in it, during the warm weather,—as it was his practice to study at a table by the window, with the sash raised, until a late hour, then cross his arms on the table, lay his head on them, and sleep in that position until morning. This was not very far behind the most inveterate students of the 17th century, whether in Europe or America; and a man who had strength of constitution to pursue such a course of application, though of moderate abilities, could hardly fail to become a scholar.

After leaving college, he engaged to teach a school for a year at Cape-May; and while there he probably attended to his theological studies privately, getting assistance as he could from the minister in the place, if there was one, and if not, from some one in the neighborhood, according to the custom, and we may add, according to the necessity, of the times. His family recollect to have heard him frequently speak of the Presbytery of New Castle, in reference to that period; and from this fact it is inferred that he had frequent intercourse with some of the ministers composing that body, as they were convenient, for the purpose of obtaining books, and such instruction as they could give him. On leaving Cape May, he returned to Princeton, where he was employed for a time as tutor in college, or as assistant teacher in the department of languages, during the sickness or temporary absence of the regular teacher; but as his object in teaching was merely to support himself while preparing for the ministry, his engagements in that way were only temporary. All his leisure time was employed in the studies and exercises required by the standards of the church with which he was connected, preparatory to licensure; and the number of trials assigned him by the Presbytery under the care of which he was taken, the manner in which he acquitted himself before that body, and the short space of time in which he passed through all his examinations and trials, are sufficient proof of his capacity and diligence. From this time the facts in his history, if not so full as might be desired, are more to be relied on, because they are either matters of record, or are pretty well sustained by oral testimony.

He was both licensed and ordained by the Presbytery of New

Brunswick ; and the following facts have been communicated, at my request, by the Stated Clerk of that body.

At a meeting of the Presbytery held in Princeton, Sept. 28th, 1762, David Caldwell offered himself to be taken on trial as a candidate for the gospel ministry ; and having given good satisfaction, as to his motives in wishing to enter the ministry, he was received. The subject assigned him for a Latin Exegesis was the Perseverance of the Saints ;* and for a Sermon, 1 Peter, 1. 15. *But as he who hath called you is holy, so be ye holy, &c.* At a meeting of the Presbytery held at Bedminster, May 10th, 1763, he performed these exercises ; and had assigned him for a sermon 2 Cor. v. 17. *Therefore if any man be in Christ, &c.* At the same time he was examined on the arts and sciences ; and his examination was sustained. The Presbytery met again at Princeton, June 6th, 1763, and assigned him for a lecture the 87th Psalm. August 16th, Presbytery having met again at Princeton, was opened with a lecture from the 87th Psalm, by Mr. David Caldwell ; and after singing, he preached the sermon appointed. At the same meeting, and two days after, he was licensed to preach the gospel ; and was appointed to supply at Hardwick, Oxford, and Mansfield, one Sabbath each, before the next meeting. Oct. 11th of the same year, he was appointed by Presbytery to supply at New Brunswick, Metuchen, Maidenhead, (now Lawrence,) and Deerfield ; and when Presbytery met in April, 1764, he was appointed to supply at Deerfield until the next meeting. These details are thus minutely given, partly, because it may be some satisfaction to his old friends and acquaintances ; and partly, for the purpose of ascertaining, as nearly as possible, when he first came to North Carolina.

The records contain no further notice of him, after the above date, until May 16th, 1765, when the Presbytery having met in Philadelphia, it is stated on the minutes that the Synod had appointed Mr. David Caldwell to labor at least one whole year as a missionary in North Carolina ; and had ordered the Presbytery to ordain him previous to his going there, that he might the better answer the important ends of his mission. Presbytery immediately made arrangements for that purpose ; and assigned

*Nun datur perseverantia sanctorum.

him as trials for ordination, *The foundation of moral obligation*,* for a Latin Exegesis; and for a sermon, Mat. xvi. 26. *For whosoever will save his life shall lose it, &c.* At this same meeting, “a call was laid before Presbytery from Buffalo and Alamance settlements in North Carolina for Mr. David Caldwell to settle there in the work of the ministry, which was put into his hands for consideration.” He must therefore have come into this part of the country in the summer or early in the fall of 1764, and given these congregations a grant that he would settle among them; for there is no mention of him at the fall meeting of Presbytery, nor until the next spring; and then a call was presented for his pastoral labors.

July 5th, 1765. Presbytery met at Trenton, and was opened with a sermon from Mr. David Caldwell on the text assigned him; after which he read his Latin Exegesis; and Presbytery resolved to ordain him on the following day. Accordingly he was, on July 6th, 1765, solemnly set apart to the work of the gospel ministry in the manner prescribed by our book of Discipline; and the Rev. William Kirkpatrick preached the ordination sermon from 1 Tim. vi. 20. The records state further that at this meeting he was dismissed to join the Presbytery of Hanover in Virginia; and that the call for his labors having come from congregations within the bounds of that Presbytery, he was directed to give his answer, as to his acceptance or non-acceptance of it, to that body.

¶ It is presumed that he set off for North Carolina immediately after his ordination, though we have no certain account of him for some time, and no notice of him can be found in any of the Ecclesiastical records until the middle of the following year; nor did he become connected with the Presbytery of Hanover for eighteen months, or near it, after his dismissal from that of New Brunswick. The reasons of this do not appear; but he must have proceeded on his mission without delay; for it is known that he went to Mecklenburg on a visit, where he spent some time, before he came to reside in Guilford; and it appears from some Sheriff's receipts, still preserved among his papers, that he paid tax in Guilford, or in Rowan, which then included

*In quo fundatur obligatio moralis.

that part of the present county of Guilford in which he resided, as early as 1766. Of course he must have been here the year before, and regarded as a citizen, or his tax would not have been due at that time.

From the records of the Presbytery of Hanover, it appears that he was invited to sit as a corresponding member of that body, at a meeting held at North Hico, now known as the Red House church, on the 4th of June, in this same year, 1766; and again at another meeting held in the month of October following. On the 11th of October in the following year, 1767, he was received as a member of that body upon his dismissal from the Presbytery of New Brunswick; and at the same time a petition was presented from the congregations of Buffalo and Alamance to have him installed and settled as their pastor. The petition was granted; and his installation took place, according to appointment of Presbytery, at Buffalo, March 3rd, 1768. The Rev. Hugh McAdden preached the Installation sermon, presided, and appears to have performed all the services prescribed by our standards in such cases. My authority for this is the sermon preached by Mr. McAdden on that occasion, which is now before me in manuscript; and is a very sensible, practical, and appropriate discourse. At this time there were probably not more than three or four, if so many, regularly settled ministers of the Presbyterian denomination in the State; but in the course of this year several others were settled, so that if David Caldwell was not the very first, he was among the first, who settled here, and made North Carolina their permanent residence. Having lived much longer too, and in many ways exerted a more extensive and lasting influence than any other belonging to that eventful period, it may be said, without any disposition to exaggerate his worth, or to give him undue praise, that his history is more identified with that of the country, at least so far as literature, enlightened piety, and good morals are concerned, than the history of any one man who has lived in it; and this seems to be the opinion of those who knew him best, and who are the most competent judges.

The people who composed his congregations at their organization were mostly from his native county; and were here sev-

eral years before him. Many of them had known him from his childhood; for they had been taught in the same schools, and had worshipped in the same sanctuary. For reasons similar to those which have since influenced so many of their descendants to leave this country and remove to the far west, they determined to leave the land of their nativity, and remove to the far south; but they agreed to come in a body. A company was formed, called the Nottingham company, which sent out agents and purchased a large quantity of land in what is now Guilford county, on the waters of Buffalo and Reedy Fork; and when they were making their arrangements to change their residence, which was about the time he commenced his education, or soon after, they made a conditional agreement with him, that, if Providence permitted, when he obtained license to preach, he would come and be their preacher. Whether they thought their lands there were exhausted, and that it was necessary for them, on that account, to seek a new country; or whether they hoped to improve their circumstances by selling them at a good price, and buying here where the range was good and land cheap, is not important.—Probably some were influenced by one motive, and some by another; but they were not willing to be without the preaching and ordinances of the gospel. They were aware that there were no ministers, or none of their own denomination, in the region to which they were directing their course, in the settlement of which they were in fact pioneers, and that there were none to be obtained except from the churches in the northern States; and therefore they thought it prudent to make provision for this in time, by engaging or bespeaking the services of one whom they knew. Accordingly he came out, as we have seen, within a year after his licensure; and a call was made out for him and laid before the Presbytery to which he belonged as soon as it could be done.

The Buffalo church was organized about five or six years before he came; and the Alamance soon after, or when he was here as a licenciate in 1764. This fact was communicated to the writer a number of years ago by one of the oldest members belonging to that church, now deceased, who said that he distinctly recollected the circumstance; and that Mr. Caldwell was

not then ordained ; and as he had no authority to ordain elders, not being ordained himself, the Rev. Henry Patillo was requested to attend for that purpose. The Alamance church was organized at that time for the express purpose of uniting with the Buffalo, that they might thus be able to support a minister ; but convenience and other considerations would soon have produced the same result. In addition to the fact that convenience required it, being too remote to attend regularly at the Buffalo, especially in the winter, they differed from the others in their religious sentiments. In Pennsylvania they belonged to what was called the New-light party, or the followers of Whitefield, and as they came out to their new settlement, they were led by the similarity of their religious views and feelings to associate together and make their residence in the same neighborhood ; while the people of Buffalo who had belonged, with few exceptions, to the old side, were led, by a similar principle of congeniality, to locate together and form a society of their own.— This distinction, which is now scarcely known, caused no small difficulty for a number of years ; and required much firmness and prudence on the part of the pastor, but it did not prevent them from uniting freely in the call for his services, nor from giving him a cordial support afterwards. The same distinction which existed here seems to have pervaded the entire mass of the Presbyterian population which emigrated in such numbers from Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, from eighty to a hundred years ago ; and spread over the middle and western regions of North Carolina. Whitefield had been shortly before, or was at that time, traversing those States with Apostolic zeal and with little less than Apostolic power ; and the feelings which were there excited were carried by the people wherever they went. That was in many respects an important period for this country ; and it might be interesting, and perhaps profitable, for any one who had leisure and ability, to trace the influence of that extraordinary man upon the interests of religion here, and upon the character and welfare of the community.— That influence was certainly manifest in all the earliest, if it has not been in the latest, revivals that have been experienced ; and these revivals, it is generally believed, have had a greater effect

upon the condition of society, in producing good order and a christian spirit and deportment, than all other causes combined.

Although Dr. Caldwell was placed over congregations which were thus divided in sentiment, and under the influence of strong religious feeling, he managed so as to prevent a rupture or any serious difficulty. He did not profess to belong to either party, but to both; for as both had manifestly some things that were right and others that were wrong, he made it his business, as it was his duty, to approve the one and to condemn the other; and by this course, with his characteristic mildness and prudence, he was able to maintain a good degree of peace and harmony, and to avoid the acrimony and censure to which he would have been otherwise exposed. The distinction here referred to seems to have been forgotten with the increase of religious knowledge and the prevalence of vital piety; and the ministers and people of the Presbyterian communion appear now to be all united and harmonious in their views.

It has been seen that in the spring of 1765, he was appointed by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia to labor at least one whole year as a missionary in North Carolina; and that as soon as he was ordained he set off on this mission. It appears from the records of the Synod that he fulfilled this appointment; and of course he spent that year in itinerating as a missionary through the Presbyterian settlements of this State, including the congregations of which he soon after became pastor, as they were then vacant, and visiting the counties lying between the Yadkin and Catawba rivers, where it appears the population was nearly all Presbyterian. In that region, as well as in Guilford, he found many whom he had known in his youth; and while there he formed, or rather renewed, an acquaintance which had an important bearing on his comfort and usefulness through subsequent life. Having concluded to become stationary at the expiration of the term of missionary service, in the course of the year 1766, probably towards the latter part of the year, though the precise time is not recollected, he married Rachel, the third daughter of the Rev. Alexander Craighhead, of Mecklenburg county, with whom he lived in great harmony until his death; and by whom

he had, besides three or four children that died in infancy, eight sons and one daughter who lived to maturity, and all of whom survived him. He had known this lady in her childhood, as they were both natives of the same county, but he had not seen her for fifteen years or more; for about the time that he commenced his education, Mr. Craighead removed from Lancaster, and settled in Rockbridge county, Va. Nothing is known of him while there further than that he was one of the original members of the Hanover Presbytery which was organized at Hanover on the first Wednesday of December 1755; but it is not probable that he was present at the organization, though his name is included in the list of members as he had signed the petition to have the Presbytery formed; for on hearing of Braddock's defeat, which happened in July of that year, he fled, as did all his neighbors, some in one direction, and some in another, as attachment to distant friends, or as prospects of safety or interest directed; but he never halted until he reached Mecklenburg county in this State. By that disastrous event "the western parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, were left exposed to the incursions of the Savages; the frontier settlements were generally broken up; and the inhabitants were driven into the interior."* Mrs. Caldwell used to say, when relating the hardships and perils of those times to her family, that, "as they went out at one door the Indians came in at the other,"—meaning that when they left the house the Indians were close at hand; and that they narrowly escaped with their life, without being able to take any of their property or furniture with them. Mr. Craighead settled in Sugar Creek congregation where he lived and died; but whether he was ever installed there as pastor of that church is not known.

While in Pennsylvania he became a great admirer of Whitefield; and united with his followers. In this country he is said to have been a warm and zealous preacher; but was somewhat disposed to melancholy. It seems that he belonged to a race of people who were remarkable for their piety and strong attachment to the church; for Mrs. Caldwell frequently remarked when conversing with her family and friends on this subject,

*See Marshall's Colonial History, page 293.

that her ancestors, on the paternal side, had all been preachers in a direct line as far back as she had any knowledge of them, which was for three or four generations. Mr. Craighead had several other daughters, all of whom married into wealthy and respectable families in the upper counties or districts of South Carolina ; and he must have been esteemed as a minister and a christian through the region of country in which he lived ; for the Sugar Creek church has been served ever since, with the exception of two or three intervals of a few years each, by some one of his descendants. His son, the Rev. Thomas Craighead, who was licensed in April, 1778, never settled as pastor there or anywhere else in North Carolina ; but he preached there for some time as a supply. Next his grand son, the Rev. Samuel C. Caldwell was for thirty-five or forty years pastor of the church ; and was beloved every where, and by all who knew him, in the church and out of it. At present his great grand son, the Rev. John M. Caldwell occupies the same station ; and is no less esteemed for his own merits than for his ancestral recollections. Mr. Craighead died in March 1776 ;* and was burried near Sugar Creek church. No marble monument tells the traveller where he lies ; but his remains were carried to their resting place on two green sassafras sticks, each about three feet long, which had just been cut from the woods for that purpose ; and when the grave was filled up, these were stuck down, one at the head, and the other at the foot, merely to serve as a temporary designation of the place. They both grew however ; and are now trees of considerable size. These are his only monument, except "a good name," which is still remembered and is cherished in the affections of the people where he lived ; and the piety and usefulness which have hitherto belonged to his descendants.

The industry and perseverance manifested by David Caldwell during the whole course of his preparation for the ministry might be regarded as a pledge of his future usefulness ; and no pledge of the kind was then given which was not redeemed afterwards. When once installed and permanently settled his object seems to have been to adapt himself to the circumstances

*Records of the Presbyterian Church, page 352.

and wants of the community in which his lot was cast ; and to pursue such a course as would, in the end, be most for their improvement and welfare.

It was manifest that, situated as his congregations were, he could not depend on them for such a support as would enable him to devote himself exclusively to the work of the ministry ; for they promised him only two hundred dollars ; and that was to be paid in grain, if the people chose, at a stipulated price, which was wholly inadequate to the support of a family. He therefore purchased a tract of land, containing some two or three hundred acres ; and on that raised the most of his provisions. As soon, too, as he was prepared for it, he commenced a classical school at his own house, which he continued, with two or three short interruptions, until he was disqualified by the infirmities of age. This was an employment in which he not only excelled, as he certainly did, but in which he took great delight ; and therefore it would, in all probability, have been a matter of choice with him, if his circumstances had not made it necessary, or if there had been no considerations pressing it upon his attention as a matter of duty in relation to the church and the country. But it was clearly necessary if he would maintain his family in comfort, and it was as obviously necessary for the prosperity of the church in this region, and for the improvement of the community at large ; for there were then no institutions of the kind in the State, or none of much value and permanence. The legislature had done nothing efficient ; and there was no probability that it could do any thing creditable to itself or beneficial to the public until a change should be effected in the state of society, and in the financial and pecuniary condition of the country. In the impoverished state of the colony, owing to the heavy debt incurred by the French war, the restrictions on trade, the frauds and peculations of government officers, &c., but little could be done ; and then the mass of the people must be so far enlightened as to send men to the Assembly who would understand the value of education, and might feel that they would be sustained in adopting such measures as would give it due encouragement. In 1754 an act was passed making some appropriation for the establishment of a

public seminary, but it proved ineffectual.* In 1764 an act was passed for the erection of a *school house* in the town of Newbern; and in 1767, the very year probably in which Mr. Caldwell commenced his school, if not the year after, the Trustees of the Newbern Academy were incorporated. But that school could not have been very prosperous; for many of the youth from the surrounding country were sent up here for their education. The Kroomes, the Whitefields, the Hatches, and others are still recollected; and for several years a considerable proportion of the scholars in Caldwell's school were from the eastern part of the State.

The Rev. Henry Patillo, not far from this time, taught a private school either in Orange or Granville; but precisely where and with what success has not come to my knowledge. Not long before the Declaration of Independence, an act of Assembly was passed establishing an Academy in Charlotte; but that was several years after Mr. Caldwell commenced; and although the school had begun with fair prospects some time before it was incorporated, yet it does not appear to have continued in successful operation there more than a few years. Caldwell's school, probably from being conducted with more ability and prudence, seems to have been the most efficient and the most noted; and that its celebrity was owing to the ability with which it was conducted, there is the most abundant proof.

Being a thorough scholar himself in all that he professed to teach, and having a peculiar tact for the management of boys, as well as a facility in communicating instruction, he soon became so celebrated as a teacher that he had students from all the States south of the Potomac; and according to the testimony of those who were better judges of the matter than the writer, he was certainly instrumental in bringing more men into the learned professions than any other man of his day, at least in the southern States. Many of these became eminent, as statesmen, lawyers, judges, physicians, and ministers of the gospel; and while some of them only prepared for college with him,—usually for Princeton, until Chapel Hill was established; and then for that institution,—the larger portion, and several of those who

*Martin, vol. 2, p. 68, 184. 226.

became the most distinguished in after life, never went any where else for instruction, and never enjoyed any higher advantages. Five of his scholars became Governors of different States; many more members of Congress, some of whom occupied a high standing and still occupy it; and a much greater number became lawyers, judges, physicians, and ministers of the gospel. It would be a credit to any man to have been the instructor of such men as Judge Murphy, Judge McCoy, and many others who, in the same road to honor and usefulness, fell very little if any behind them; and to one who knew the value and importance of religion as he did, it must have been a matter of very pleasant reflection that he had been instrumental in bringing into the gospel ministry such men as the Rev. Samuel E. McKorkle, D.D., the Rev. John Mathews, D.D. and the Rev. John Anderson, D.D., who died a few years since in Washington co., Pennsylvania, and many others who were burning and shining lights in the world.

Such was his reputation, if the survivors of that period may be credited, that it was considered throughout the South a sufficient recommendation or passport for any man to have passed through the course at his school with the approbation of the teacher; and when it is known that such men as Dr. Mathews, Dr. Anderson, and many others but little if at all inferior to them, received the whole of their literary and theological instruction there, it may be readily supposed that a certificate from the hand of such a teacher would be received without much hesitation. Probably no man in the Southern States has had a more enviable reputation as a teacher, or was more beloved by his pupils; and no man, with the same number of scholars, ever had so few occurrences of an unpleasant kind while they were under his care, or saw less to regret in their subsequent conduct.

The number of scholars in his school was large for the time and the circumstances of the country—usually about fifty, seldom less, and sometimes sixty or more; but it is not recollected by any of his family, or by any of his pupils who are yet living in this part of the country, that he ever had to expel or suspend a student for improper conduct. His mode of discipline was his own; and was not only so peculiar that it could not be imitated

to advantage, but was so successful that it could not be surpassed, and has been seldom equalled. He had a rod which the boys feared more than the birch; and when necessary it was administered, and with certain effect, but in such a way that no hostile or revengeful feelings were engendered; for while his scholarship and weight of character commanded their respect, his affability and kindness secured their affection. There was something about him which was *unique*, and which language cannot define. The expression of his countenance and his whole manner were such that with a very few words he commonly produced in an offender the very feelings of shame, remorse, &c., which he ought to have; and at the same time left him in a state of suspense, or under a kind of apprehension that there might be something still more severe kept in reserve and ready for use should it be needed; but all was done with such calmness, with such good humor, and often with such an air of pleasantry on his part, that no feelings of anger or resentment were excited in the pupil.

That this is not going beyond sober truth, or giving too high a coloring to his character, may be shewn by a reference to the testimony, or the opinion, of others. Sometime ago I received a very interesting communication from one of the oldest of his pupils in this region, who as a physician is of very respectable standing in his profession, as a citizen is much esteemed for his intelligence and worth of character, and as a man has always been remarkable for his close observation of passing occurrences and for his perfect recollection of whatever he saw or heard; but as he modestly requested that his name might not be mentioned, I shall, for the sake of convenience in referring to him as authority, call him Doct. B. He says, "In January 1787, I entered the school of Dr. David Caldwell as a pupil. I personally know but little except as to the management of his school. I boarded, from the time I entered his school until the autumn of 1789, within half a mile of the schoolhouse. In 1790 I became assistant teacher; and resided in his family for more than two years. As a husband, a parent, and a master the Dr. was indulgent and kind. During my residence in his family I never witnessed an act of unkindness from him towards any member

of his family. As a master, in my opinion, he was indulgent to a fault. For my own part I revered him as I did my father. In his school he governed as a parent, without any of that imperiousness so often witnessed in those who are 'clothed with a little brief authority.' He appeared to be always pleased when we were attentive to and made good progress in our studies. In case we did not, through inattention or want of capacity, make that progress he had a right to expect or wished, we only experienced a mild reproof, or a little scorching sarcasm. When a student made a classical author utter the most absurd nonsense he would cry out, *Murther dherrig*; and then ask him perhaps if he understood Irish. This was almost murder to the feelings of the dull student. I do not recollect ever to have seen him inflict punishment with the rod except in one case; and that was on a small, idle, very idle boy.

"Immoral acts and profane language were proscribed, of course; and seldom came to his knowledge, though often committed and uttered. He had a goat that possessed a strong taste for books; and if ever a student, from thoughtlessness, left a book exposed, this goat was certain, if he came on it, to appropriate the whole, or part, to his own use. On one occasion the monitor for the week was a moral and worthy young man. A youth, whom I shall call Tom, having left his Dictionary exposed, the goat discovered it, and proceeded to make his own use of it. Tom ran to its rescue, uttering a strong imprecation on his goatship in the presence and hearing of the monitor, who immediately noted it down verbatim in his bill. Tom was rather a favorite with old Domine, and with his school fellows. We all knew, as well as Tom, that, on Friday evening he had to answer for it. At length the dreaded evening came; and I was pleased to see my favorite prepare for flight, in case it should be necessary, though we were all ignorant what was the punishment to which he might be subjected for such an offence. The monitor presented his bill; and a number of us having answered for our petty offences, and acts of neglect, Domine's eyes fell on Tom's name and offence. He looked alternately on the bill and on Tom; and then read out the name and the charge. Tom with the quickness of thought asserted, '*They are a d—ned creature*;

and I can prove it from Scripture.' Domine bit his lips, and mildly replied, 'Tommy, Tommy, there are a number of smaller boys here ; and you should set a better example before them.' I do not recollect any one ever having to answer for a similar offence afterwards."

The time which boys spend in school is apt to be the most pleasant part of their lives ; for being then free from the cares and anxieties usually attendant on the public avocations of life, they are at full liberty to range among the beauties of classic taste and genius, and to derive instruction or pastime from all the sources of information that may be within their reach, and from whatever occurrences may take place around them. Things are frequently occurring too, either from a mischievous disposition, or from mere thoughtlessness and levity on their part, which not only cause merriment or reproach at the time, and are ever afterwards remembered with pleasure or regret, but which are trying to the patience of the teacher, and become a test of his character as a disciplinarian. The above incident is of this description ; and related, as it is, in that facetious and happy manner, for which Doctor B. is admired by those who know him, it will probably be as amusing to those who read the account as it was to those who witnessed the scene. He then goes on to say, "The management of his churches was very similar to that of his school. His scholars respected him as a father, and confided in him as a friend. I once saw indignation flash through the school on a young man's insulting the Doctor ; and the same thing, I am persuaded, would have taken place in his churches if any one in their presence had dared to offer him an insult."

At that period it seems to have been the general impression that the birch was about as necessary for boys at school as their bread and meat ; but his family recollect to have witnessed or heard of not more than two or three instances in which he found any necessity for a resort to corporal punishment ; and one of these was sufficiently salutary in its results to justify a notice of it here. Samuel D., whose father kept a public house at the county seat, was sent to Dr. Caldwell's school at the age of 14 or 15 ; but brought with him all those habits of idleness and dissipation which he had formed in the tavern. Being natural-

ly what is called "a smart boy." and having a good share of that dexterity at mischief which boys of his age readily acquire in such circumstances, he was exerting a very unhappy influence on the other scholars, especially on those that were younger than himself. After every other means had been tried in vain, the Dr. took him one day into a private apartment of his school house, and there applied "the rod of correction" until he accomplished his object: Samuel was subdued, and promised obedience. From that time he was a reformed boy; and was thenceforward as orderly in his deportment and as attentive to his studies as any of the rest. When he arrived to maturity he removed to Georgia, where he married and settled; but having lived to bury his wife and all his children, he felt the loneliness of his situation; and hearing that his old preceptor was still living, he resolved to pay him a visit. His head was as grey as that of his quondam preceptor, though he was not much more than half as old; and their meeting was a very affecting one. The old man was sitting in the chimney corner, wrapped in those silent meditations which are so natural and so befitting one who had served his generation by the will of God, and was nearly severed from all the ties of earth, from which he was roused by some bustle among the servants and by the footsteps of his visitor entering the apartment and approaching towards him. His sight had been once renewed, and was faded again beyond the assistance of art. His faded eyes were now directed towards the object that had attracted his attention; and he waited in silence for some announcement that would let him know who was before him. "Dr. Caldwell, don't you recollect me?" was the enquiry of Mr. D. as he reached out his hand. "I do not," was the reply. "Don't you recollect that very bad boy whom you once had in your school and whom you had to whip so severely?" "O yes! Samuel D." With that they seized each other by the hand; and for a moment tears were the only expression of feelings which were too deep for utterance. Mr. D. then concluded a brief history of his life—his fortunes and misfortunes, his connexions and bereavements, by saying that he had not a relation living in North Carolina, and no business to call him into this part of the country; but as he considered that

Dr. Caldwell had done him more good than all other men, and having learned that he was still living, he had come all the way here, a distance of two or three hundred miles, to see him once more before he died. This incident, which is somewhat extraordinary, appeared to furnish a good illustration of Dr. Caldwell's judiciousness and success in the exercise of discipline; and of the universal and high regard in which he was held by all classes of his pupils.

His scholars, without any known exception, whatever might have been their talents, their subsequent attainments in literature and science, or the eminence to which they arrived in their respective avocations, regarded him through life, with the highest veneration as an instructor, and cherished his memory, as a man and a christian, with the warmest affection. The present Governor of North Carolina, John M. Morehead, whose professional standing is probably second to that of no other in the State, and the correctness of whose judgment in relation to talents and scholarship, no one who is acquainted with him will call in question, after having been under his instruction between two and three years, and having been prepared by him for the Junior class half advanced in college, speaks of him in the very highest terms, in every respect, though he was then between eighty-five and ninety years of age; and time worn veterans in the service of their country—men who have stood firm against the intrigues of abolition and the assaults of power—men who have fought the battles of freedom and maintained the rights of the people in the halls of our national legislation, year after year, until they have grown grey in the service, have been known to shed tears at the mention of his name, when passing in the public conveyance by the place where his remains lie buried, and by the church in which he preached and they were hearers from Sabbath to Sabbath, while preparing under his instruction for future distinction and usefulness in the world.*

But the most important service which he rendered, as a teacher,

* The Honorable LEWIS WILLIAMS was one of those above alluded to; and as his death has been announced since the preceding sheets went to press, there can be no impropriety in thus mentioning his name here, in connexion with a fact so honorable to his feelings as a man and to his character as a public servant.

was to the church, or to the cause of religion ; for nearly all the young men who came into the ministry of the Presbyterian church, for many years, not only in North Carolina, but in the States south and west of it, were trained in his school, many of whom are yet living ; and while some of them are superannuated, others are still useful men, either as preachers or as teachers in different institutions of learning. In a communication recently received from the Rev. E. B. Currie, who is one of his oldest pupils yet living, he says, “ Dr. Caldwell, as a teacher, was probably more useful to the church than any one man in the United States. I could name about forty ministers who received their education in whole or in part from him ; and how many more I cannot tell ; but his log cabin served for many years to North Carolina as an Academy, a College, and a Theological Seminary. His manner of governing his school, family and churches was very much the same, that is, on the mild and paternal plan, generally attended with some wit and pleasant humor ; yet few men have ever succeeded better in keeping good order.” The log cabin here spoken of, if the dwelling house be meant, was a two story log house with a chimney in the middle, which was a respectable building for those times ; and the forty ministers whom he mentioned as having received their education under him, were educated during or after the Revolutionary war. But his school was in operation nine or ten years before the Declaration of Independence ; and therefore it can hardly be any exaggeration to say that at least fifty ministers of the gospel were educated in whole or in part in his school. He was their instructor in theology too, as well as in the classics and sciences ; and thus in the language of Mr. Currie, “ his log cabin,”—for his school house was literally such, and his dwelling house would bear the name,—“ served North Carolina, for many years, as an Academy, a College, and a Theological Seminary.” Seven of his students were licensed to preach the gospel by the Orange Presbytery in one day, all of whom were consistent, devoted men ; and at one period there were not more than three or four members belonging to that Presbytery who had not been his scholars. Many of these professed religion during their connexion with the school, and came into the ministry, though nothing was farther from

their thoughts when they went there. An aged and venerable servant of Christ, mentioned to the writer not long since, that he recollected ten, he being himself one of the number, who professed religion while in school and became preachers; and said that he knew about as many more who professed religion in the school after he left, and took the same course.

It would be unpardonable not to pay a passing tribute of respect here to the memory of Mrs. Caldwell, who, for good sense and ardent piety, had few if any equals, and certainly no superiors, at that time and in this region of country. In every respect she was an ornament to her sex and a credit to the station which she occupied as the head of a family and the wife of a man who was not only devoted to the service of the church, but was eminently useful in his sphere of life. Her intelligence, prudence, and kind and conciliating manners were such as to secure the respect and confidence of the young men in the school, while her concern for their future welfare prompted her to use every means, and to improve every opportunity, for turning their attention to their personal salvation; and her assiduity and success in this matter were such as to give rise and currency to the remark over the country that "Dr. Caldwell made the *scholars*, but Mrs. Caldwell made the *preachers*." The remark might be to some extent true; and the fact, if it was one, might be rationally and satisfactorily accounted for, without any disparagement of his piety, or implying any doubt of his zeal on this subject; for, apart from the consideration that his time and attention were so much occupied with other things that he could not make the same direct efforts in this way, which, in other circumstances, he might have made, we all know how difficult it is for a teacher, while engaged from morning till night, and day after day, in the literary and scientific instruction of his pupils, and in exercising authority and discipline over them, to maintain that kind of religious influence, which, humanly speaking, is necessary to their conversion. It is not impossible, as might be shown by a reference to many examples, especially at that day, of whom Dr. Caldwell must be regarded as one, notwithstanding the common remark above mentioned; nor did those who knew them both understand it as literally true, but made it or

used it to express their high opinion of her piety and zeal;—yet it was to him, and to the whole church, so far as known, a cause of gratitude which ought not to be passed over in silence, that he had an assistant in this work who was so competent and so faithful. Without dwelling on this, however, at present, or undertaking to eulogize one whose record is on high, it is certain that many young men who went there with no other wish or thought than that of being prepared to reap the rewards or wear the honors of this world, were converted to the Lord before they left, and became in due time devoted and useful ministers of the gospel, several of whom ascribed their awakening and conversion to her instrumentality. Whenever any of them became concerned about their salvation, whether impressed by some dispensation of Providence, or awakened under the ordinary means of grace, the resort was to Mrs. Caldwell in preference to any body else; and those who were truly pious and had their attention turned to the gospel ministry, found that they were increased in faith, advanced in christian knowledge, and encouraged to persevere in their toilsome course of preparation for usefulness, by her conversation and her example as a christian. The aged minister whose name has been already mentioned, observed to the writer not long since, that although he believes he was a christian before he went there, and was aiming at the ministry, yet in his circumstances his trials and discouragements were so great that he was sometimes on the point of giving up all hope of ever attaining the object of his wishes, but by her advice and encouragement, he was kept along, and that she was of more service to him than all the ministers in the Orange Presbytery. All who were pious when they went, or who became so while there, have always spoken of her with the highest veneration, and have borne a uniform testimony to her uncommon intelligence on the subject of religion, including doctrines, precepts, experience, &c.; her devotional spirit, her cheerful piety, her humble zeal, her confidence in God; and since she has gone to reap the rewards of piety in another world, she will be had in long remembrance here on earth.

Thus in every way his school was a nursery for the church, or for the gospel ministry; and while the whole country is deep-

ly indebted to it for the advancement of literature and science, and for the general diffusion of useful knowledge, the church, and the Presbyterian church especially, has cause to rejoice that, in the providence of God, his lot was cast in this country just at the time when such services as he could render, and such influence as he was prepared to exert, were highly important, if not absolutely necessary, to its welfare; and that he was prepared to labor so long and so successfully in the Lord's vineyard. Whatever may have been his success in the ministry, or in the work of converting men by his personal labors, as a minister, or what that success might have been had he given himself wholly to the ministry, as Paul directed Timothy to do, we need not now enquire; for the influence which a man exerts on the youth of the country who are to fill the places of public trust and responsibility, in church and state, if it is of the right kind, is the most extensive, salutary, and permanent; and it surely cannot affect the question of a man's usefulness, in the character of an ambassador for Christ, or in the great work of reconciling men to God, in what particular way, or on what class of men, his agency was employed.

From the condition of the country at the time of his settlement, he soon found it necessary, or considered it his duty, to turn his attention to another subject. There was no physician within any reasonable distance, or none in whose skill any confidence could be placed; nor was there any known probability of obtaining one; and the people amongst whom he lived and to whose welfare he was devoted, like all first settlers in a new or wilderness country, being not well provided with the conveniences and comforts necessary to health, were in great want of medical assistance, but he being a man of liberal education, and their pastor, it was natural that they should look to him, as they did, for every thing that was beyond their own knowledge or ability, so far at least as they depended on the agency of man. Whatever might be said, in ordinary cases, against a minister's engaging in pursuits or avocations, not immediately connected with the duties of the ministry, surely no one of liberal views and humane feelings will say that, situated as he was, he could be fairly charged with delinquency in relation to his ordination

vows and his responsibilities as a gospel minister, in thus attending to the calls of humanity. At all events he felt it his duty, under the existing circumstances, to acquire such a knowledge of medicine, if possible, as would enable him to be of service in this way to the people of his own charge, if no more; and for this purpose he procured a few medical works from Philadelphia, with the intention of making the best use of them he could.—While thus engaged in this study, alone and unaided, devoting to it every leisure moment, and even curtailing the hours of sleep, that he might make the greater proficiency, a regular physician, by the name of Woodsides, from Pennsylvania, who was a distant relation of Mrs. Caldwell, and a young man of piety, came along unexpectedly, and was prevailed on by Mr. Caldwell to remain with him for some time, board in his family, and practice in his congregations. What were his particular reasons for coming south, and how long he might have remained in Guilford, had he lived, we have no knowledge; but he had not been here over a year when he was removed by death, and just in the beginning of his usefulness. His coming, however, at that time seemed to be providential; for Mr. Caldwell not only got all the instruction and assistance he could give him, at the very time too when it was most needed, as well as the privilege of attending with him on his practice, whenever he chose; but obtained, partly by gift and partly by purchase, a number of valuable works in the profession. The books of this young and promising physician, whose death was so premature and so much regretted, which he had not given to his reverend friend and pupil, were sold after his death at public sale. Mr. Caldwell bought them, and got them low; for no one else had any use for them, or knew their value. With the assistance he had thus received, and by his own assiduous application, he soon became respectable for his knowledge and skill in the medical profession: and was for many years the only practising physician, of any note, over a space of country twenty miles or more in diameter.

It is probable too, that he obtained some assistance in acquiring a knowledge of the theory and practice of medicine from his intimate friendship and intercourse with Doct. Rush, which commenced while they were students together in college, and seems

to have been continued through life. They were not classmates; for Doct. Rush was graduated a year before him; but their friendship commenced then and continued until it was interrupted by death. Doct. Caldwell, as he began now to be generally called, though he did not receive the title of D.D. for many years afterwards, procured the writings of Doct. Rush, as they were published; and maintained a regular, or at least a frequent correspondence with him. He went twice all the way to Philadelphia to consult him, or get his assistance, in a case of affliction in his family, taking the patient with him; and on one of these occasions obtained his co-operation in another matter of some interest which will come into notice again.

His practice of medicine was therefore not quackery: He was not a mere sciolist in any thing that he undertook to teach or professed to understand; and although he may not have been what would be considered a well read physician at the present day, he was behind few, if any, at that time, in all the ordinary diseases of the country, while in some that have usually been very difficult to manage he was much celebrated. He continued the practice of medicine, in connexion with the duties of his school and of his pastoral office until his fourth son was prepared to take his place, and then he declined it, except in some special cases, or among his particular friends. His constitution was uncommonly vigorous and his health uninterrupted, or he could not have discharged the duties belonging to all these different professions. During the whole of his public life he hardly ever knew what it was to be sick, except by one attack of fever some time after the Revolutionary War; and his life was at last terminated, not by disease or violence, but by the gradual and easy decay of nature. As might be expected, his active habits and his uniform temperance in every respect, were the means of preserving his health and vigor; for while he took no more time for recreation and exercise than was really necessary, he was as regular in that as in the duties of his school room or any thing else; and even his recreation consisted not so much in relaxation, or in idle hours, as in a change of employment. The Rev. E. B. Currie, in the communication already referred to, says, "Dr. Caldwell's life was rather a life of labor than of

study ; and when we consider that he had a large school which he attended generally five days in the week, two large congregations which he catechised at least twice a year, four communions which always lasted four days each, besides his visiting the sick, frequently preaching in vacant congregations, &c., &c., we can see that there was not much time left for study ; but he was a close student when opportunity offered." This referred, however, to the period when Mr. Currie was acquainted with him, which was some years after the Revolutionary War, and when Dr. Caldwell had arrived to that stage of life in which his energies were somewhat abated. Besides, he had lost his library, which he was able to replace only by very slow degrees ; and he was also more occupied than formerly with public affairs. During the first sixteen or eighteen years of his ministry he studied very closely ; but his principal time for study was at night. He was in the regular habit, during this period, of going to bed at ten and rising at four ; and this would allow him as many hours to spend in the study room as are usually spent there by ministers of the present day, who have nothing on hand but their ministerial and pastoral duties, or no others of a professional kind.

As a proof of his industrious habits, and of a strict regard to the preservation of his health, he ditched and irrigated his meadows with his own hands ; and he did it by working with his spade something like an hour at a time, morning and evening, until it was accomplished, unless called away to visit the sick, or to discharge some other pastoral duty of incidental or casual occurrence. When not thus called away, however, it was his recreation for the time being ; and the consequence was, not only that his health and vigor were preserved, but that he had the best meadows in the country. If the meadow did not require his attention, he found something else of a profitable kind to afford employment for those hours which most others devote exclusively to relaxation ; but every hour, and almost every minute that could be so employed was sedulously devoted to study ; and thus he was able to accomplish what would appear to many impossible.

The remark has been made and repeated until it seems to be

regarded as a truism, that men should be employed to the full extent of all their powers, mental and physical; and that when thus employed they are healthier and happier, as well as more useful, than when any of their powers are suffered to lie dormant; but after long experience, and much discussion, it is yet undecided whether the extreme division of labor which has so much prevailed in Europe, and which has many advocates in this country, is favorable either to the highest degree of intellectual improvement, or to the greatest amount of usefulness. Can the intellectual powers be more fully developed, and be made to accomplish a greater amount of good, by having them always employed on one subject, if employed at all? or, if "much study is a weariness to the flesh," can that weariness be relieved by engaging in something that will bring all the physical energies into exercise, and in a way that will contribute to the stock of materials required for our support and comfort, as well as by a process of invigoration, essentially the same in its nature, but having no such design, and no tendency to produce such a result? The discussion of this matter, whether it belongs to the department of philosophy, physiology, metaphysics, or all together, would be out of place here; and must be decided by an appeal to facts, or be left to the silent testimony of experience. But it is believed that the early settled ministers of our church in this State who were engaged in teaching, farming, &c., as well as preaching, will compare very favorably, for talents, learning, and efficiency *as* preachers, with those of the present day, though enjoying advantages which are supposed to be greatly superior, and devoted for the most part to the exclusive business of preaching the gospel; and for proof of this we might refer to the state in which they left their congregations, as to intelligence and piety, and produce the sermons which they published while living, or which they left in manuscript, and which yet remain perhaps as an undervalued treasure in the hands of a generation too careless or too much occupied in other ways to make them available for the common benefit. Our country during the latter half of the eighteenth century abounded in men of ability and moral worth, in all the departments of public life; and the times required such. North Carolina during that period appears to

have had a ministry that was as able, zealous, and useful, as any State south of the Potomac; and of this fact we may be satisfied by obtaining a proper knowledge of their character.

But that we may be able to judge of a man's character and to form a correct estimate of the services he has rendered, or of the injury he has done, it is necessary to be acquainted with the circumstances in which he was placed. The history of a man who was prominent or influential cannot be written without describing all the transactions and events in which he had any agency; and as these transactions and events go to make up the history of the country, that history cannot be written correctly, or so as to be satisfactory, without giving him the same prominence in it that he had in the scenes and events there described. Again. In all countries and in all ages, religion, whether true or false, has had such an influence, directly or indirectly, on the government, that, without keeping that influence fully and distinctly in view, justice cannot be done to the government, nor can its measures be fairly accounted for or explained. This is one reason why many of the principal histories we have are so unsatisfactory: They were written by men who were either hostile to religion in their feelings, and wished to say as little about it as possible, or were incapable of estimating its influence.

It has been said by a late writer of some celebrity that the people of every country are just what the government makes them; but whether this be true or not in relation to other countries, it is not true of the people in the United States. Perhaps, however, it would be more correct to say that the government of every country is just what the people of that country make it; or at least that it may be regarded as an index to the character of the people at the time it went into operation. For example, a despotism could never be established, if the people, or a large proportion of them, were not so ignorant or so debased in some way, as to be fit for bondage; and on the other hand, a republican government can never be established unless the people understand their rights, and have intelligence and moral principle sufficient to govern themselves. In the former case, false religion, or superstition, on the part of the people, may have contributed greatly to the establishment and subsequent

support of the very power by which they were oppressed ; but then the government did not make them superstitious ; for it was the result of their intellectual and moral condition which made them fit subjects to be thus acted upon, and to obey the dictates of arbitrary power. In the latter case true religion may contribute, and must contribute, to the formation and support of a free government ; and whenever the doctrines of the gospel are properly understood and generally received, they will *make* the people free. Their responsibility to God, their individual importance as subjects of his universal dominion, the participation which they have now in his merciful regards, and the infinite importance of securing an everlasting interest in his favor by conforming to the dictates of his will, are so clearly presented that those who believe these truths will bid defiance to any authority whose claims are incompatible with the obedience here required ; and therefore mankind are indebted to the Bible for whatever rational and permanent freedom they have at any time enjoyed. These doctrines have, in this respect, or so far as the present interest of mankind is concerned, an indirect influence upon multitudes who do not believe with the heart unto righteousness ; and whenever any portion of the church unites so far with the civil government as to become accessory to its oppressive or unrighteous measures, or to employ the power of that government to enforce its own peculiar views of doctrine, or modes of worship, it has so far departed from the spirit of the gospel ; and has not only relinquished, in the same degree, its own liberty, as a part of that kingdom which is not of this world, if belonging to it at all, is but unjustifiably interfering with the rights of conscience in others.

The revolution which made the American Colonies an independent nation must be ascribed to the influence of christian principle ; and it was an act in the great drama of the world of such magnitude, and was productive of such joyous results, that we can hardly ever become weary in contemplating it, nor can any thing that may serve to make us better acquainted with its origin or progress be destitute of interest. Society was resolved into its original elements ; and those elements had to be combined and re-organized by the master spirits of the day. Such men

were found in every department; and ministers of the gospel, of different denominations, were called upon by the voice of their country, and by strong convictions of duty, to encourage resistance to "the powers that were;" and to aid in a course of measures that would necessarily involve much calamity and suffering. But the motives of the men who were at that time prominent actors on the great theatre of conflict between truth and error, liberty and oppression, cannot be understood, nor can their worth be appreciated, without bringing into view the condition of the country up to the time when this conflict commenced; the character of the people whose destiny, with that of unborn millions, was at stake; and the tyrannical measures and spirit of the government to which they were subject.

The people who, under the British government, settled the country now covered by the United States, or by the old thirteen States, were very different in their political and religious sentiments; in their pecuniary circumstances and habits of living; and were influenced by different motives in exchanging a civilized for a savage country. Those who settled New England and most of the country north of the Potomac, were actuated by religious motives; and sought the wilds of America as an asylum from religious intolerance and persecution in the old world. Of course not many of them were people of rank or fortune—having no other nobility than intelligence and moral worth; and no wealth but a good conscience and industrious habits. The possession of the soil and the liberty of worshipping God as they thought right, with the privilege of governing themselves in accordance with the laws of England, were secured to them by charter; and for the sake of these they left the endearments of home and the advantages of civilized society. The proprietors, or those who obtained the charters, were themselves emigrants;* and shared in the privations, toils, and perils of colonizing a savage country. Their government, therefore, so far as they were permitted to form one, was emphatically the child of nature—a government of the people, free and independent; and such a government as this, any people will form, if left to the dictates of nature and an enlightened conscience. The country to the

*Bancroft, vol. 2. p. 128.

southward was settled under the auspices of men who belonged to the ranks of the nobility, the wealthy and influential, whose object was an increase of wealth or fame; and hence their efforts from the first to introduce into their colonies orders of nobility and an established church. If at any time they granted free toleration and promised great immunities, as an encouragement to emigrants, it was only for selfish purposes; and was not of long continuance.

The first attempt of the English to form a permanent settlement on the territory now belonging to the United States, with any thing like intelligent and sober views of the subject, was made by the talented, heroic, and enterprising Sir Walter Raleigh. Having obtained a patent from Elizabeth for the purpose, he sent out two ships laden with men and provisions, under the command of Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow in 1584, for the purpose of making discoveries and exploring the country with a view to a settlement. They landed on the shores of what is now North Carolina, on one of the islands forming Ocracoke Inlet; and after trafficking with the natives and ranging the coast for a few weeks they returned to England. His patent "was drawn on the principles of feudal law, and with strict regard to the christian faith, *as professed in the church of England.*"* It is supposed that he was stimulated to this enterprise, in part, by an attempt made about twenty years before to find an asylum in the new world for the persecuted Protestants of Europe. The celebrated Jasper de Coligny, Admiral of France, the leader of the Huguenots during the period, or a part of the period, in which they were so cruelly persecuted, had long cherished the project of finding a place of safety for his persecuted brethren in America; and two attempts were made under his auspices to form settlements on the southern coast—the first at Port Royal, near the south west corner of South Carolina, in 1562; and the other at the mouth of the river May, the San Mattheo of the Spaniards, and the St. John's of the English, in Florida, which was in 1564.† These were both unsuccessful; and the project was, from necessity, abandoned.—

* Bancroft, vol. 1, p. 92. † Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 62-64; Johnson's life of Green, vol. 1, p. 476, Appendix.

Raleigh had learned the art of war under Coligny ; and being an admirer of his character, hoped to accomplish what his master had failed to do, and to found a protestant nation in the new world, but with a government conformed to that of England.—When the ship which he had sent out returned, the men, being delighted themselves, gave such a glowing description of the country to Elizabeth and her court, that they gave it the name of *Virginia*, because it had been discovered under the reign, and by the encouragement of a *virgin* Queen. The name which was thus given in the first instance, to what is now North Carolina, came to be applied almost indefinitely to the continent ; and the country from Florida to the St. Lawrence, which was called by the Spaniards Florida, and by the French Carolina, was by the English called Virginia. In the early part of the next year, Raleigh fitted out a new expedition, consisting of seven vessels, and carrying one hundred and eight men, who were to form a colony in Virginia, now North Carolina ; but having failed in this and several other attempts of a similar kind, he resigned his patent ; and nothing more was done towards colonizing Virginia, or America, during the remainder of that century.

In 1606, charters were granted by James I. to two distinct and rival companies : The first was composed of noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, in and about London ; and the second, of knights, gentlemen, and merchants, in the west. The former alone appear to have acted efficiently under their charter, which extended from 34° to 38° N. lat.* The charter contained none of the elements of popular liberty—not one elective franchise ; and not one of the rights of self-government ; but religion was especially enjoined to be established according to the doctrine and rites of the church of England. Near the end of the year, three vessels, with 105 men, destined to remain as colonists, sailed under the command of Newport, for some harbor in Virginia. After encountering many hardships and perils, they arrived on the coast in April of the next year ; but without any design or knowledge on their part, they were carried by a severe storm past the settlements of Raleigh, into the Chesapeak Bay. Finding on a river, which, after their monarch, they called James'

* Bancroft, vol. 1, p. 120.

river, a more favorable location than Raleigh's men had found, they formed a permanent settlement. They suffered greatly from famine and from the savages; but by a variety of fortunate occurrences, and especially by the talents, energy, and firmness of the celebrated John Smith, the little colony was enabled to maintain its ground; and in time became prosperous. By charters granted, and settlements formed afterwards, on one side and the other, it was reduced to its present limits, as to latitude; but being the oldest colony, it retained the name of Virginia; and for the same reason it is often called the Old Dominion.

By various modifications of their charter, and in other ways, they obtained in a few years nearly all the civil rights and privileges which they could claim or expect as British subjects; but the church of England was "co-eval with the settlement at Jamestown, and seems to have been considered from the beginning as the established religion." When the government was administered by martial law under Sir Thomas Dale, though "conformity was not strictly enforced, courts-martial had authority to punish indifference with stripes, and infidelity with death."* While the colony was feeble, and it was the interest of all concerned to have it increased by accessions from abroad, dissenters were encouraged to come, and were suffered to retain in peace their own forms of worship; but this was not of long continuance. Sir William Berkley, who entered upon the duties of his office in 1642, was popular as a governor and as a man; but he was a zealous high church man, and exerted himself to have that church fully established. In 1643 "it was specially ordered that no minister should preach or teach, publicly or privately, except in conformity to the constitutions of the church of England; and non-conformists were banished from the colony."†— Some who were thus banished *probably* came over to Carolina in which no regular settlement had hitherto been established; for in this year a company having heard of a river that lay southwest of the Appomatox, obtained leave of the Virginia legislature to prosecute discoveries in that direction.‡ Even in the time of Cromwell, though the laws of conformity were not enforced against other dissenters, "an act was passed by which

*Bancroft, vol. 1, p. 143. †Bancroft, vol. 1, p. 207. ‡Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 133.

Quakers were banished, and their return regarded as felony.”* After the Restoration, in 1660, the English church became again the religion of the state; or rather the intolerant spirit of former years revived, for the laws on this subject had not been changed; and conformity appears to have been enforced with as much rigor as in England.† The church of England, with very little more toleration, continued to be the established church of Virginia until the Revolution of 1776; and even after independence was gained, efforts were made to have it re-established.

When people first began to settle permanently within the present limits of North Carolina has not been ascertained. In 1622 a man by the name of Porey, Secretary of the Old Dominion, travelled over land to the Chowan river; and on his return made a very favorable report.‡ In 1630 a patent was granted to Sir Robert Heath for the whole of Carolina; and some efforts were made to form a colony; for William Hawley appeared in Virginia as Governor of Carolina; and leave was granted by the Virginia legislature that it might be colonized by one hundred persons from Virginia. The attempts were unsuccessful; for the patent was declared void some time after, because the purposes for which it was granted had not been fulfilled,§ though some straggling individuals or families may have remained. Whether the company which obtained leave of the Virginia legislature in 1643 to prosecute discoveries on the great river of which they had heard south of the Appomatox, under a promise of a fourteen years monopoly of the profits, were seeking a place of safety from religious intolerance, and whether they prosecuted those discoveries and made any settlements, I have not seen stated; but in 1652 the sons of Governor Yearly wrote to England that the northern country of Carolina had been explored by “Virginians born.”|| Exploring parties to the south as well as to the west continuing to be encouraged, it is not improbable that some of these would settle on the fertile lands of the Chowan or Roanoke. As the waters of the Chowan rise not far from the principal settlements then in Virginia, it would be in accordance with the known principles of human nature to suppose that

*Bancroft, vol. 1, p. 231; Jefferson's Notes, p. 228.

†Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 200; Jefferson's Notes, p. 228.

‡Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 133. §Bancroft, vol. 2, 131. ||Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 133.

individuals and families, who were either fond of a roving life, or disliked the intolerant laws enacted under the influence of Governor Berkley, would descend these streams until they could follow them no farther, or until they were beyond the reach of a power which they disliked; and as the country on Nausemond river was settled chiefly by dissenters of different names, it is probable that, for the rights of conscience, some of these would risk the hardships and perils of the wilderness, and trust to the guidance and protection of Providence.

In 1653, Roger Green led a company across the wilderness from Nausemond to the Chowan; and others probably, encouraged by their example, or influenced by similar motives, soon followed. It is certain that the corner of North Carolina, which lies north-east of the Roanoke, was settled chiefly from Virginia; and it must have been not far from this time,§ for in a few years after the above date, George Cathmaid received a large grant of land, for having settled sixty-seven persons in Carolina;† and volunteer emigrants had preceded them by several years.‡—About the year 1660,|| a small company from Massachusetts formed a settlement near the mouth of Cape Fear river; and obtained land from the Indians, principally for the purpose of grazing. In two or three years the settlement was pretty much broken up; but “New England planters, and New England principles of popular liberty, remained in North Carolina.” In 1662, George Durant obtained, from the chief of the Yeopim Indians, the neck of land which still bears his name;* and probably made it a refuge for his friends or acquaintances who wished to get away from oppression.

In the early part of the year 1663, Charles II, being surrounded by a set of courtiers who were rapacious and importunate, granted to eight of them a charter to the whole country south of

§ Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 134. † Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 135. ‡ Martin, vol. 1, p. 126. || Williamson, vol. 1, p. 191.

* Durant's Neck is still famous, not only for the transaction above mentioned, but for its having furnished the world with the seed of the *Timothy grass*. Among the first settlers there, it is said, was a certain Quaker, by the name of Timothy someboby, who observed a kind of grass growing wild which he supposed would be good for cultivation. Under this impression he collected some of the seed and sent it to a friend in England, who, having tried it, and found it very valuable, called it Timothy grass, in honor of his friend in Carolina who had furnished him with the seed.

Virginia; or from 36° of N. lat. to the river San Mattheo in Florida, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. In addition to an absolute right to the soil, and the power of making laws, not contrary to the laws of England, they had the power of building churches, chapels, &c., to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical law of England; and the right of advowson and patronage; but the proprietors *might* grant to nonconformists such indulgences and dispensations in that behalf, for and during such time and times, and with such limitations and restrictions, as they, the proprietors, saw fit and reasonable. See charter, sec. 18.

This charter has been much praised, as being liberal towards dissenters; and perhaps it was liberal for the times; but its liberality consisted in giving the proprietors *permission* to be so, if they thought proper. It secured no rights of conscience to the colonists. As the proprietors were the courtiers of Charles, they partook of his spirit; and the same intolerance would probably have been exercised here that was in England, if they had not known it would be fatal to their interest. In asking a grant of the country, they professed to be actuated by "a pious zeal for the propagation of the gospel," but their real object was their own aggrandizement. To encourage emigration, they held out liberal terms to emigrants; and promised adventurers gratuities of land according to the number of their respective families, with a free toleration in the exercise of religion. They were allowed to form a representative government, with certain limitations, and thus a degree of popular freedom was conceded, which, it seems, was not intended to be permanent; but it could never be recalled, and had an important influence in producing the results which we now enjoy. When this charter was granted, the settlement on the Albemarle was large enough to attract attention; for "people had been moving in there for more than twenty years at their own expense;"* choosing rather to run the risk of gaining the friendship of savages, and trust to Providence and their own efforts for subsistence, than bear the insolence and cruelty of civilized men "when clothed with a little brief authority," and regardless of every thing but their

*Williamson, vol. 1, p. 91.

own importance; and when the proprietors obtained their grant, they understood that the people on the waters of the Chowan had purchased large tracts of land from the Indians.* “As they were chiefly refugees from ecclesiastical oppression, they had no claims on government; nor did they wish to draw its attention. They regarded the Indian natives as the true lords of the soil; treated with them in that capacity; purchased their lands; and obtained their grants.”§

The liberal terms offered by the proprietors had their desired effect; and considerable accessions were soon made to the population. A company came from the island of Barbadoes and settled on the Cape Fear, with Sir John Yeamans at their head, who, after arrangements were made for organizing a government, according to the terms proposed by the proprietors, was appointed governor, with a jurisdiction extending from that river to the St. Mattheo. The settlement on Albemarle was increased by some emigrants from Bermuda; and by a number of Quakers and other dissenters who had been driven by intolerance from other colonies. Sir William Berkley, one of the proprietors, and governor of Virginia, being then in his government, or about to return to it, was desired to visit this settlement on the Albemarle, and establish a suitable form of government. He was informed by the proprietors that the proposals made to the settlers on Cape Fear, where many of the New England colony still remained, had been prepared in answer to a paper forwarded to them by persons who desired to settle there; but were not intended for the meridian of the Albemarle country, where they hoped he would find a more facile people, who, by his influence, would settle on terms more favorable to the proprietors. He was authorized to establish two governments, one on each side of the Chowan, as individuals, *anxious for liberty of conscience*, might desire a governor of their own choosing whom those on the opposite side of the river might dislike. All this seems to imply that the popular rights and the freedom of conscience here granted was only for selfish purposes, or was not intended to be perpetual; and it is amusing to observe how Sir William, who, as governor, had carried his

*Martin, vol. 1, p. 130. §Williamson, vol. 1, p. 92, note.

high church principles so far in Virginia, could change his course so as to promote his interest as proprietor in Carolina. Nor was this all: The settlement on the Albemarle, it was found, was not within the chartered limits of Carolina; but belonged to Virginia. The proprietors of Carolina applied for an enlargement of their charter; and obtained one extending from 29° to 36° 30' north latitude. Berkley, as might have been expected, suffering his feelings of interest as a proprietor to overcome his sense of duty as governor, consented to the alteration; and then, probably finding their knowledge of their rights, and their love of liberty, greater than had been anticipated, he did not deem it prudent "to discuss the principles or dispute the possession of these bold pioneers;" but appointed William Drummond, an emigrant to Virginia from Scotland, probably a Presbyterian, a man of prudence and popularity, and deeply imbued with a passion for popular liberty, to be their governor.

The second charter, though not differing materially from the first, was perhaps more liberal in its provisions, or more tolerant in its spirit; and whether it admitted of any dispute or not as to its literal meaning, when viewed in connexion with the terms offered by proprietors to emigrants, there was no doubt of its having been violated by the adoption of the Test act, or by any other measure which seriously interfered with the rights of conscience. However the colony increased gradually in population; and prospered in every way, under Stephens as their governor, and a simple representative form of government. As there appears to have been no preachers and no religion, or no public worship, there was no occasion for any disturbance on that score. The people were plain, simple planters; and lived on the produce of the soil and of the waters. These yielded their products in abundance; and while they lived in plenty, and at their ease, for the present, they were probably careless of the future. But when the colony was prospering, and a fair prospect was presented of its becoming numerous and powerful, the proprietors attempted to take away the liberty which they had granted. The fundamental constitutions drawn up by the celebrated John Locke, with the assistance, it is said, of Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftsbury, the avowed object of which was, "to

make the government of the colony agree, as nearly as possible, with the monarchy of which it was part, and to avoid creating a numerous democracy," were adopted in March 1670, and immediately forwarded to Albemarle. Besides establishing orders of nobility, and a powerful aristocracy, for the purpose of putting a stop to the progress of republican principles and manners, it contained an article which made the church of England the established church of Carolina forever. These constitutions were rejected by the people, not exclusively or chiefly, it is supposed, on account of this article; for the christian world had been so long accustomed to a religious establishment that, however repugnant it might be, in the judgment of dissenters, to what was right, they would probably have been contented with a generous toleration; but the whole system was so odious on account of its aristocratic form and spirit, and was so directly subversive of that equality of rights which they had previously enjoyed, that the attempt to enforce it, together with the restrictions laid on their commerce a few years afterwards, led to a rebellion, or rather a revolution, headed by John Culpepper—a man "more sinned against than sinning," as to this matter—which threw the country into confusion for years; and peace could not be restored until the Grand Model, as it was termed, was exchanged in 1693 for a form of government more congenial with their sentiments and better suited to their condition.

In 1672, William Edmundson from England, a preacher in the Quaker society, visited his Quaker brethren in Albemarle settlement; and was so successful that he formed a society before he left—the first man of *any* denomination, it is said, who held a religious meeting or organized a religious society in North Carolina. In the autumn of the same year, George Fox, the father of the sect, having made his way through the wilderness, and over the great bogs of the Dismal Swamp, was received with much cordiality in a region which had always been the refuge of Quakers and "renegadoes" from ecclesiastical oppression. These preachers were both gratified with their success. Francis Jones, a member of the council, and other persons of distinction, or of influence, joined their society; and a monthly meeting of discipline was established. Quaker principles are

favorable to liberty ; and are perhaps rather democratic than republican. Having come into existence, as a sect, in the midst of intolerance and oppression, they learned at once to contend, to suffer, and to forgive. After Fox and Edmundson, on their visit to Albemarle, had so effectually recommended their principles to the governor, the chief secretary of the colony, members of the council, and other persons of influence, if the establishment of the fundamental constitutions was before difficult, it was now impossible ; and peace and order were not restored until it was done by Quaker influence. The high toned prerogative principles, and intolerant measures which prevailed in Virginia had been driving from her soil a most valuable part of her population, the non-conformists of various names, who mostly sought refuge on the Albemarle ; and if that party in Virginia chose to call North Carolina "rogue's harbor," or "the refuge of runaways, rogues, and rebels," because those who were so called, but who were really fugitives from oppression, and the advocates of popular liberty and the rights of conscience "fled daily to Carolina as their common subterfuge and lurking place," it need never cause her sons to blush, for they were such runaways, rogues and rebels as were a loss to Virginia, and a gain to Carolina. They made resistance to oppression here more easy and certain ; and if the demand of that government for their surrender was refused, it was a refusal which seems to have been justified by the result as well as by the nature of the case.*

In the southern part of the province, which included, with the settlement on Cape Fear, the one which had been formed in what is now South Carolina, the struggle against aristocratic power seems to have been more severe and protracted. About a month before the fundamental constitutions were signed by the proprietors in England in 1670, a company sailed for Carolina, under the conduct of Joseph West as commercial agent for the proprietors, and William Sayle who was to be their governor. He was probably a Presbyterian ; and his government extended from Cape Carteret as far south as the Spaniards would tolerate.† The settlement was formed on Ashley river, and he

*Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 157. †Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 166.

commenced his government with fair prospects; but soon fell a victim to the climate. The government of Sir John Yeamans was then extended over this settlement; and he himself removed thither in the following year.* A considerable majority of the people were non-conformists †—puritans from England; Presbyterians from Scotland and Ireland; Dutch from Holland; and an accession of the same class from New York, in 1674, when that province was taken by the British. There was also a party who were attached to the church of England and in favor of the constitution which the proprietors were endeavoring to establish. ‡ Yeamans was the son of a cavalier, a needy baronet, who, to mend his fortune had become a Barbadoes planter; † and, when appointed governor of Carolina, endeavored of course to carry out the wishes of those to whom he owed his appointment. His council was composed of men who had the same views with himself, while the members of the lower house appear to have been mostly opposed to these views; and thus a scene of confusion and violence ensued which was most deplorable. In the short space of four years, from 1682 to 1686 there were five governors; and this state of things continued until a kind of revolution was effected on the banks of Ashley and Cooper rivers, similar to that which had been effected on the Albemarle, by which Governor Colleton was driven out there in 1690, as Governor Miller, in 1678, had been in the northern settlement.

The whole province of Carolina was held by one charter, and belonged to the same proprietors; and therefore, although there were two distinct settlements with governments in some respects distinct, there was a unity of design and of measures which produced pretty much the same results in both. § The high church party having gained the ascendancy, exercised so much violence and such disregard to the rights of others, that the government was brought into contempt, and ruin seemed to threaten the country. They attempted to deprive all dissenters of the right of suffrage, to curtail their civil privileges, and to render their situation so irksome that they would be obliged to leave the colony. A pretty large body of French huguenots

*Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 166. †Simms' Hist. S. C., p. 57, 68, 58. ‡Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 137, 187. §Williamson, vol. 1, p. 148, 150; Simms, p. 81.

having been driven from their native country by persecution, had sought in Carolina that civil and religious freedom which is the inalienable right of every man ; but instead of receiving the kindness and hospitality to which they were entitled, both by their sufferings and by their protestantism, they were treated with harshness and contempt. They were the most peaceful, industrious, and useful people in the country ; and the proprietors had intrusted Governor Ludwell to admit them to the same political privileges with the other colonists ; but the party in power refused to comply. Being aliens they were incapable of holding lands until they were naturalized ; and this party, so hide bound and aristocratic in their notions, not only refused, at least for a time, to naturalize them, but declared their marriages by ministers who had not been episcopally ordained, illegal, and their children illegitimate.* With a view to quell these disturbances and get matters regulated, the proprietors sent over John Archdale, who was himself a proprietor, and a member of the Quaker society in England. He assumed the government in 1695 ; and uniting, as he did, the firmness, sagacity, and prudence of the governor with the philanthropy and command of temper for which the members of that society are usually distinguished, he overawed the turbulent and succeeded most happily in restoring order and prosperity to the country. Although averse to war and the shedding of blood, he thought it best, in the existing circumstances of the country, to make preparation for defence. With this view he had a militia law passed, though in the spirit of toleration, and with an exemption in favor of those who are restrained by conscientious scruples from bearing arms, which has been ever since retained in our code with perhaps some temporary modifications. He determined, however, to carry out his pacific principles, as far as it could be done, in his intercourse with all concerned ; and he was not disappointed. He pursued the same course with the Indians that William Penn had done in Pennsylvania, and with the same success.† In every way he managed so as to make no enemies and secure the friendship of all. He received, as he deserved,

*Simms, p. 79. Williamson, vol. 1, p. 151.

†Williamson, vol. 1, p. 152-155.

the gratitude of all parties, and his name will be revered while our institutions remain.

After Archdale left the colony the intolerance of the high church party was exerted with increased energy and with temporary success. Lord Granville, a zealous member of the church of England, was now palatine of Carolina; and exerted all his influence to get that church established in the province. Accordingly he instructed Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who, in 1703, was appointed governor of the southern colony, to promote the passage of a law for that purpose. As he had been suspected by Queen Anne of not having been very favorable to the revolution, he was obliged to qualify for this office in the manner required by the laws of England, and to give security for his faithful observance of the laws of trade and navigation, and for his obedience to such instructions as she might from time to time give him. Having been thus instructed, and being assisted by the principal officers in his part of the province, he exerted himself with so much zeal and success as to procure the election of a sufficient number to carry his point. Great opposition was made to the bill, but it passed into a law, and was ratified by the lords proprietors. This part of the province was divided into ten parishes; provision was made for the support of ministers, the purchase of glebes, erection of churches, &c.; and an act was passed requiring members of assembly to conform to the religious worship in the province, according to the church of England, and to qualify for office by receiving the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites and usages of that church.* This was an act of the most rigid conformity; and betrayed in this otherwise peaceful and happy country all the bigotry and intolerance which had disgraced the reign of Charles II. in England.

The inhabitants of Colleton, who were mostly dissenters, sent John Ash, a man of influence among them, to lay their grievances before the lords proprietors; but the governor prevented him from embarking at Charleston, and he had to travel by land to Virginia. On his way through Albemarle, the people of that settlement generally, approving of his object, prevailed on Ed-

*Martin, vol. 1, p. 217-219.

mund Porter to accompany him, as deputy, on their behalf.— Unable to obtain relief from the proprietors, he would have laid the grievances of the people before parliament, but was prevented by death, and his papers fell into the hands of those whose interest it was to suppress them. In the mean time the intrepid governor suffered no obstacle to obstruct or impede his progress. A corporation, composed of twenty individuals, was instituted, with judicial power in ecclesiastical matters. It had power to deprive ministers of their livings; and the acts of the legislature were executed with the utmost rigor. This was in direct violation of the chartered rights of the colonists; the dissenters, whom it was designed to exclude from a seat in the assembly, and from places of trust or profit, were exasperated; and all was in confusion.

In the next spring the authority of Sir Nathaniel was extended over the northern part of the province, which was left without an executive head, by the death of president Walker; and he appointed Robert Daniel to succeed Walker, as deputy governor, with a strict charge to have the church of England established by law. The bill which was introduced for this purpose, met with strong opposition, but the address and influence of the governor, secured its passage.* The spirit of intolerance had been increasing with the growth of the province; for the constant influence of executive patronage, and numerous emigrations from Virginia, had given the high church party a majority in the legislature.† According to the above act, any man holding a place of trust, was subjected to a fine, who neglected to qualify himself, by taking the oath which the law required.— This part of the province was now divided into parishes, as the other had been; and provision was made for building churches, laying out glebes, and making appropriations for the support of the clergy. The people, who were not so obsequious to the will of the governor as the members of the assembly had been, at once manifested their purpose not to submit; and the Quakers who composed a large part of the population in Pasquotank and Perquimons, seemed disposed to sacrifice their pacific principles, if necessary, to the preservation of their rights. But the dissen-

*Martin, vol. 1, p. 220. †Williamson, vol. 1, p. 169.

ters, in the two parts of the province, united for the purpose of laying their complaints before the throne; and Joseph Boon was sent to England with a petition to the house of lords. That body came to the resolution that "the laws complained of, were founded on falsity in matter of fact, repugnant to the laws of England, contrary to the charter of the lords proprietors, an encouragement to atheism and irreligion, destructive to trade, and tended to the depopulation and ruin of the province."—They next addressed the queen, and besought her to take measures for delivering the province from "the arbitrary oppression under which it lay, and having the proprietors of it prosecuted according to law." The lords commissioners of trade and plantations, to whom it was referred; sustained the resolution of the house of lords, and recommended that process be issued against the proprietors accordingly. The queen's lawyers were directed to procure a writ of *quo warranto*, and to report what more should be done, that the queen might take the government of Carolina into her own hands;* but it was abandoned, and the people were left without relief.

Two years before, (1702,) the assembly passed an act raising thirty pounds currency in each precinct, towards the support of a minister. In the beginning of the next year the first Episcopal minister arrived, the Rev. Mr. Blair, who had been sent out by lord Weymouth, and was supported principally at his expense; but he soon found it so difficult to give satisfaction, and to endure the hardships of his situation, that he returned to England.† In 1705 the first church erected in the province was built in Chowan precinct; and in the following year a larger one was built in Perquimons. About the beginning of the following year, two Episcopal ministers arrived, the Rev. Messrs. Adams and Gordon, who were sent out by the society which had been established in England in 1702, for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts; and they took charge of the churches already mentioned, with the parishes to which they belonged.‡

It seems that dissenting ministers were not allowed to solemnize the rite of marriage; but a magistrate might perform this ceremony, provided there was no minister *in the parish*,—oth-

*Martin, vol. 1, p. 220. †Williamson, vol. 1, p. 168. ‡Martin, vol. 1, p. 230

erwise he was subject to a fine of five pounds. Previous to this, marriage had been considered a mere civil contract; and all that was required of persons wishing to marry was to signify their mutual consent in presence of the governor, or any member of the council, with a few neighbors as witnesses; but after the church of England was established, a minister of that church, if to be had, was necessary to render a marriage valid, though in case of the absence or default of such, a magistrate might act. Dissenters were allowed to *worship in public*, but subject to such rules, regulations and restrictions as were contained in the several acts of the British parliament.* Quakers were permitted to affirm instead of swearing; but they could not in this way give evidence in any criminal case, nor serve on a jury, nor obtain a seat in the legislature,† nor hold any office of profit or trust. But such encroachments could not be quietly made on the liberties of a people who had long been accustomed to feel themselves as free as the living orders of creation around them; and who had in one instance at least, and to a gratifying extent, resisted the exercise of aristocratic or arbitrary power. The establishment of the church, with the consequent taxation for its support, and the infringement on the rights of conscience, seems to have given rise to the contest between Thomas Carey and William Glover, for the highest office in the colony. The former had been appointed by Sir Nathaniel Johnson as deputy governor of the northern part of the province; but the proprietors disapproved of the appointment, and directed their deputies here to elect one from among themselves as president and commander-in-chief. Glover was chosen; but was strongly opposed by those over whom his authority was extended. The Quakers, whose numbers and influence had long given tone to public sentiment, took part with Carey;‡ and so did many others who felt that not only their natural, but their chartered rights, or the promises made to them at first by the proprietors, had been violated. Most of the other colonies were settled by men to whom the tyrannical or oppressive governments of the old world were intolerable; and they had frequent and hard contests with the

*Williamson, vol. 1, p. 168. †Martin, vol. 1, p. 229.

‡Martin, vol. 1, p. 124, 127, 130.

tools of arbitrary power; but North Carolina was settled by "the freest of the free,"—by men who had exchanged other countries with their advantages and disadvantages; their greater safety and superior comforts; their intolerant spirit and oppressive measures; for a residence far from the abodes of civilized society, where they might enjoy the freedom of nature; and from the time that British authority was extended over them, they had become accustomed to revolution, or to resist the unjust demands of those in power. When the proprietors first undertook to establish their authority on the Albemarle, they were obliged to compromise matters; as we have seen, with those who had, years before, purchased land of the Indians, and who considered themselves lords of the soil.* The attempt to establish the fundamental constitutions of Locke, a few years afterwards, met with such determined opposition that they were obliged to abandon it, and leave the people to the exercise of such a representative government as had been at first granted. It was with great difficulty that a law could be passed establishing the church of England; and the attempt to enforce it met with a bold and strenuous opposition.

But the men in power, by the exercise of authority and patronage combined, generally succeeded, during the infancy and minority of the colony, in obtaining the enactment of such laws as they wished; and in putting them into operation to some extent. The Quakers appear to have been a thorn in the side of the governors who were at this period the instruments of oppression; and heavy complaints were made against them. To president Glover they paid no respect, or none such as he wished; for "they would shew themselves singular, coming to the table with their hats on, laying their hands on the book, repeating the words of the oath, but using the word declare instead of the word swear, and then, having their explanation of the sense or meaning in which they took it entered underneath, they subscribed without kissing the book, and declared they took it in that sense and no other." So it appears that there was then no toleration given them; or that there was at least an *attempt* made to compel them to take an oath. Thomas Pollock who

* Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 135.

succeeded governor Hyde as president and commander-in-chief, in a letter to Lord Craven, attributes the disturbances and calamities of that period to "the machinations of the Quakers." "Our divisions, chiefly occasioned by the Quakers and some other ill-disposed persons," he says "have been the cause of all our troubles." Again, he says that they had been "a great occasion of the war" with the Indians; for by their disobedience to the government, and the encouragement they gave others to imitate them, they had been the chief cause of its not having been carried on with sufficient vigor. "In some of the precincts, being the most numerous in the election fields, they chose such members of the Assembly as would oppose what was necessary to carry on the war. *The generality of the people*, seeing that the Quakers, from their disobedience and opposition to the government, rose actually in arms, and attacked the governor and council, without any manner of punishment, were emboldened to do the like, and seemed to want a leader only to raise another insurrection." Yet in a subsequent letter to another of the proprietors, he tells us that although the Quakers had been very refractory under the administrations of Glover and Hyde, they had been peaceable under his; and had been as ready in supplying the troops with provisions as any of the other inhabitants. It would seem then that if they "did rise actually in arms and attack the governor and council," in the time of Glover and Hyde, there must have been great cause for it, or they must have altered very much in a short time; and if North Carolina had ever "been the paradise of Quakers" it was not so when those men were in power.

In 1715 the Assembly met at the house of John Hecklefield, one of the deputies, who lived on Little river, a stream that divides the counties of Pasquotank and Perquimous. An act was passed, entitled, *An act for establishing the church and appointing select vestries*. The country was divided into nine parishes; and twelve vestrymen and two church wardens were appointed in each. They were directed to procure ministers, purchase glebes, build churches &c.; and for defraying these and all other parish expenses they were empowered to levy a poll tax to the amount of five shillings per poll. If they procured a

minister they were to give him a salary of not less than fifty pounds per annum, and he was allowed a certain fee for every marriage. It repealed or took the place of former acts on this subject; and the only notice it takes of dissenters is a clause exempting them from the fine of three pounds imposed on others for neglecting or refusing to qualify and serve according to the act when elected as vestrymen or church wardens. The act never was printed; for it was repealed or substituted by another before there was any printed revival of the laws; but it is among the earliest legislative records that have been preserved; and it appears to have continued in force, without any material alteration or amendment, for about twenty-six years. At a biennial session of the assembly held in the same year at the house of Capt. Richard Sanderson on Little river, an act was passed entitled, *An act for the more effectual observing of the Queen's peace, &c.** which shewed the spirit of the party in power, and was a near approximation to the severity exercised under the act of uniformity in England. After a preamble which gives a sad picture of the recent "revolutions" and troubles in the province, it was enacted that all persons who might at any time "speak any seditious words or speeches, or spread abroad false news, write or dispense scurrilous libels against the present government now lawfully established, &c. should be reputed as utter enemies of the queen's peace; and should be punished at the discretion of the justices of the general court, by fines, imprisonment, pillory, or otherwise; that they should be compelled to give good and sufficient security for their good behaviour during the pleasure of the court; that they should be incapable of holding any office of profit or trust in the government; and that those who might at any time *know* of such evil practices as aforesaid and concealed the same, should be punished as if they themselves had committed such crimes." It was then enacted that the laws of England should be the laws of this colony, so far as they were compatible with our way of living and trade; that no person should hold any commission, office, or place of trust whatever, without first having qualified himself according to the strictness of the laws of Great Britain, now in force, under the

*Davis' First Revisal, p. 10.

penalty of one hundred pounds; that the common law of England should be in force in this government, except such parts in the practice as could not be put in execution for the want of certain officers; and that the statute laws made for maintaining the queen's royal prerogative, the security of her royal person, the succession of the crown, the establishment of the church, the indulgence to protestant dissenters, &c., should be in force here.

The people of the southern part of the province having become heartily tired of the proprietary government, and finding a favorable opportunity, resisted the authority of those whom they had long regarded, not as protectors, but as oppressors; and in 1719, effected a revolution without bloodshed, which was followed by thirty years, or more, of comparative quiet and prosperity. The right of the proprietors was not formally relinquished for several years; but a governor was appointed immediately by the king; and his authority was, from this time, acknowledged by the people, and practically exercised in that part of the province.* This revolution did not extend to the northern part of the province; but the people here appear to have remained quiet under the proprietary government until 1728,† when the proprietors resigned their charter to the king. The whole province then passed under the regal government, and was divided into North and South Carolina; but the church of England continued to be the established church in both these provinces, as it did in Virginia, until the Revolution. In North Carolina, the act for the establishment of the church, underwent from time to time various alterations, some times for the better, and some times for the worse, or some times with more and some times with less indulgence to dissenters; but nothing like *religious liberty* was ever granted by law. The object of the violent encroachments made upon the civil rights of the people here, during the reign of Queen Anne, appears to have been the secure establishment of the church of England; and this was done under the influence of the alarm excited by the bishops in the time of William,‡ who, at first, shewed himself a friend to the rights of conscience. But when the law had once been passed it could not be repealed or abrogated, except by an entire

*Life of Green, vol. 1, p.252; †Martin, vol.1,p. 288. ‡Life of Green, vol.1.p.248

revolution in the government ; for the governor, who was appointed by the proprietors while their authority continued, and afterwards by the king, had a veto power on all laws, and was almost sure to be sustained in the exercise of it by the council, who were appointed either by the same transatlantic authority, or by himself. Besides, the establishment of the church increased the patronage and power of the governor ; and after all, any act passed here, though it had the sanction of the governor, might be disapproved by the higher power in England. Thus the aristocratic or high-toned party, though a minority, triumphed over the liberties of Carolina ; and continued to enjoy the triumph with some limitations until the Revolution of 1776 ; for besides occasional appropriations from the common treasury of the colony for ecclesiastical purposes, the inhabitants, of whatever creed or religious profession, were compelled to pay a tax for the erection of churches, the purchase of glebes, and the support of ministers in the established church. In South Carolina the assessment was made and levied, for a number of years, by a board of commissioners constituted for the purpose, and endowed with ample power ; so that the salaries for the ministers, in the respective parishes, were levied independent even of the legislature of the State. In North Carolina this was not the case ; and if it had been attempted, probably another Culpepper would have arisen up, who, with the Quakers and other non-conformists, constituting, as they did, a large majority, to stand at his back, would have imprisoned the whole board of commissioners, with the governor at their head ; and would have taken the whole business into his own hands. Here some appearance of liberty was maintained ; for the tax was layed by the vestrymen, and they were chosen by the people.

In April, 1741, an act was passed, entitled an act for establishing the church, for appointing parishes, and the method of electing vestries ; and for directing the settlement of parish accounts throughout this government, which makes no radical alteration in the former. The taxes which were assessed by the vestrymen were to be collected by the sheriff like other taxes ; the minister was to reside constantly in the parish, and not omit officiating in the church or chapels, unless prevented by sickness

or permitted by the vestry to officiate in vacant places, &c.; but known dissenters from the church of England were exempt, as before, merely from being compelled to qualify and serve as vestrymen.* This act was amended in 1751, so that vestrymen were to be elected by ballot; all were allowed to vote who were entitled to vote for members of assembly; any one might be chosen as vestryman who was eligible to the assembly; and members of his majesty's council might vote and be voted for, which had not formerly been the case.† The legislature was often occupied in regulating the affairs of the church; and whenever a new county was formed, it was, at the same time, constituted a parish. The tax appears to have been exclusively a *poll tax*; and this bore hard on the poor, while to the wealthy, who had nothing to pay for their lands or merchandize, it was a mere song. From history, and from the acts and records of the legislature, we learn that there was, on this and on every thing else that concerned the liberties and welfare of the people, almost a constant struggle between the upper and lower house; or between the governor and council, and the popular branch of the assembly. The maintenance and advancement of the church, as a means of sustaining, if not of extending, their power, seems to have been a prominent object with the former; while the aim of the latter was to diminish that power and to secure the freedom which they so highly prized; and it was seldom that either could carry a measure, except in a way of compromise, that is, by yielding something which was desired by the other.

That the church establishment was irksome to the people is evident from the fact that they fell on the plan of electing men as vestrymen who, they were aware, would not serve;‡ and this prevailed to such an extent as to call for the attention of the legislature. An act was passed to put a stop to such undutiful conduct in future, and prevent the alarming evils which might arise out of it. This was not all; for it appears that the people also got into the habit of absenting themselves from the polls and taking no part in the election. The advocates of the church establishment, as if they supposed this was all owing to the in

*Swann's Revisal, p. 156. †Swann's Revisal, p. 352. ‡Martin, vol. 2 p. 91.

fluence of dissenters, who were now becoming numerous in the province, seem to have been resolved on exerting their power to the full extent, for they passed a law embracing both electors and elected vestrymen. The assembly which met at Wilmington, Jan. 30th, 1764, enacted, among other things, that all persons qualified to vote for vestrymen in their respective parishes, (the people called Quakers excepted) should attend and give their vote for vestrymen, in the manner before directed, unless prevented by some bodily infirmity, or legal disability, *under a penalty of twenty shillings*, proclamation money, to be recovered by a warrant from any justice of the peace within the county, provided that such penalty was sued for within ten days after it was incurred. A man was a free holder who had possession of fifty acres of land for life, or a lot in some town within the limits of his parish; and any freeholder (Quakers excepted) might be elected a vestryman. Then he must take before some magistrate, and in presence of the vestry, the oaths appointed by law to be taken by public officers; and repeat, and subscribe in the vestry book, the following declaration, viz: I, A B, will not oppose the *doctrine, discipline, and liturgy of the church of England*, as by law established. It was further enacted that every person chosen as a vestryman in any parish, and duly summoned, who might refuse or neglect to qualify agreeably to the directions of this act, *if a known dissenter from the church of England*, should forfeit and pay the sum of three pounds, proclamation money, to be recovered as other fines in this act directed.* This was amended by the assembly which met in Newbern, Nov. 3d., 1768, so as to extend the penalty on dissenters for refusing to qualify and act when elected as vestrymen to every person who might be chosen as a vestryman; and from the operation of this law none but Quakers were exempt.†—These laws may not have been rigidly enforced throughout the whole State; nor is it probable that it could be done at this period, and with the large accession which had been made to the population by emigrants who were advocates of civil and religious freedom.

The design in presenting these facts is not to raise any objec-

*Davis' 1st Revisal, p. 317. †Davis' 2nd Revisal p. 433.

tion or excite any hostile feelings against the Episcopal church *as Episcopal*; for as such they do not affect it; but as it was then a religious establishment, united with the civil power, and employing that power for its support and extension; and the same objection would lie against the legal establishment of any other denomination. All intention of making, in this work, any sort of attack upon other religious communions in our country, is utterly disclaimed by the writer; but it is as important surely that we should keep in view the religious oppression, as that we should remember the civil tyranny, from which we were delivered by the valor and patriotism of our forefathers. That a man should be obliged to pay a tax of four or five shillings annually, or any sum, for supporting a form of worship which he conscientiously believed to be wrong, or was at least irksome to him, was a greater violation of his rights and more injurious in its effects, than that he should be compelled to pay a penny on every pound of tobacco he sent to market, or a few cents on every pound of tea he used; yet the latter, or the principle which led to the imposition of such a tax, is constantly spoken of as a main cause of the revolution. They who interfere with the rights of conscience are no friends either to religion or to their country; for the supremacy of conscience must be maintained, or the best safeguard to moral rectitude is gone. Moral principle is always weakened by every successful temptation to violate the dictates of conscience; and such temptations must be found by many under every religious establishment, in the fear of incurring the penalty by refusing to conform, on the one hand; and in the prospect of gain or promotion on the other, by yielding an implicit obedience. Whether one form of church government has a greater tendency than another to unite with the state, and to become overbearing and intolerant; or whether there ever has been a case in which the benefits were greater than the evils resulting from the legal establishment of religion under any form, are matters the discussion of which, if any discussion be necessary, must be left for those who are more competent to the task; but we may be allowed to contemplate the grievances from which we have been delivered, as the Israelites of old were required to remember their bondage in Egypt; and perhaps it is

a duty to place before our minds, whenever occasion offers, the oppressions and evils of the past in full contrast with the privileges and blessings of the present, for the purpose of keeping alive our gratitude to the author of all good, and of maintaining the vigilance and firmness necessary to preserve and improve what we possess.

At one period, and for many years, probably from the establishment of the church of England, according to the letter of the laws, whatever might have been the intention, Presbyterian and dissenting ministers, if there were any in the colony, were subject to perform military duty. The assembly which met at Newbern, June 8th, 1746, passed an act *for the better regulating of the militia*, which makes the militia to consist of all the freemen and servants within the province, except ministers of the church of England, members of his majesty's council, members of the assembly, &c., but ministers of other denominations are not noticed.* At a meeting of the assembly held in Wilmington January 30, 1764, this act was so amended as to exempt from military duty, Presbyterian ministers *when regularly called to any congregation* in the province,† which, Martin says,‡ was the first instance of any indulgence granted by law to non-conformists. This is not strictly correct; for some indulgence, it is believed, had been previously granted to Quakers, but to no others. According to the above act, however, if literally interpreted, Presbyterian ministers could not claim exemption, unless they were regularly called to some congregation within the province. If laboring as missionaries in destitute parts, they might be required to appear under arms at every muster, or be subjected to a fine; and, both before and after this date, many ministers, in or past the middle of life, and of high standing in their profession, were sent out here from the north, to serve as missionaries, some for six months, and some for a year, who could not claim the provisions of the act. Some amendment was made to the act about two years afterwards; but with respect to dissenters, there was no alteration. It was so amended by the assembly which met at Newbern, December 5th, 1770, in reference to Quakers, that, though they were required to be en-

*Swain, p. 215. †Davis' 1st Revision, p. 311. ‡Vol. 2, p. 184.

rolled as others, no fine could be imposed on them for not mustering or bearing arms, except in cases of invasion or insurrection, when they must serve or furnish a substitute, under a penalty of ten pounds;* and this seems to have been the last alteration of the militia laws during the continuance of the British government.

When Presbyterian ministers began to organize churches and settle in North Carolina they do not appear to have considered themselves bound by the laws on the subject of marriage; but proceeded to marry persons, when requested, according to their own rules and regulations. From the establishment of the church, dissenting ministers had not been allowed to celebrate marriages; but in April 1741 a special act was passed, by which it was enacted, that every clergyman of the church of England, or, for the want of such, any lawful magistrate should join in marriage all persons who might lawfully enter into this relation and had complied with the directions contained in the act; that no justice of the peace should perform this ceremony in any parish where a minister resided and had a cure, without first obtaining permission of the minister, under a penalty of five pounds, proclamation money, to the use of the minister; that no minister or justice should marry without license first obtained for the purpose, or thrice publication of the banns, as prescribed by the Rubric in the Book of Common Prayer, under a penalty of £50; that no minister should go out of this government to marry persons belonging to the government, under the same penalty; that no minister or justice might refuse to marry persons, when regularly called on, under a penalty of ten pounds, if by license, or five pounds, if by banns; and that the minister of any parish should always have the benefit of the fee for marriages in said parish, if he did not refuse or neglect to do the services thereof, no matter who performed the marriage ceremony.† Why the Presbyterian ministers did not consider themselves bound by this law does not appear; but they had married so many that the legislature found it necessary to pass an act declaring these marriages valid, and granting them permission to continue the practice in future, under certain restrictions. The Assembly which met at

*Davis' 2nd Revisal, p. 455.

†Davis' 1st Revisal, p. 71.

Newbern in November, 1766, passed an act amendatory to the preceding, which has the following preamble and enactments: "Whereas by *an act entitled An act concerning marriages*, it is enacted that no minister, or justice of the peace, shall celebrate the rites of matrimony between any persons, or join them together as man and wife without license or certificate of publication, as mentioned in the said act: And whereas the Presbyterian or Dissenting clergy, conceiving themselves not included in the restrictions of ministers mentioned in that act, have joined many persons together in holy matrimony without either licence or publication, whereby the payment of the just and legal fees to the governor on such occasions has been eluded, the validity of marriages may be endangered:

"Be it enacted &c. that all marriages that have been or shall be solemnized, before the first day of January next, by any of the dissenting or Presbyterian clergy, in their accustomed manner, shall be, and are hereby declared to be, as valid, legal, and effectual, to all intents and purposes, as if performed by any minister of the church of England, under a license taken and granted according to the direction of the aforesaid act.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the first day of January next, it shall and may be lawful for any Presbyterian minister, *regularly called to any congregation* in this province, to celebrate the rites of matrimony between persons and join them together as man and wife, in their usual and accustomed manner, under the same regulations and restrictions as any lawful magistrate in the province might celebrate and solemnize the same."—They were subject to the same penalty of fifty pounds for marrying without license or publication of banns, which was perhaps nothing more than fair; but they were required, impliedly at least, like magistrates, to ask permission of the Episcopal minister, if there was one in the parish; and they must give the fee to the parish minister. This act, thus restricted as it was, not being approved by the king, was repealed by proclamation of the governor about two years after; and then the act of 1741, we presume, remained in force until the Revolution.

The laws against dissenters in North Carolina, were severe:

but they were not enforced with as much rigor as in some of the neighboring colonies. There was nothing like a court of high commission in miniature, or a body of men appointed for the sole purpose of enforcing the ecclesiastical laws; and non-conformists were never imprisoned or brought to the whipping post, for preaching the gospel. While in South Carolina, at one time, a board of commissioners, clothed with almost absolute power, were enforcing the laws of conformity to the utmost, regardless alike of chartered rights and the common feelings of humanity, the people in the Old North State, though for the sake of peace, they were paying tax to the support of a church whose doctrines and rites they disapproved, appear to have been electing their representatives without much regard to religious creeds, or in spite of the odious Test act; and while in Virginia, at a subsequent period, dissenting ministers were imprisoned for preaching Jesus Christ to dying men, and for proclaiming salvation through the iron grates of their prison window, to the crowds assembled on the outside, as they usually did in such cases, regardless of consequences, they were sometimes taken out to the whipping post, and received forty stripes, save one; here in a land where the first altars were erected to freedom, and where the fire had never ceased to burn, or the incense to ascend, even in the darkest and stormiest night, Presbyterian ministers, and probably others too, were celebrating marriages without asking leave of the parish minister, and building churches, holding meetings, and administering ordinances, without consulting the Bishop of London, or obtaining license from any human authority; the people, without any serious apprehension of consequences, were setting at nought the enactments of arbitrary power, by electing for vestrymen such men as they knew would not serve, or by staying away from the polls and electing no vestrymen at all; and in some counties, as in the one in which I am now writing, they were compelling the assembly to rescind their vestry acts.

The state of morals and the amount of religious knowledge and influence may be inferred from the nature and policy of the government; the character of the executive and judicial officers; and the extent to which the country was supplied with an en-

lightened and evangelical ministry. The avowed design of the proprietors, and the wish of the king, whose authority was over all, was to have the government of Carolina conformed as nearly as possible to the monarchy of England, of which they considered it as a part; and such officers were appointed, and such instructions were given them, from time to time, as were thought best calculated to secure this object. During the proprietary government, the principal officers were appointed by, and retained at the will of the proprietors. The province was held as *a property*; and the inhabitants were regarded only as serfs, or as the cultivators of a soil that belonged to their sordid landlords. The governors, judges, and other officers appointed by them, had little or no sympathy with the people whom they governed; and their main object was to enrich themselves, though in doing it the tenants of the soil should be made penniless and wretched; or to please their employers and retain their offices as badges of honor, or as the means of support. Perhaps no other colony suffered more from the appointment of officers who were at once destitute of moral principle, and regardless of their reputation. With perhaps two or three honorable exceptions, the whole of the proprietary officers, especially those of the higher grades, were very far from being a credit to their stations; and often the governors and judges were the greatest rowdies in the country. At one period they were as often engaged in affrays and broils, in assaults and batteries on each other, and dealt as much in foul mouthed recriminations, as any other class of people; and the court dockets of that day are disgraced by their mutual indictments, and by presentments of the grand jury for such shameful violations of the laws.* About the time the charter was resigned to the king, was perhaps the worst period; and the most disgraceful scenes occurred soon after the change took place. Sir Richard Everard and George Burrington, as governors, William Smith as chief justice, and Edmund Porter as judge of admiralty, were conspicuous for their aberrations, both as men and as public servants; and will have an unenviable notoriety, wherever our colonial history may be known.

Those who formed the first settlements within the present limits of North Carolina, are mentioned in
Williamson, vol. 2, p. 43, 47, 241.

mits of North Carolina, were, as we have seen, Quakers and other dissenters, who, having fled from persecution, mostly from Virginia, had taken up their residence among savages for the sake of enjoying peace of conscience; and may therefore be supposed to have been a serious and moral people. The accessions made after the charter was obtained were mere adventurers from England, the older colonies, and the West India islands; and were probably very different in their character.— Being excluded by their “iron bound coast” from the same freedom of intercourse with the world that was enjoyed by the other colonies, their progress in improvement was necessarily slow; and it was the policy of the government to discourage every thing that might diffuse intelligence or increase the popular influence. In some of the colonies printing presses were strictly forbidden by the king;* and would, no doubt, have been prohibited in Carolina had there been any occasion for it. Education seems to have been, for a long time, entirely neglected; no notice was taken of it, and no provision was made for it by government. There were men of talents and education in the country, and they sent their sons abroad to be educated; but unaccountably neglected to do any thing for the cause of learning at home. Gabriel Johnston, who was appointed governor in 1734, was the first who urged on the assembly the importance of making some provision for schools. He was a native of Scotland and a literary man. Having been educated in the University of St. Andrews and afterwards professor of oriental languages in that institution, he knew the value of learning and wished to see it promoted; but when appropriations were made for it they were either wasted or taken to meet some other demands on the treasury. The first academy or school of any kind established by legislative authority was the Newbern academy in 1767; and Martin says in his history that there were but two, those of Newbern and Edenton, at the Declaration of Independence. The assembly which met at Newbern, Dec. 5th, 1770, passed an act entitled *An act for founding, establishing, and endowing of Queen's College in the town of Charlotte in Mecklenburg county*; but being disapproved by the king it

*Martin, vol. 1, p. 177. 182.

was repealed by proclamation.* It is not noticed by Martin in his Collection of Private Acts, and only the *title* is given in Davis' Revisal. The precise date of the repeal is not stated; but in the next year an act was passed to *amend* it, and of course it was not then repealed. This however must have been done before 1773; for that was the year in which the Revisal was published. While the effort to get such an institution established there at that early day was highly creditable to the public spirit and enterprize of the people in that region, the refusal of the king to sanction what the assembly had done was additional evidence that no favor was to be expected from the British government, and thus the honor of giving education the aid and encouragement which it deserves was left for those who by suffering together in the same cause had acquired mutual confidence and esteem, and by securing their independence had gained at once the self-respect and the pecuniary resources that were necessary for the purpose.

In 1749, James Davis brought the first printing press into the province and set up at Newbern; and in 1764 he commenced the first newspaper, called the North Carolina Magazine, or Universal Intelligencer. Williamson, in accounting for the neglect of education says, "The laws that were made to support a religious establishment retained their force; for they were supported by the spirit of party. Learning was neglected because it was of no party; no troops enlisted themselves under its banner. Pride or passion were not ready to lend their assistance; and reason, a cool auxiliary, for many years gave ineffectual support." This is inconsistent, or at least unsatisfactory; for reason gives not an *auxiliary*, but the *main* support to the cause of learning. The truth is, it was the policy of the government to keep the people in ignorance; and they had not the power, whatever might have been their wishes, to pass any law on this subject without the consent of the governor and council, nor to carry any law of the kind into effect without fidelity on the part of those who were entrusted with the management or custody of whatever appropriations were made by legislative authority. This appears to have been the reason why learning

* Davis's 2d Revisal, p. 455, 501.

received no legislative patronage in Carolina for more than a hundred years; and Governor Berkley, who breathed the spirit and echoed the sentiments of his employers, has, in the following specimen of his patriotic views and christian temper, explained to us the character and designs of the men who were then controlling the destinies of this country. In a communication to the proprietors, dated in June, 1671, near thirty years after he was first appointed governor, he says, in relation to the colony under his own jurisdiction, "We have forty eight parishes and our ministers are well paid, and by my consent should be better, *if they would pray oftener and preach less*; but as of all other commodities, so of this, the worst are sent us; and we have few that we can boast of, since the persecution in Cromwell's tyranny drove divers worthy men hither. Yet I thank God there are *no free schools nor printing presses*, and I hope we shall not have any these hundred years. For learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government: God keep us from both."

The British government took efficient measures for throwing upon the American colonies a most undesirable kind of population; for enactments were made, from time to time, by which felons and almost all classes of offenders might be, at their own request, transported to America.* It is probable, however, that these dregs of English society, then at all times so abundant there, found their way, not to Carolina, at least not to any great amount, but, as they have been doing ever since, to more prosperous and accessible parts of the country; yet the treatment of this province by the higher powers was calculated to depress the people, to paralyze their energies, and to make them idle and vicious. The restrictions on their commerce were unjust and grievous to be borne. But few articles of export were free from a heavy duty or drawback of some kind; and the mechanical arts were in a great measure interdicted. The manufacture of hats, ropes, iron, and of all the most profitable articles, was, for years, either forbidden, or so trammelled that people could not engage in it to advantage.† Such treatment, instead of being

*Martin, vol. 1, p. 144, 152, 169. †Martin, vol. 2, p. 13, 14, 56.

favorable to morality and good feeling, had just the opposite effect; dissatisfaction with the government increased; and contention was kept up between the people and their rulers.

But perhaps the greatest evil which North Carolina experienced during the early period of her history, and to which many of the others may be attributed, was the want of an enlightened and evangelical ministry. The Saviour told his disciples that they were the *light of the world and the salt of the earth*: they and their successors were to be the living instrumentality by which the knowledge of God should be maintained in the world, and mankind be preserved from becoming wholly corrupt. To prove the necessity and value of such a ministry, no arguments are necessary at the present day, and before a christian community; but for a long time Carolina had no christian ministry at all. From the first settlement until the year 1700, except the short visit of Edmundson and Fox, the two Quaker preachers already mentioned, in 1672, our shores were visited by no messenger of peace; and until 1703, just 40 years after the charter was granted, there was no one to go in and out before the people, and break to them the bread of life from Sabbath to Sabbath. In 1705, the Bishop of London sent over Gideon Johnson as his commissary for the province of Carolina, who was directed to make his residence at Charleston; and other ministers were occasionally sent over, mostly by the society formed under the reign of king William, for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts. In 1725, the Bishop of London, as patriarch of England, extended his jurisdiction to the American colonies;* and then ecclesiastical affairs here were regulated, as far as practicable, according to his directions. There were churches or chapels in nearly every county; and in some counties there were two or more. In Orange county there were several; and the University of the State took the name of Chapel Hill, from the fact that there was a chapel on one of the eminences in its immediate vicinity. The established church had sufficient authority and ample resources; but the number of ministers actually resident here, and their character and usefulness, are not well known. Although provision was made for the support of

*Martin, vol. I. p. 297.

a minister in every parish, there were probably not more than half a dozen in the province at any one time; and while some of these appear to have been serious, well meaning men, and to have exerted on the whole a salutary influence, of many it may be said, as Gov. Berkley said of those in Virginia, *as of all other commodities, so of this, the worst were sent us*. When old Governor Dobbs met the assembly, at Wilmington, February 3d, 1764, for the last time, he deplored the want of clergymen; told them that 24 out of 30 parishes were vacant; and urged them to adopt suitable measures for increasing the supply.*—Martin says† there were not more than six ministers belonging to the established church living in the province at the commencement of the Revolution; and he is probably not far wrong. Religion is represented as being at a low ebb, and the state of morals as quite deplorable; but there was certainly more religious knowledge and influence then, owing to the increase of dissenters, than at any preceding period.

The running of the boundary line between North Carolina and Virginia, in 1728, sixty-five years after the charter was given, furnished historians with some curious facts respecting the condition of the colony, and the character of the people, at that time. The commissioners from this side shewed when they entered on the business, that they were as competent to the task as those from Virginia; but it had been delayed for some time by the former, *because there was no money in the treasury*; nor could they purchase the necessary stores until the council had sold *blank patents* to individuals who advanced the money.‡ The Virginia commissioners were well provided with comforts and “good cheer;” and seemed to make light of the poverty and of what they deemed the *irreligion* of Carolina. In writing to the commissioners§ on this side, Dec. 16th, 1727, they say,|| “We think it very proper to acquaint you in what manner we intend to come provided, that so you being appointed in the same station may, if you please, do the same honor

*Martin, vol. 2, p. 180. †Vol. 2, p. 395.

‡Williamson, vol. 2, p. 18. §Williamson, vol. 2, p. 235.

||The commissioners on the part of Virginia, were Col. Bird, Richard Fitzwilliam, and William Dandridge: Those on the part of Carolina, were John Lovick, Christopher Gale, Edward Moseley, and William Little.

to your country. We will bring with us about twenty men furnished with provisions for thirty days; we will have with us a tent and marquees for the accommodation of ourselves and our servants. We bring as much wine and rum as will enable us and our men to drink every night to the success of the following day; and because we understand there are *gentiles* on the frontiers, who never had an opportunity of being baptized, we shall have a chaplain with us to make them christians. For this purpose we intend to rest in our camp every Sunday that there may be leisure for so good a work. And whoever in that neighborhood is desirous of *novelty* may come and hear a good sermon. Of this you will please to give notice that the charitable intentions of this government may meet with the happier success." To this the others replied as follows: "We are at a loss, gentlemen, whether to thank you for the particulars you give us of your tent stores and the manner you design to meet us. Had you been silent about it we had not wanted an excuse for not meeting you in the same manner; but now you force us to expose the nakedness of our country, and to tell you we cannot possibly meet you in the manner our great respect to you would make us glad to do, whom we are not emulous of out-doing unless in care and diligence in the affair we come to meet you about. So all we answer to that article is, that we will endeavor to provide as well as the circumstances of things will admit us; and what we may want in necessaries will, we hope, be made up in the spiritual comfort we expect from your chaplain, of whom we shall give notice as you desire, to all lovers of novelty; and doubt not of a great many border christians."

The commissioners from Virginia said in their diary that "their associates from Carolina did not bring above two men with them who would put their hands to any thing but the kettle or frying pan; and that they spent so much of their industry in this way that they had but little spirit or inclination for any other work. The women and children of the borderers came to stare at the commissioners with as much curiosity as if they had lately landed from Canton or Morocco. The men appeared all to dread that the line should pass to the south of their land, as in that case they must submit to some kind of order and govern-

ment, while in Carolina, every one did what was best in his own eyes; and none paid any tribute to God or to Cæsar."—The state of society was no doubt bad in many respects; but the commissioners might have found as many women and children who would have stared at them in Virginia as in Carolina; and it is not wonderful that people who had once enjoyed "the freedom of the woods and of the waters, with the privilege of worshipping God as they pleased, should dread the spirit and measures of the Virginia government at that time.

Many women brought their children to the Virginia chaplain to have them baptized; but it is added that "they brought no *capon* along with them to make the solemnity cheerful." Although the Reverend gentleman christened more than a hundred children, during the running of the line, he did not marry one couple. "None were attracted by the novelty of having their hands joined by a man in holy orders; they considered marriage as a civil contract only, and its knot as firmly tied by a Justice as by an archbishop."

Within a few years after the date just referred to, the character of society began to undergo a great and rapid change, not by displacing those who had hitherto been occupants of the soil, but by accessions from abroad. These were from different countries, and held opinions and practised forms of worship which were in some respects different; but they were all, or with very few exceptions, opposed to the established church, on principle, and not from a reluctance to pay what might be necessary to maintain its institutions and promote its welfare; for they knew the value of religion and had been taught to give its ministers a decent support. The increase of population is shewn by the number and size of the counties formed in rapid succession, as given in Williamson's history, or the Revised Statutes; but for the *character* of the people who thus swelled the amount of population and changed the face of society, we must look to other sources.

It has been seen that the first monthly meeting of the Quakers was held in 1672; and, as the writer has been recently informed by one of their most intelligent members, their first yearly meeting was held in the county of Perquimons in 1704. Whether

any considerable accessions were made to the society from abroad about this time, or what may be their entire number at any time, cannot be well ascertained, since they never "number the people," or make the number of their members a matter of record; but about the middle of the last century several hundred of them came into Guilford and the adjoining counties from Pennsylvania; and in a few years after a number came from New England, chiefly from the Island of Nantucket. At the commencement of the revolution they had religious establishments, or meetings, monthly and quarterly, in Perquimons, Pasquotank, Orange, Guilford, Johnson, and Carteret; and in all they must have amounted to several thousands.

A company of French Huguenots; a class of people who, wherever they went, seem to have formed a most valuable portion of society, being encouraged by King William, came over to America in 1690, and settled above the falls of James river in Virginia; but not being pleased with their location there, and the lands in Carolina being mostly unappropriated, they removed south in 1707, and settled on the river Trent, with a man by the name of Rybourg for their pastor.* About this time, a colony of German protestants, from Hiedleberg and its vicinity, on the Rhine, came over to Carolina, under the conduct of Christopher de Graffenried and Lewis Mitchell.† The colony consisted of about one hundred families, or six hundred and fifty persons; and landed in 1709, at the confluence of the rivers Neuse and Trent, where they erected temporary shelters until they could be put in possession of the lands which had been promised them. The place of their encampment was called New Bern, from the town of Berne in Switzerland, where de Graffenried was born. De Graffenried and Mitchell had agreed with the proprietors in London for ten thousand acres of land, which was to be laid off for them in one body between the Neuse and Cape Fear, with a promise of a hundred thousand more to be reserved for them a certain number of years; and the former having paid for five thousand acres, received, according to promise, the title of *baron*. These Germans, or palatines, as they were called, were very poor, having been driven from their native country by a long

*Williamson, vol. 1, p. 178. †Ibid. 179.

series of persecutions and vexations; and their leaders were bound to give them, on certain conditions, two hundred and fifty acres of land for each family. Although they suffered greatly from the Indians, and were unfairly dealt with by the men in whom they confided, being industrious and moral in their habits, they seem to have been prosperous; but their history is very little known, any farther than it is given by Williamson, which is for the space of only a few years.

About the middle of the last century, or a little earlier, large numbers of protestants from different countries and speaking different languages, sought refuge from oppression in North Carolina; and in a short time overspread a large part of the province. These were mostly from the Highlands of Scotland; the north of Ireland; the Marquisate of Moravia; and other German countries. They were not only protestants, but were nearly all dissenters from the church of England. The influx began in the time of Governor Johnston; and about the year 1740. A small company or two came a few years earlier; but they did not begin to come in large numbers before 1746; and the tide of emigration continued for twenty-five or thirty years. In the year 1736, Duplin county began to be settled by people from the north of Ireland and Switzerland, who were induced by Henry McCulloch to come and settle on his land. He had, by some means or others, obtained a large quantity, about seventy thousand acres; and wished to have it occupied. He had been appointed his majesty's surveyor, inspector, and controller of the revenue and grants of land; and speculated largely in crown lands with a view of paying for them by importing settlers.—His son, Henry Eustace McCulloch reported between three and four hundred persons, who had been thus brought into the province; and retained about the quantity of land above mentioned, for which he managed to settle his accounts with the crown without paying a dollar.* This was the first importation of people from Ireland to this State, of which I have seen any notice; and several years elapsed before there was another. From the printed records of the synod of Philadelphia, (p. 173,) it appears that in 1744, a representation from many people of North

Carolina was laid before that body, showing their destitute condition; requesting the synod to take their estate into consideration; and desiring that some one might be appointed to correspond with them. In what part of the State these people lived does not appear; but from a collection of manuscript communications received by the editor of the Raleigh Star in 1810, from intelligent men over the State, and now preserved in the University library, it appears that the greater part of those who, in 1736, settled on the lands of McCulloch in Duplin county, were Presbyterians from Ireland. That was the first Presbyterian settlement formed in North Carolina of which I have seen any account; and like all other christian people they would desire to have preaching.

The middle and western parts of this State were settled almost entirely by Presbyterians from the north of Ireland; but they or their ancestors, having formerly removed to that country from Scotland, they are usually called Scotch-Irish. In the reign of James I. the earls of Tyrone and Tyreonnell, having conspired against the government, were obliged to fly from the kingdom to escape punishment. Some of their accomplices were arrested and executed; but as the two earls were attainted by a process of outlawry, their vast estates, containing about 500,000 acres of land, escheated to the crown. King James resolved to improve a country which, having been desolated by war, was covered by woods, infested by robbers, or inhabited by ignorant Catholics. The escheated lands were divided into small tracts to suit adventurers who might be willing to settle them, or would engage to place on the land a certain number of sub-tenants within a given time; and, by his direction, a preference was given to people from the west of Scotland. They were protestants from his own country; an industrious people; and the passage being short, they could easily comply with their contracts in settling the lands. Many of them went over then, but the establishment of prelacy in Scotland in 1637, and again 1661, to which, as Presbyterians, they could not conscientiously submit, compelled many more to emigrate. Their superior knowledge, industry, and temperance, soon enabled them to supplant the natives: and by the end of that century, six of the

northern counties were inhabited by their descendents, or the remains of Cromwell's army. Through all the subsequent revolutions and troubles of England they were the steady supporters of government against every attempt to establish a Catholic prince; and they adhered with equal firmness to the Hanover Succession. Their loyalty and their faithful services entitled them to the favor and the confidence of government; but being treated like aliens, marked with distrust as citizens, and denied the free enjoyment of their rights as christians, they determined to seek in a foreign land the liberty which was denied them at home. They migrated by thousands to Pennsylvania where the principles of civil and religious liberty were in full operation; but, partly from the difficulty of obtaining land, and partly from other reasons, they found it expedient to remove further south. In Virginia, land could be obtained in abundance and upon easy terms; but the government there being in constant hostility with religious freedom, the greater part of them came on to N. Carolina, and settled on lands belonging to the earl of Granville.* They have ever been the staunch friends of liberty, and of every thing else that can elevate the character or promote the welfare of society. Combining the intelligence, orthodoxy, and piety of the Scotch, with the ardor, and love of liberty peculiar to the Irish, they were the most efficient supporters of the American cause during the struggle for independance; and they have done more for the support of learning, morality and religion than any other class of people.

The Presbyterian population in the south-east part of the State, came mostly from the Highlands of Scotland; and the first emigration of which we have any account, resulted from the unfortunate attempt of prince Charles Edward, grandson of James II, to regain the throne of his ancestors. Being a descendant of the Stewarts, when he landed in Scotland, the Highlanders flocked, in large numbers, to his standard; but when he was overthrown at the battle of Culloden, on the 16th of April 1746, they were obliged to fly. The chieftains and prominent men were mostly put to death, and multitudes of the people were hunted down and slaughtered like wild beasts; but at length a

*Williamson, vol. 2, p. 68-71.

pardon passed the great seal, exempting from trial and punishment nineteen out of twenty among the rest, on condition of their being transported to America; and for determining the melancholly fate of every twentieth man they resorted to the lot. Those who survived and were expatriated, were accompanied by many others, who, although they had not taken up arms, favored the prince's cause, and voluntarily shared the exile of their countrymen. A considerable number of them came to North Carolina about the end of the year 1746; located themselves on the Cape Fear river; and formed the settlement in the midst of which the town of Fayetteville now stands.* Williamson makes no mention of this circumstance; but says,† that in 1749, Neal McNeal arrived at Wilmington with his family, and five or six hundred colonists who settled, some in Anson, others in Bladen, but most of them in Cumberland. There was a second importation in 1754; and from that time there was one annually: nor have the importations yet ceased; for, it is said that a goodly number came over during the last year, and settled in the same region.

The Moravians, being driven from their native country, the Marquisate of Moravia, by persecution, about the beginning of the 17th century, sought refuge in England and the British colonies. In the spring of 1735, a colony of them arrived in Georgia; and formed a settlement on the Savannah river, at or near the town of the same name. In the true missionary spirit, they made it a paramount object to enlighten and christianize the savages; and their efforts were likely to be very successful; but their establishment was broken up by the war between the British and the Spaniards in 1737, and again in 1739. Being compelled to bear arms in these scenes of conflict, contrary, not only to their principles, but to the promises which had been given them; and their christian labors being entirely interrupted, by these and other causes, they removed, part of them in 1738, and the rest in 1740, to Pennsylvania, where they formed the settlements of Bethlehem and Nazareth. The oppressions and hardships which they and their missionaries among the heathen endured from ill disposed persons, and in other ways, led them

*Martin, vol. 2, p. 48. †Vol. 2, p. 79.

to seek from the British government more toleration, and greater security in the enjoyment of their rights. After a strict examination into the origin and existing state of this church, they were declared by an act of Parliament, which received the royal sanction, May 12th, 1749; to be an ancient Episcopal church; and had full liberty of conscience allowed them wherever settled in any of the American colonies. They were exempted from personal military services for a reasonable compensation; and were permitted to affirm instead of taking an oath. About the same time they entered into negotiations with the earl of Greenville for a quantity of land in North Carolina to be located wherever they chose; and in 1751 their agents made a purchase of a hundred thousand acres. In the latter part of the following year this was surveyed and entered, mostly in what is now Stokes county; and the general deed for the whole was signed and sealed, August 7th 1753. The tract was called Wachau, or Wachovia, from respect to an honorary title of their great patron, count Tinzendorf, who was lord of the valley Wachau in Austria; and on the 12th of the ensuing November, twelve young or unmarried men arrived and began to make improvements on Mill creek. In the course of the next year a town was commenced on the same spot, called Bethabara, now Old Town; and the towns of Salem, Bethany, Friedburg, Friedland, and Hope, were formed in pretty rapid succession; so that before the Declaration of Independence, they had six settlements, and a population probably of about five hundred. For intelligence and moral worth; industry and economy; sobriety and good order, they are not surpassed by any class of people in the country; and these have given them affluence, respectability, and a regular advancement in whatever is most desirable and praiseworthy.

The Moravians constituted but a small proportion of the German population which came into the middle and western regions of North Carolina, immediately before or along with the Presbyterians and other dissenters; and they were pretty equally divided between the Lutheran and German Reformed denominations. Their grants of land and the organization of their churches, all date about the same time; and from Haw river to the mountains, their entire number could not have been much

less than that of the Scotch-Irish. They had at least twenty churches, if my information be correct, before the Declaration of Independence; and these were mostly organized from 1770 to 1775, though some of them may have been organized a little before the former date. They had but few preachers; and hardly any of these were calculated to advance the interests of vital piety, or to elevate the character of the people. Some of them had no kind of authority to preach, and no claims to the confidence of the churches on the score of piety; but came out here, either from the northern States or from Germany, pretending to be preachers; exercised an assumed authority; and acted as self constituted pastors of the churches, or went from place to place, imposing on the people who knew no better, or were glad to meet with any one who came to them as a minister of Christ. Others were probably of a different character, and exerted a good influence; but none of them seem to have been *distinguished* for intelligence, zeal, and usefulness. Had their churches been supplied with ministers of the right stamp from the first, they would have been in a very different condition; and the people, possessing in a high degree, as they do, the firmness, energy, and perseverance requisite to undertake and accomplish great things, would have been with the foremost in every good work.

Of the Baptist denomination at this period, my information is very limited.* They had ministers and churches before the De-

*On page 75 of this work, it is said that in Virginia, at one period, "dissenting ministers were imprisoned for preaching Jesus Christ to dying men, and that for proclaiming salvation through the iron grates of their prison windows, to the people assembled on the outside, they were sometimes taken out to the whipping post and received forty stripes save one." The allusion was to the Baptist ministers; and the recurrence to it here, is partly for the purpose of correcting a mistake. Having no authority by me at the time, in relation to *this matter*, and having been, not long before, told by one who was thought to be well acquainted with the subject, that such had been the fact, it was so stated; but on a little examination after that part of the manuscript had gone to the press, it is believed that the *latter part* of the statement is not correct; and the state of things there, as in North Carolina, was bad enough without any exaggeration. The Baptist ministers were frequently beaten and maltreated in various ways, by ill disposed persons; and they were sometimes *threatened* with the whipping post; but the power of their enemies did not extend that far; and the act, if it had been done, would have been illegal. Many of them however were imprisoned, in some cases for months at a time, and were treated while there with much inhumanity; but

claration of Independence ; and about as early as the Presbyterians, or any other class of dissenters. Shubael Streus came into what is now Randolph county, probably about 1755 ; and in a few years had a church on Sandy Creek of 606 members. Two of his converts, Tidance Lane and Elnathan Davis, became preachers ; and remained in this State for a number of years. About the same date we find Daniel Marshall on the Uwharrie, where he had many added to his church ; and Joseph Murphey pastor of a church on Deep Creek in Surry county. I find the names of some half a dozen others, who were not stationary ; but spent a great portion of their time in preaching from place to place ; and there were no doubt other settled ministers of that denomination of whom I have seen no mention. There were churches, besides those already mentioned, on Abbott's Creek, Tar river, and probably in other places. They must have had at least a dozen churches, and half that many settled ministers, besides as many more who were not confined to any particular place.

In the fall of 1764 the celebrated Whitefield passed through the eastern part of this State on his way from Philadelphia to Savannah in Georgia ;* and in the course of the next Spring he passed through it again on his return to Philadelphia. Both times he preached in all the principal towns on his route, and to large collections of people who were deeply interested ; but of the permanent results of his labors I have seen no account. When at Newcastle on his return northward in the spring, he says,† “all along from Charleston to this place, the cry is, for they preached, whenever occasion offered, to the people collected on the outside, many of whom were converted, and several who became preachers.— See Taylor's Lives of Baptist Ministers in Virginia.

The Toleration Act of England had been adopted by the legislative authority in Virginia ; and the Presbyterian ministers submitted to that, not as a British, but as a Virginia law. Their troubles and vexations were great ; but it does not appear that any of them were imprisoned. They had much difficulty to get their preaching places licensed, and labored under great disadvantages ; but the Lord was with them and they prospered. The Baptist ministers, it seems, did not submit to that law, and were roughly treated.— They determined to go to prison and to death, rather than acknowledge, in any way, the right of man to take from them the privilege of worshipping God as they pleased ; but whether this was the best and most christian course or not, is a matter with which we need not be concerned at present.

*See Gillie's Life of Whitefield 182. †Ibid 183.

Christ's sake stay and preach to us;" and this may be considered as evidence of both his previous and present success. He said himself of Newbern, when he preached there in the preceding November, that "good impressions were made; and that he found what they called New-Lights in almost every place;" but what became of his converts is not known, unless they fell in with the Methodists when they came into that region a few years after. This is mere inference; but, from a variety of circumstances, it seems to be highly probable.

The Methodists had not done much in this State previous to the Revolutionary War. In 1775, George Shadford had charge of the Brunswick circuit in Virginia, where there appears to have been a considerable awakening on the subject of religion which extended into the counties of Halifax and Bute, now Franklin, in N. Carolina; and in July of that year Thomas Rankin, who had been sent out by Mr. Wesley as superintendent of the Methodist societies in America, being on a visit to the Brunswick circuit, came over into Carolina; but did not remain long. It is probable that some of the fruits of Whitefield's labors may have been then gathered into this church; for, as appears from his life, he preached with his accustomed zeal and success all through that region, on both his journeys through the State; and, as he did nothing towards forming churches any where, his converts in that part of North Carolina had no other opportunity, so far as is known, of connecting themselves with any christian society. The first Methodist circuit in this State, called the Carolina circuit, which included the whole State, though their operations were then confined pretty much to a few counties on the Roanoke and Albemarle, was formed May 24th, 1776; and they had at that time 683 members. Edward Drumgoole, Francis Poythuss and Isham Tatum were appointed on the circuit; and there may have been some local preachers living in those counties for two or three years previous; but of them we have no account.

The manuscript volume in the library at Chapel Hill, already mentioned, is very interesting as far as it goes; and throws a good deal of light on the commencement and progress of settlements in North Carolina, as well as some other matters of im-

portance. From it we learn that Edgecomb began to be settled in 1726, by people from Virginia, who came there for the sake of living at their ease, as the climate was mild, the range good, and game in abundance; Wayne in 1735, but made little progress, until 1750; Franklin about 1750; Caswell in 1750, but had not more than ten families until 1755, when the Leas, Graves, Kimbros, Pattersons and others came from Orange and Culpeper counties in Virginia; Rockingham in 1750, by hunters, who were soon followed by a more substantial population; and Guilford about the same time, as appears from the deeds of land obtained by the Nottingham company. That company, by agents sent out for the purpose, purchased 33 surveys, or 21,120 acres, on the waters of North Buffalo and Reedy Fork; and one of their deeds, which is now before me, is dated December 3d, 1753. Further details respecting the settlement of the different counties at this period, might be given; but it is not permitted by the limits assigned to this work.

The records of the Orange Presbytery, which was the oldest and for a long time the only Presbytery in North Carolina, having been destroyed some years ago, very little is known about the early history of the Presbyterian church in this State; but there were a good many churches organized a number of years before there were any settled ministers. From 1745 to 1758 the two Synods of Philadelphia and New York, appointed missionaries frequently to North Carolina as well as to the other provinces to the South; and it is believed that the Presbyteries in that region did more in this kind of missionary labor than the Synods. After the two Synods were united in 1758, praiseworthy efforts were made to have the southern settlements supplied; but it appears that the appointments were not often fulfilled, during the French war, owing to the difficulties and dangers of travelling. The churches in Granville are said to have been organized by the Rev. William Tennant, and the Lord's supper to have been administered by him for the first time in that county; but when this was done is not known. It is also said that the Rev. Alexander Craighead who came into this State in the autumn of 1755 and died in March 1766, organized most of the churches in Mecklenburg and Cabarrus counties; and of course

they must have been organized between those dates. It is not known precisely when or where the first Presbyterian church was organized in the State, and for the reason already given.— In a communication of the Synod to the General Assembly of Scotland, in 1753, they say, “There are also large settlements lately planted in various parts, particularly in North and South Carolina, where *multitudes* are extremely anxious for the ministration of the gospel, but who are not formed into congregations and regularly organized for want of ministers;” and in 1755, the Presbytery of Newcastle state that, in addition to a vast number of vacant congregations under their care in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, there were fourteen congregations in North Carolina that were looking to them for supplies.† It is probable that some of the churches in Cumberland county were among the first, if not the very first organized churches of the Presbyterian order in the State; but this is a matter of inference. In the summer of 1755 the Rev. Hugh McAdden was sent out by the Presbytery of Newcastle as a missionary to North Carolina, and spent nearly a year in traversing the State from one end to the other. In his missionary journal, which is now in my possession and is full of interest, he speaks of several meeting houses; a great many pious people with whom he became acquainted; and a number of settlements where he was most earnestly entreated to remain and become their pastor; but says nothing about organized churches. The writer has been told by some of our oldest ministers that the church now known as the Red House is about the oldest in the State; but this can hardly be correct; for, although Mr. McAdden preached frequently in that neighborhood, he makes no mention of any church nor of any house for public worship.

The first Presbyterian minister, known to have settled in the Scotch region, was the Rev. James Campbell; and the following account of him from the Rev. Colin McIver, will be read with interest. “He was originally from Campbelltown, in Argylshire, in Scotland; and he is spoken of as one of the excellent of the earth,—as an eminent-christian, and an active, assiduous, and useful minister of the gospel. He is said to have left his

†Hodge's History 294. †Ibid. 318.

native country, and to have arrived in the city of Philadelphia, a licensed preacher, in 1730. Soon after he was ordained to the gospel ministry, and installed as pastor of a congregation somewhere in Pennsylvania. Not long after his ordination, he became considerably dejected; and, under the influence of a fear that he had taken upon himself the ministerial office without being duly called, he ceased, for a few years, to preach. From this unhappy state of mind, however, he was relieved by the celebrated Mr. Whitefield; and became more zealous and engaged in the work of the ministry than he had ever been. In 1755 he removed to this State, and had charge of four congregations on Cape Fear river, not many miles from Fayetteville. To these congregations, he acted the part of a very faithful and devoted pastor, until he was removed by death in 1781." Although Mr. McAdden spent some time in that region he makes mention of no minister, except one of the Baptist denomination, by the name of Miller; and from this it might be inferred that Mr. Campbell had not arrived, or had not become much known; but he speaks of the Irish settlement in Duplin with much interest, and soon after became their pastor. He set off from this settlement about the first of May, on his return to Pennsylvania; and spent about two weeks of missionary service in the counties and towns along the sea board, of which he gives a very unfavorable account as to the state of religion. At what time he came to reside in North Carolina is not known; but it must have been in the course of a year or two; for his family have informed me that he lived several, perhaps nine or ten years, in Duplin; and the same fact is mentioned in the collection of manuscripts to which reference has been already made.

Besides numerous appointments of missionaries to the south every year, in 1764, the Synod, considering the state of many congregations in the south, particularly in North Carolina, and the great importance of having those congregations properly *organized*, appointed the Rev. Elihu Spencer and Alexander McWhorter, as missionaries to this country, that they might form societies, help them in adjusting their bounds, ordain elders, administer sealing ordinances, instruct the people in discipline, and finally direct them in their conduct, particularly in

what manner they should proceed to obtain the stated ministry.* These missionaries fulfilled their appointment;† and were exceedingly useful. When the writer first came into this county, some very aged people still recollected Mr. Spencer; and said that he had organized many of the churches in this region. He was present at the organization of Alamance church; and probably he organized Haw River about the same time, though they had a house of worship there, as early as 1762, as I have been recently informed by an elder of that church. Those ministers were both urged by the people in different places to settle in Carolina; but declined the invitation.

The Presbytery of Hanover which at that time appears to have extended over the whole country south of the Potomac, was very active in giving occasional supplies to the vacancies, and some settled pastors to the churches, in North Carolina.— Mr. McAdden was received as a licentiate from the Presbytery of Newcastle, Oct. 4th, 1759; and when the Presbytery met at Buffalo, March 3rd, 1768 to instal Dr. Caldwell as pastor of the churches in Guilford, calls were presented for his pastoral services, from Hico, Dan river and Country Line, which, after some consideration, it appears he accepted, and continued to labor faithfully there in the Lord's vineyard until he was removed by death, in January 1781. Joseph Alexander was received as a licentiate from the Presbytery of Newcastle; and was ordained and installed as pastor of Sugar creek in March 1768. Henry Patillo was licensed by the Hanover Presbytery in 1755; ordained in 1758; and accepted a call from Hawfields in 1765. James Criswell was licensed by the same Presbytery in 1764; received a call from Nutbush, Grassy creek, and Lower Hico, in the same year; and in 1765 was ordained as their pastor.

At a meeting of the Presbytery held in Buffalo church, March 7th, 1770, Hezekiah Balch was received as a licentiate from the Presbytery of Newcastle, and was ordained. At the same meeting a petition was drawn up, addressed to the Synod of Philadelphia and New York, for the organization of a new Presbytery, to be called the Presbytery of Orange. This petition was signed by Hugh McAdden, David Caldwell, Henry

*Records of the Presbyterian Church, p. 339. †Ibid. 343.

Patillo, Joseph Alexander, Hezekiah Balch, and James Criswell;* and to these was afterwards added the name of Hezekiah James Balch, a licentiate under the care of Donegal Presbytery, who had been sent out here by the Synod as a missionary. The petitioners requested that the Synod would appoint the first meeting to be held at Hawfields on the first Wednesday of the following September, which would be Sept. 1st, 1770; and the petition was granted accordingly. From all this it appears that David Caldwell was among the first settled ministers of the Presbyterian church in North Carolina; and his name is identified with the history of our church in this State, more perhaps than the name of any other man in it; for he lived much longer than any other; and considering all the ways in which his influence was exerted he did more for the cause of humanity, and for the advancement of sound learning and Bible religion.

The walls of Jerusalem were built here "in troublous times;" for, at the period now under consideration, the country was in a high degree of exasperation. The people were in open hostility with the government; and the delicate and trying part which Dr. Caldwell and some of his brethren had to act, makes it necessary that we should enquire a little into the causes and results of the prevailing excitement.

It has been seen that from the time the authority of the proprietors was extended over the little settlement on the Albemarle, dissatisfaction, more or less intense, according to circumstances, was felt by the settlers; and that there were frequent risings of the people against the government. The laws were often not suited to their condition; and were as often disregarded or trampled on by the rulers, for the purpose of gratifying their avarice or their love of power. North Carolina, for more than a hundred years was "insulted and oppressed by the weak or vicious administration of wicked judges and worthless governors." The royal governors were entrusted with extensive power by the king; and it was always exercised to depress the spirit of freedom. The absolute *veto* which they had on the acts of the assembly, and the power of proroguing or dissolving the

*Records of Hanover Presbytery, Presbyterian Records 399. Hodge's History 381.

assembly at pleasure made each one, for the time being, nearly absolute sovereign of the province. The people had no remedy; for they held their office, not during good behaviour, but during the pleasure of the crown. The same was the case with the judges, and if the idea of being in subjection to a foreign power is always humiliating, no matter with what lenity it is exercised, it becomes intolerable in the hands of men who have neither moral rectitude nor a sense of honor, and who are unremovable except by the hand of death or the pleasure of a distant monarch. In addition to all this, for a long time, the officers of every grade, from the governor down to the sheriff, were paid, not by a fixed salary, but by fees which afforded great temptations and great facilities for extortion and corruption. In 1760 the lower house sent an address to the king in which they say that by the injudicious and partial appointment of justices, unqualified for the trust, and by the removal of others liable to no objection, magistracy had fallen into contempt, and courts had lost their influence and dignity; that rioters were permitted to assemble in several parts of the province, erect sham judicatures, imprison the peaceable subjects of the king, break open jails, and release malefactors with impunity; that the authors of these outrages were countenanced by the governor and honored with commissions as justices and militia officers; that citizens had received corporal punishment by the arbitrary mandates and private orders of judges still continued in office; that *illegal and arbitrary pecuniary claims were enforced for the use of the governor and secretary*; that the forms of writs of elections had been arbitrarily altered and diversified, to have particular men chosen and defeat the election of others; some writs directing the freeholders, others the inhabitants generally, to choose, —by which last form servants and even convicts might be admitted to the polls, whereas, by King Charles' charter, laws were directed to be made by the assent of freemen and their delegates; that a writ had been issued to one county for fewer members than they had used and ought to send, and to another none at all, till several bills had passed; by which practices it remained no longer a secret, that the governor intended to model the assembly for his own particular purposes, as he had be-

fore reformed the council by suspensions and new appointments.* It was governor Dobbs against whom those charges were made ; and they appear to have been all well founded ; but an example or two for the sake of illustration will be sufficient. The people who lived on Granville's reservation, about two thirds of the whole, were no less oppressed by his lordship's agents than by the enactments of Parliament and the impositions of the governor. In 1752 the compensation allowed the agents, which had been ten per cent. on all the money or produce they received, and the same on all the remittances made, was altered to five per cent. and an annual salary of two hundred pounds to each of them. Childs & Corbin, who, about this time succeeded Mosely & Holten, not being satisfied with their respective salaries and commissions, contrived, by the most villainous means to extort money from those who had already paid for their lands. One of them, being a lawyer, pretended to have discovered a fatal defect in the former patents, which had been signed simply, *Granville*, by his attorneys, Moseley & Holten pretending that it ought to have been, "The right honorable earl Granville, by his attorneys" &c. The consequence of which was that people, not knowing any better or not being able to protect their rights by an appeal to Granville who lived in England, were induced to take out new patents ; and had all the fees to pay a second time. But as this fraud could not reach the grants made by themselves, they adopted a different plan with respect to them ; and demanded two pistoles for an entry instead of one, which was the regular fee. They contrived a device which they fixed to a warrant of survey, without the least shadow of authority, and for which they charged six dollars ; and they frequently induced people to enter lands which they knew had been taken up, but refused to return the fees when the imposition was discovered.

The deputy surveyors, entry takers, and other officers of inferior grade in that department, encouraged by the example of their leaders, soon became as much of adepts in the practice of chicane and extortion. The assembly sent a remonstrance to lord Granville, and he, being convinced that his chief agents

*Martin, vol. 2, p. 118.

were guilty, wrote to them on the subject ; but it was of no avail; for the laws of the province did not reach the offenders ; and the abuses continued until 1765, when the land office was shut.— In the mean time the people, finding the laws of the country could afford them no relief, and that the complaints made to his lordship were unavailing; that Corbin, who had the chief direction of the land office, was increasing his fees from time to time without authority, and that he did not try to conceal his extortions, but turned a deaf ear to all their complaints, resolved to take the redress of their grievances into their own hands ; and ten or fifteen men, well mounted, crossing Chowan river a few miles above Edenton, by night, seized Corbin, who lived a few miles below, and brought him to Enfield, where they kept him until he gave them a bond in £8000, with eight sureties, that he would produce his books within three weeks, and return all his illegal fees. He did not comply with his promise ; but commenced suit against four of the rioters, who, refusing to give security, were committed to Enfield jail. The prison door being cut down the next day by an armed posse, and the prisoners released, Corbin found it necessary to discontinue his suit and pay costs.* Governor Dobbs, instead of frowning upon such conduct in other officers, or taking any proper steps to prevent disorders of this kind, set the example himself. Finding an old law passed in 1715, which subjected the masters of vessels to a penalty for carrying debtors out of the province, although the law was not to be executed by him in person, and although he had nothing more to do with it than to sustain the other officers in the discharge of their duty, he took occasion from it to make an office for himself. He ordered that no vessel should sail without an order from him, lest there should be a debtor on board ; and he demanded half a pistole from the owner or master of every vessel that left the ports.

The Enfield riot, as it was termed, occurred in 1759 ; and in a few months after, the magistrates of Halifax having neglected to recommend a sheriff, the governor commissioned one of the most active rioters ; and he could not be prevailed on by the assembly to take any measures against them, *because* one Me-

*Williamson, vol. 2, p. 105-112.

Culloch who was one of his counsellors, and a favorite, had been concerned in or was privy to the riot. He was allied to a gentleman who wished to have Corbin disgraced, that he might get the office, which was a very lucrative one, for himself; and he finally succeeded. An act had been passed for erecting public buildings, and fixing the seat of government at Tower Hill on Neuse river; but when the assembly was induced by the heavy expenses of the war, and other reasons, to attempt a repeal of the act in 1762, he refused his assent, because he owned the land there. When the assembly wished to appoint a standing agent to attend to their business in England, a measure which was deemed to be of vital importance, especially to their commercial interests, and had been adopted by most of the other colonies, he refused to let them have any agent there; unless they would appoint one Smith, who was his own agent or attorney in London; and the same course seems to have been invariably pursued as his interest or his self-importance dictated. The number of counties having more than doubled since the surrender of the charter, and the popular branch of the legislature, according to the former ratio of representation, becoming too numerous to suit his purpose, the king, by his influence, and with a plea that the right of making counties and boroughs, was a branch of the royal prerogative, repealed the several acts by which Bertie, Tyrrell, Onslow, Bladen, Edgecomb, Northampton, Johnston, Granville, Duplin, Anson, Orange, Rowan, and Cumberland counties had been erected; and also those by which the boroughs of Beaufort, Bath, Edenton, Brunswick, and Wilmington had been formed. The counties were to be formed anew, but in such a way that some of them would not have more than one, and none of them more than two members. The boroughs might be chartered again, but that would be done only where the inhabitants were found to be most flexible. In carrying out these measures, however, his excellency soon found himself involved in very serious difficulties; for by the repeal of the borough charters, the property in town lots and houses, reverted to the original owners of the land—a measure which excited great indignation, and would soon have produced a gen-

*Williamson, vol. 2, p. 98.

eral revolt. In this critical state of affairs, he was instructed by the king,* on the prayer and remonstrance of the assembly, to sanction a law for re-chartering these counties and boroughs, "saving to his majesty, his royal prerogative of granting his letters of incorporation to such counties and boroughs, ordering elections, and appointing the number of members, by whom such counties and towns should be represented in the assembly, as if that act had not passed." Until the charters were renewed they could not elect representatives to the assembly; but as exorbitant fees were demanded for the charters, it was made in the end a profitable measure to the governor; and thus the peace and prosperity of the country were sacrificed to the avarice of those who ought to have been their guardians and promoters.

During the proprietary government, when laws were not in force more than two years, unless renewed, the governors soon contrived to make that a source of profit, by demanding a particular *douceur*, for giving their assent to the renewal of laws which were deemed important, and the practice was not only continued to the end of the chapter, but improved on by their successors, and soon extended to all the officers of government. In 1759, the lower house in a message to the upper, on the new court system, then under discussion, observed,* that the practice which had hitherto prevailed, of the chief justice exacting from the clerks a considerable proportion of their legal fees, had been the cause of their being guilty of great extortions, whereby the superior courts had become scenes of oppression, and the conduct of the chief justice and clerks a subject of universal complaint; and testimonies to the same point might be multiplied to a much greater extent, if it were necessary. This state of things continued, and perhaps became much worse, at least in the lower grades of office, until the people, unwilling to bear it any longer, undertook to *regulate* matters themselves; and, in accordance with this design, assumed the name of REGULATORS. The Regulation, as it was called, was therefore only one of a series of efforts made by the people at different periods of our colonial history, to obtain a redress of their grievances, when-

*Martin, vol. 2, p. 100.

ever they became intolerable, by a manly and determined assertion of their rights. A correction of the extortions and abuses already mentioned, which, instead of any radical or thorough reformation, appear to have increased, was the object of the Regulators; but there were some additional causes of dissatisfaction, which deserve to be noticed here.

The French and Indian war, which was terminated by the treaty of Paris, signed Feb. 10th, 1763, had brought upon the province a heavy debt; and the ability to discharge it was thought to be diminished by the great depreciation of the provincial currency. The paper money issued by the assembly from time to time and for various purposes, had *nominally* retained its proclamation value until about this time; but now it was so depreciated that one Spanish dollar was worth nearly two of proclamation money.* In addition to all this, the governor, either to gratify his vanity, or to try the extent of his influence, subjected the province to very heavy demands for objects which

*In 1764 the amount of bills of credit and treasury notes unredeemed was a fraction over £75,032, for the redemption of which a duty of 4 pence per gallon on imported spirits, and a poll tax of 4 shillings was laid until the whole should be sunk, which, in addition to the pre-existing tax, amounted to 7 shillings on every taxable inhabitant, including probably, all the men and negroes between 16 and 60 years of age.

By a proclamation of Queen Anne, June 18th, 1704, regulating the currency of foreign coin in the several colonies and plantations of America, the value of the bills of credit issued by the colonial assemblies, was fixed at six shillings to the dollar, which was an advance of 33 1-3 per cent. on the sterling money of England; and this proclamation value was retained, though for some years only nominally, until 1764, when the bills could not be passed under an advance of 88 per cent. on the sterling money, or 8 shillings to the dollar. From that time 8 shillings to the dollar became the currency of N. Carolina, by custom or necessity, and not from any legislative enactment; for the king, it seems, claimed it as his prerogative to regulate the value of foreign coin in the province; and with a moment's calculation any one can see the amount of loss sustained by the people on £75,032. In some of the other colonies, as in those of New England and Virginia, the true proclamation value was retained until the adoption of the federal currency; in others, as in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland it depreciated to 7s. 6d. In New York it was the same as in N. Carolina; and in S. Carolina the depreciation appears to have been only 2 pence on the dollar.

This note is intended, not as a positive or correct statement, in relation to this matter, but as a suggestion for others to take it up, who are capable of doing it justice, and give it the consideration which its importance demands; for a full history and a clear exposition of this whole subject, the currency, including all the causes and effects of depreciation from the beginning up to the present time, would certainly be interesting, and might be useful.

were quite unnecessary ; and were therefore illtimed. The people had become so dissatisfied with governor Dobbs, and their complaints against him were so loud that it was thought best to let him visit England "for the benefit of his health;" and William Tryon, who had been trained to the profession of arms, was sent out to take his place. He qualified as lieutenant governor at Wilmington, Oct. 27th, 1764; and Dobbs who was about 82 years of age, having died on the 28th of March following before he left the shores of America, Tryon qualified as governor and entered on the duties of his office. If he had not been so liberally educated as his predecessor, he was neither so bigoted, so avaricious, nor so irritable; but he appears to have been fond of display and the exercise of authority. His firmness and other qualifications as governor were soon put to the test; and the final result is generally known.

The British parliament adopted a resolution, March 10th, 1764, the year in which Tryon came out here as lieutenant governor, asserting their *right* to tax the American colonies without their consent, which produced a great excitement in North Carolina, as it did in all the other colonies; and in the early part of the next year an act was passed, laying duties on certain stamps, which received the king's assent on the 22d. of March. Meetings were held and resolutions were passed by the people, in all parts of the province, expressing their feelings and purposes in relation both to this measure, and to the abstract principle on which it was founded. The people were more unanimous in this perhaps than they have ever been before or since; for they concluded that if the British government could take any of their property without their consent, it could, with the same propriety, take the whole. On the 5th of January 1766, the governor announced the arrival of the sloop of war Diligence, in the Cape Fear, with a quantity of stamp paper on board, for the use of the province; and called on those who were authorized to act as distributors of the stamps, to apply to the captain of the vessel for them; but the people there, with Col. John Ashe and Col. Hugh Waddell at their head, made such a united, bold, and determined resistance, that the governor was obliged to yield; James Houston, who had been appointed stamp mas-

ter, and was also one of the council, was compelled to take an oath that he would not proceed on the duties of his office; and the stamps were not even landed. In the month of March this odious act was repealed; and on the 15th of June a communication was received from the British minister announcing the fact, which caused great joy, and gave to that region a temporary tranquility. Their successful resistance to the stamp act, shewed the people their strength; and it taught them the importance of union, a lesson which, if it had been duly remembered, would have been of great service to them afterwards, and would have saved them from a vast deal of suffering.

The governor did not dare to meet the assembly while the stamp act was in force; but prorogued it until he could say that the act was repealed. When it met Nov. 3d, 1766, he proposed and carried two measures, which were both unnecessary, except for the purpose of gratifying his vanity; but they increased alike the debt of the province and the discontent of the people. An act was passed and an appropriation made for running the dividing line between the western settlements of the province and the Cherokee hunting grounds. He was authorized to appoint three commissioners for the purpose; but for their protection, or to gratify his "natural as well as acquired fondness for military parade" he "marched in person to perform it, in a time of profound peace, at the head of a company of militia, in all the pomp of war; and returned with the honorable title conferred on him by the Cherokees, of the *Great Wolf of North Carolina*;" and thus the country had to pay for "an opportunity of exercising his military talents and making a splendid show of himself to the Indians." By a great deal of management and perseverance he prevailed on the assembly, at the same session, to appropriate £5000 for building a governor's house at Newbern; but as the direction of the business was left to him he expended this sum without raising it much above the foundation. When the assembly met the next year he made his report; and they found themselves under the disagreeable necessity of losing the appropriation already made, or of giving £10,000 more for the completion of the work. They preferred the latter; and thus £15,000 was added to a debt which was already enormous for

the impoverished condition of the country. It has been said that the building of Tryon's palace was the cause of the Regulation; but this is a mistake. It was one item in the catalogue of grievances, or formed one subject of complaint; but it was viewed as a small matter compared with some others. Disturbances too had taken place in different parts of the country before this time; and the minds of the people, from a hundred miles of the seaboard to the foot of the mountains, had been preparing for a general revolt.

It does not appear on the pages of history that the people of North Carolina were disposed to rebel, without a cause, against the authority of those who were properly authorized to administer the laws, or that they ever refused to pay whatever taxes might be necessary for the support of government; but they were at all times ready, when they had the power, to resist oppression or flagrant encroachments on their rights; and now it seemed that they must resist their oppressors, or be trampled on and reduced to a state of abject submission. Offices were multiplied; and throughout all the grades of office extortion appears to have been systematized and carried to the greatest possible extent. The people had long remonstrated and complained through their representatives; but could get no redress. Their complaints had reached the throne; and the governors had been instructed once and again to prohibit such a shameful contempt of law and abuse of power. Gov. Dobbs, in consequence of his institutions, ordered in 1764, the last year of his administration, that a table of fees should be set up in every public office; but owing to his example and his imbecility, any such effort on his part, either to correct abuses in the government or to quell the tumults of the people, was perfectly futile. Governor Tryon, having received similar instructions, issued a proclamation forbidding the demand of illegal fees; but it is perfectly manifest that neither of these gentlemen was in earnest about restraining the mal-practices in question, for one effectual prosecution would have done more than all their blustering proclamations. No such thing was attempted, however; and the conduct of subaltern officers, was in fact connived at by the men who were sworn to administer the government faithfully, and to whom the

community had a right to look for protection. The people "were defrauded by the clerks of the several courts, by the recorders of deeds, by entry takers, by surveyors, and by the lawyers, every man demanding twice or three times his legal fees;"* and, whenever it could be done, about double the amount of legal taxes was collected by the sheriffs. Attempts were made to obtain relief by bringing indictment against individual officers in the civil courts; but there they found only a mockery of justice. When all legal means of redress had failed, they had recourse to an expression of public sentiment by holding meetings in different parts of the country for the purpose; then they refused to pay illegal taxes or fees; and this brought about an open rupture with the government.

There were disturbances of this kind, before the passing of the stamp act;† for during the last meeting of the legislature under the administration of Dobbs, accounts reached Wilmington of serious disturbances in the county of Orange, the cause of which was stated to be, the exactions of the clerks, registers, and some of the attorneys, in requiring illegal and exorbitant fees; and amidst the excitement on account of the stamp act in the following year, these disturbances not only continued in Orange, but had spread into Granville. In June of this year a paper, under this motto,

"Save my country, heavens, shall be my last,"

And entitled, *A serious address to the people of Granville county, containing a brief narrative of our deplorable situation and the wrongs we suffer, and some necessary hints with respect to a reformation*, was circulated in that county; and, although the writer was an illiterate man, being written with clearness and energy, it had great effect. The excitement on account of the stamp act had no tendency to divert the minds of the Regulators from grievances which they felt more at present than the other; and therefore, while the disturbances continued in Orange and Granville counties, they spread during this time into Anson.‡ The object of the Regulators and of those who resisted the introduction of the stamps at Wilmington was essentially the same;

*Williamson, vol. 2, p. 129. †Martin, vol. 2, p. 191.

‡Martin, vol. 2, p. 215.

and the principal difference was that, while the latter opposed a single measure, the former aimed at a reformation of all abuses. The Regulators applauded those who so manfully resisted the operation of the stamp act at Wilmington; and called them, by way of honorable distinction, THE SONS OF LIBERTY; and many of this party, too, it is said, united heartily with the Regulators.

Hitherto the neighborhood meetings had served only to keep alive and perhaps to extend the spirit of opposition or of inquiry; but, finding that greater concert of action and more regular means of communication were necessary, when the county court of Orange was in session, in the month of August, 1766, a paper addressed to the representatives and magistrates of the county was presented and read. This is said to have been the first *written complaint* against those extortions which had been so long and so extensively practised; and which brought reproach not only on the court and the bar, but on the governors and all or most of those who acted under their authority. In order that great good might come out of that which was designed as a great evil, the stamp law, in opposing which the Sons of Liberty had withstood the lords of parliament, the writer thought that rulers should not be permitted to carry on oppression in the province, of which there were great complaints among the inhabitants; that the evils complained of should be removed, or if there was no cause, the jealousies ought to be removed out of their minds; and *honest* rulers would be glad to have this matter freely examined; that while there were more honest men than rogues in the country, rogues were harbored among them, almost publicly; that as every honest man was willing to give part of his substance for the support of rulers and laws, it was his duty as well as his right to inquire whether such rulers abused their trust, otherwise the part so given might do more harm than good; that if *all* were rogues they could not subsist, but would be obliged to frame laws to make themselves honest; that when justice is desired by all, or by the majority of men, if public grievances were not redressed it must be because what is everybody's business is nobody's: he therefore proposed that each neighborhood in the county should

appoint one or more men to attend a general meeting, on the Monday before the next November court, at Maddock's Mills,* or some place where there was *no liquor*, for the purpose of inquiring whether the freemen of the county were laboring under any abuses of power or not; and if so, they should be stated in writing, and proper measures taken for their correction. This it was supposed would cause the wicked men in power to tremble, while no injury could result from such a meeting, nor any thing hinder the benefit of it, except a cowardly, dastardly spirit, which, if it did prevail at a time when liberty was beginning to triumph, they must remain under their oppressions until a more noble spirit might prevail in their posterity; and the course he proposed was regarded as the only safe one, no matter who were their rulers; for while men were men, if even the *Sons of Liberty* were put into office they would become corrupt and oppressive, unless they were called upon to give an account of their stewardship.

The Deep river settlement appointed W. C. and W. M. as delegates to attend the general meeting on the 10th of October, at Maddock's mills, with a written certificate of their appointment and instructions, "to examine *judiciously* whether the freemen in this country labor under any abuses of power; and in particular to examine into *the public tax*, and inform themselves of every particular thereof, *by what law and for what uses it was levied*, in order to remove some jealousies out of the people's minds. The representatives, vestrymen, and other officers were requested to give the members of the said meeting what information and satisfaction they could, so far as they valued the good will of every citizen, and the executing public offices pleasant and delightful." All this was nothing more than reasonable, and what they had a right, as British subjects, to expect; and the government party could make no valid objection. While the first delegates that arrived at Maddock's mills were waiting for the arrival of others, Col. Fanning, who was particularly odious to the people, sent out James Watson to denounce or forbid the meeting;† but they proceeded to busi-

*On En^o, between two and three miles west from Hillsborough.

†Jones' Defence of North Carolina, p. 40.

ness; and after a free discussion, it was resolved, as the judgment of the meeting, that no one man in the country, owing to its great extent, being known to more than one tenth of the inhabitants, such a meeting for public and free discussion, yearly, or as often as the case might require, was absolutely necessary, in order to reap the benefit which the constitution conferred upon them, of choosing their representatives, and of knowing for what uses their money was called for; and that no representative could possibly answer the design of his constituents without such opportunities of consulting their minds in matters of weight and moment; that as none of the representatives or government officers had attended that meeting, probably from their not having duly considered the reasonableness of the request, if they were disposed to give an account of their stewardship, or be held responsible for their conduct as public servants, they should have an opportunity at some other time and place on giving proper notice. A copy of these resolutions was given to Watson, who expressed his approbation of it, and promised to furnish each of the representatives with a transcript; but Col. Fanning, instead of complying with these "reasonable proposals," at the following court, or at a general muster, read a long piece of writing in public and among the justices, in repugnance to their request, vaunting himself greatly on his performances, telling them that he had served the Regulators with copies of it, and signified that it would silence them, though none of them ever saw it or knew what it contained. In April of the following year they had a meeting at the same place; and adopted the following preamble and resolutions:

"We the subscribers do voluntarily agree to form ourselves into an association, to assemble ourselves for conference for regulating public grievances and abuses of power, in the following particulars, with others of the like nature that may occur.

1. That we will pay no more taxes until we are satisfied they are agreeable to law, and applied to the purposes therein mentioned; unless we cannot help it, or are forced.

2. That we will pay no officer any more fees than the law allows, unless we are obliged to it; and then to shew our dislike, and bear an open testimony against it.

3. That we will attend our meetings of conference as often as we conveniently can, and is necessary, in order to consult our representatives on the amendment of such laws as may be found grievous or unnecessary; and to choose more suitable men than we have done heretofore for burgesses and vestrymen; and to petition the houses of assembly, governor, council, king, and parliament, &c. for the redress of such grievances as in the course of the undertaking may occur; and to inform one another, learn, know, and enjoy all the privileges and liberties that are allowed and were settled on us by our worthy ancestors, the founders of our present constitution, in order to preserve it on its ancient foundation, that it may stand firm and unshaken.

4. That we will contribute to collections for defraying necessary expenses attending the work, according to our abilities.

5. That in case of difference in judgment, we will submit to the judgment of the majority of our body.

To all which we solemnly swear, or being a *Quaker* or otherwise scrupulous in conscience of the common oath, do solemnly affirm, that we will stand true and faithful to this cause, till we bring things to a true regulation, according to the true intent and meaning hercof, in the judgment of the majority of us."

The reader may be ready to say that here was the very spirit of '76; and that every man at the present day would be ready to pledge his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor in defence of the same rights and principles; but as the Regulators had now passed the Rubicon, and were fairly at issue with the government, it is necessary to bring more distinctly into view the prominent characters on both sides, and the actual state of things over the country at that time; and in addition to the common histories of the country, and such traditionary or verbal testimonies as appeared worthy of credit, there are two accounts in my possession, one in print and the other in manuscript, of which I shall make considerable use. The first is a communication which was made some years ago, in a paper called *The Weekly Times*, published somewhere in Tennessee, and which is said to have been written, or the matter furnished by a man who had been a Regulator and an active agent in the whole transaction,

until the closing scene ; and the other is an account furnished me by Dr. Mitchell of the University, which he obtained in July 1819, twenty-three years ago, from Joseph McPherson, near Salem, in Stokes county. He was of Scotch descent ; but was born near Wilmington. In 1765 he came to live in Chatham, and found that the Regulation had then made considerable progress in that county. At the breaking out of the Revolutionary war he removed into Stokes where he resided until his death.— Having been in the Regulation battle, and having resided in that region for some time previous, his opportunities were good for obtaining a correct knowledge of facts ; and although he had some eccentricities or peculiarities, he is believed to have been a man of truth, and his statements worthy of credit. It is always desirable to hear both sides of a story ; but in this case we have to regret that hitherto the story has been told, in any thing like an authentic or regular form, only by one side ; and we are left to gather up such fragments, often of doubtful authenticity, as have not yet entirely passed into the long dark shadow of oblivion.

The first resolution at the above meeting related to the *taxes* ; and while the Regulators avowed their willingness to pay whatever taxes were agreeable to law, or were necessary for the support of government, a belief on their part is implied, not only that there was extravagance or a useless expenditure of public funds, but that more than the lawful taxes had been demanded by the sheriffs, and that there was generally great mismanagement in the financial concerns of the country. The legal taxes were very heavy, considering the circumstances of the people, as will very soon appear. Governor Tryon, in a communication to the Regulators,* dated June 21st, 1768, says, “ As you want to be satisfied what is the amount of the tax for the public service for 1767, I am to inform you, it is seven shillings a taxable, besides the county and parish taxes.” By an act passed in 1764, the vestry of each parish were authorized to lay a poll tax of *ten* shillings on every taxable inhabitant, if they thought it necessary ; and there was also a tax of some kind

*Williamson, vol. 2, p. 267.

for destroying vermin;* but whether this was under the act of 1760, for that purpose, or under a later one, I have not examined. These being poll taxes would come very heavy on *the poor*, and then a great deal more was often collected than was due; but money was so difficult to obtain that they must have been felt as a burden by most people. MacPherson says, "he went with his father to Cross creek, now Fayetteville, with a load of wheat, 40 bushels. They could get 5 shillings per bushel; but of this only one shilling was paid in money; or they could get a bushel of salt for a bushel of wheat. On their return they had 40 shillings in cash; and were able to pay their tax, which was more than any other man in the settlement could do." Several old men in this county have given me a similar account of the price of wheat as well as of some other articles; and they added that if they could bring home 40 shillings, or five dollars in money, for 40 bushels of wheat, they thought they were doing a first rate business. It required some patience to bear such a burden of taxes under these circumstances; and especially when a large portion of it was to gratify the vanity of a man, like governor Tryon, in building palaces, and in doing other things

*The following receipt shows, in accordance with Tryon's letter to the Regulators the year before, the amount due from every taxable inhabitant as a poll tax, exclusive of the parish tax, which *might* be as high as ten shillings on the poll; and it also shews that some tax was paid for destroying noxious animals:—*Received of the Rev. Mr. Caldwell, for two taxables, fourteen shillings tax, and four shillings and eight pence for scalps for the year 1769.*—WILLIAM T. COLES.

In 1760 an act was passed requiring every master, mistress, or overseer of a family, to kill 2 crows, 50 blackbirds, and 5 squirrels under a penalty of two shillings proclamation money for every 2 crows, two shillings for every 50 blackbirds and one shilling for every 5 squirrels. Whether the 4s. 8d. in the above receipt came under this act or one of later date I know not; but the country so abounded then with wild animals, some of which preyed on the grain and stock, and others were even dangerous to the inhabitants themselves, that some efficient measures were necessary for their destruction.—In proof of this latter fact, a single incident will suffice. Soon after Dr. Caldwell commenced the practice of medicine, he was returning one night, at a late hour, from a visit to a sick child in the neighborhood, when a pack of wolves, attracted probably by the smell of the assafœtida or other medicines in his saddlebags, raised the howl at a little distance behind, and were making towards him. He happened to have no switch, and could not alight to procure one, lest they should overtake him; but with his characteristic presence of mind, reaching forward he instantly pulled the bridle off his horse, and using that for a whip, went at full speed until he reached his house, having just time to get through the gate and shut it on them before they came up.

quite as unnecessary ; yet it is probable that the people would have submitted to it if the officers had been honest, and had demanded no more taxes and fees than were lawful. It is to be supposed that the most intelligent, or wealthy and influential class were not imposed on as others were by the officers ; but that the sheriffs, whenever they could do it, demanded a great deal more than the amount required by law is confirmed by the uniform tradition of the country as well as by history ; and they were at length obliged to acknowledge some dishonesty ; for in March, 1771, they made arrangements to restore all that they had taken unjustly. It was then too late however to prevent the consequences of their iniquity ; and to them must be attributed in part the calamities which followed.

The clerks of the courts were guilty in the same way ; but to a much greater extent. Thomas Frohawk in Salisbury, and Edmund Fanning in Hillsborough, were clerks of the Superior Courts in their respective counties ; and had become exceedingly obnoxious to the people by their extortions ; but of the character and conduct of the latter my information is more ample and more authentic. " Fanning was from the North ; and it is believed, from Long Island. Frohawk was a bachelor and died very rich. It is said that he charged \$15 for a marriage license ; and the consequence was that some of the inhabitants on the head waters of the Yadkin took a short cut. They took each other for better or for worse ; and considered themselves as married without any further ceremony." This is all the information I have had respecting Frohawk ; but the extortions practised in Rowan must have been similar to those practised in Orange ; for the disturbances on this account appear to have been nearly as great in the former as in the latter. It seems, at first view, incredible that the clerk should demand \$15 for a marriage license ; and yet it is not more incredible than that he should demand half that amount, or any thing more than the lawful fee. There were not many who knew what was the legal fee for that or any thing else ; and then the expenses of going to law were so great in the way of fees &c., that fewer still could obtain justice in that way. Besides the judges were not disposed to enforce the laws against officers or members of the

court; and whether a man gained a suit or not, however just, depended very much on the weight of his purse or on his standing and influence in society. At least it was so in Orange, as we shall shew presently, especially when any one who was attached to the court was concerned; and we presume it was so in the other counties, for the same judges presided in all the districts; and people who were in moderate circumstances, or without influence would make any sacrifices or suffer loss to almost any amount rather than go to law in such cases. Fanning was a lawyer, a colonel of the county, clerk of the Superior Court, and register. The legal fee for recording a DEED was one dollar, which, considering the difference between the value of money then and now, would be more than double the present fee; but he made the people over the country pay four or five times that amount. This is only a specimen of his extortions, which it is said were practised on the same scale in his other offices, whenever it could be done; and in this course he was protected by the court.

A people who have been religiously educated, as a majority of the Regulators had been, and who have been taught to regard the Bible as a revelation from heaven, are not apt to rise at once in open rebellion against the established government, or bid defiance to the regularly constituted authorities of the land. This is the work of time and reflection. There must be consultation and inquiry into facts for the purpose of satisfying their own consciences and of justifying themselves before the world: there will be some regard to the voice of reason; some efforts will be made to obtain a redress of grievances without the hazard and sufferings attending a conflict with "the powers that be;" and then they must have mutual encouragement and mutual pledges of fidelity and support. This is just what we find in the men whose principles and conduct are now under consideration; and it does not appear that hitherto they had as a body made any direct resistance to the operations of government. Fanning and others, who had in the same way become obnoxious to the people, were made the subjects of ridicule or of merriment by the wits and wags of the day; and, as is usual in such cases, carica-

tures and pasquinades abounded.* The meeting at Maddock's mills, as we have seen, resolved that they would pay no more illegal taxes, unless they were forced; that they would pay no more exorbitant fees to officers, except by compulsion, and that they would bear an open testimony against it; that they would hold frequent meetings for conference, which they would request their representatives to attend for the purpose of giving them information respecting what was done in the legislature, and of consulting together about the measures that ought to be adopted for the common welfare; that they would select more suitable men for the various offices in the gift of the people; that they would petition the assembly, governor, council, king and parliament, for redress of their grievances; that they would contribute to collections for defraying whatever expenses might be necessary in this undertaking; that whenever a difference of opinion might arise they would submit to the majority; and as a pledge of their fidelity in the performance of these things they bound themselves by an oath or affirmation. In all this we see nothing but the principles and spirit which covered the patriots of '76 with immortal honor; and only because they were better sustained, had more ample resources, and were more successful.

As complaints and petitions were found unavailing; and as the expenses attending a lawsuit were too great for any one man, their contributions were made for this purpose. The meeting at Maddock's mills, which adopted the resolution, contributed fifty pounds;† and whether any prosecutions were commenced immediately I have not learned; but some time after,

*Some fragments of the poetic effusions then common in the country are here given as matters of curiosity; and as shewing the manner and spirit of the times. The following, MacPherson says he heard sung at a wedding when he first came into Chatham, in 1765; and before he knew any thing of the individual to whom it refers:

“When Fanning first to Orange came
 He looked both pale and wan,
 An old patched coat upon his back
 An old mare he rode on
 Both man and mare wa'nt worth five pounds
 As I've been often told
 But by his civil robberies
 He's laced his coat with gold.”

†Jones's Defence, p. 42.

when an opportunity occurred which they supposed to be a favorable one, Fanning was indicted for extortion in six cases.* He was found guilty in all, notwithstanding the partiality of the court; and was fined, in each case, *one penny*, with costs; but being what was called "a pretty smart lawyer," he pleaded his own cause, and being clerk of the court he did his own writing; so that he had little or no costs to pay. With such encouragement from the court he continued his extortions; and no wonder "he laced his coat with gold." It has been seen that the governor, soon after he was inducted into office, issued a proclamation forbidding the officers to take unlawful fees; and he gave the Regulators assurance in other ways that their grievances should be redressed; but here was proof that, notwithstanding the oaths of office and the pledges of honor, nothing like justice was to be expected. Fanning was a favorite with the governor; and for his emolument thousands must be oppressed, the claims of justice disregarded, and the rights of humanity contemned. In 1770 he chartered Hillsborough, or gave it the right of sending a member to the assembly; and his object was to secure a seat for Fanning,† who had become too odious to be elected for the county. He had been a member for two years previous, as representative of the county; but, MacPherson says, he owed his election to the sheriff, Thos. Hart, to whom he promised a reward if he would get him elected; and when he took his seat he brought in a bill, and had it passed, for giving Hart one thousand pounds, on account of his losses as sheriff, when in fact he had lost nothing: so said the Regulators; and they complained that in this way, their money, or a great deal of it, had gone. It being a prominent object of the Regulators in their associations to assist each other in becoming acquainted with the legislative proceedings, and with the conduct of the government officers, they procured a copy of the laws, by which it was manifest that the officers demanded unlawful fees; and by calculations, as to the amount of taxes raised, &c., they concluded that a great deal more had been paid into the treasury than was fairly accounted for; and they naturally supposed it must have been employed by the men in office to enrich themselves or their friends; and

*Williamson, vol. 2, p. 137. †Martin, vol. 2, p. 265.

they exclaimed against paying any more taxes unless they knew how their money was expended.

That there were no unprincipled and reckless men among the Regulators, or that things were not done which were highly censurable, even in their circumstances, will not be pretended; for to expect any thing else would be to suppose that they were superior to all other people. The most enlightened, refined, and moral community, when wronged, insulted and goaded on to desperation, as they were, will break over the strict rules of propriety and do things which they themselves cannot but regret afterwards. There may have been some acts of violence on the part of individuals or small companies, before the indictments were brought against Fanning; but it seems to have been the design of the prominent men to avoid or restrain such proceedings, at least until all peaceful measures had been tried. In 1767 associations had been formed, not only in Granville and Orange, but in Anson, Bladen, Mecklenburgh,* and on the west side of Haw river,† including, if I mistake not, what are now Guilford and Randolph counties; and they appear to have been proceeding with regularity, though with resolution and confidence. They had a meeting in Orange, probably at Maddock's mills, April 4th, 1768, at which they appointed two persons who were directed to call on the two late sheriffs and the vestrymen with a request that they would meet twelve deputies from the general meeting on the Tuesday after the next county court, and produce to them their accounts.‡ But the sheriffs and vestrymen it seems were not willing that their official conduct should be submitted to any such scrutiny; for before the two men could give them the notice, some of the sheriffs' deputies took by way of distress, a mare, saddle, and bridle, and carried them to Hillsborough; but they were followed by a party of sixty or seventy men, who rescued the mare; and then, marching to Fanning's house, they fired a few shots at the roof of it, to let him know that they regarded him as the principal cause of the disturbance. Such is Martin's account of this transaction; but some very aged men, of great respectability, have told me that the mare, with the trappings, was sold for the man's tax, four or five dollars;

*Martin, vol. 2, p. 228. †Martin, vol. 2, p. 232. ‡Martin, vol. 2, p. 233.

and that one of the officers bought the whole for that amount. The Regulators went and paid the money, then took the property, and gave it back to the owner.

Probably the above transaction produced some alarm; for the minister of the parish having undertaken to give the notice which the committee of two had been appointed to give, soon reported that the sheriffs and vestrymen would attend, as requested, on the 20th of May. In consequence of this information the Regulators met on the 30th of April, and twelve deputies were chosen; but before the day appointed, the governor, having heard of the disturbances, sent David Edwards with a proclamation summoning the Regulators to disperse, and calling on the officers of the province to assist the sheriff in suppressing the insurrection. As the Regulators, after their late meeting, had quietly returned to their homes, the sheriff, availing himself of the advantage thus afforded, took with him a party of thirty horsemen, well armed, and riding through the country to the distance of fifty miles, took two of them, Harmon Husband and William Hunter, whom he brought to Hillsborough and confined in jail. These were both prominent men among the Regulators; but of the latter I know nothing, and of the former, not much. It is generally said that he was from Pennsylvania, and that he was raised a Quaker. When he came to this country, he was a public speaker of high standing in that society; but at the period under consideration he was not in connexion with them, owing to some disagreement which had taken place between him and some of their leading men. He lived on Sandy Creek, in what is now Randolph county, and was in good circumstances; for he must have owned some three thousand acres, more or less, of very valuable land. The tradition of his old neighborhood says that he was some relation of Dr. Franklin; and that the two maintained at this time a kind of verbal correspondence by means of a Mr. Wilcox, who set up the first store in Fayetteville, and who carried messages from one to the other, when he went every half year to Philadelphia for goods; but that they never corresponded in writing, for fear of detection. MacPherson, who lived for some time with Wilcox, after he set up an iron furnace in Chatham, makes

the same statement ; and there was probably *some* truth in it. These things, though not authentic, nor of any great importance in themselves, are worth knowing, as they throw some light on the history of that period. It is also said that Franklin used to send Husband pamphlets by Wilcox ; and that when they arrived they were distributed over the country by Husband, who some times had them copied and republished under his own name. This was particularly the case with regard to a pamphlet of Franklin's, entitled "State Affairs," which is said to have been republished by Husband under the title of "Sermons to Asses." It was moreover believed that both Franklin and Husband had in view at that time a separation from Great Britain, though the latter did not then communicate his project to his associates ; and this opinion is supposed to be confirmed by the fact that when some Carolinians, who were attached to Husband and his party, during the Revolutionary War, were confined in Staunton, Virginia, they or some one of them said that Husband visited them and told them that the revolutionary struggle then going on, was what he intended at the time of the Regulation.* The testimony of MacPherson, of which so much use is here made only because it is more full and explicit than any other of the kind that I have seen or heard, and which he says he got from Wilcox, while he was engaged with him in his iron establishment, is sustained by the traditions of the country, except in relation to the re-publication of Franklin's pamphlets by Husband, of which this is the only account that has come to my knowledge.

Although wanting the advantages of education, Harmon Husband was certainly a man of superior mind ; and he was much given to reading and reflection. He was very grave in his deportment, and had usually all that reserved and cautious manner of expressing himself in conversation, for which the people of the Quaker society are remarkable ; but when animated he

*From the pamphlets which were published about this time, and even some years earlier,—such, for example, as the one entitled: *The Interests of Great Britain with regard to her Colonies*—it appears that the thought of Independence was revolved in more minds than those of Ben. Franklin and Harmon Husband, on both sides of the Atlantic too ; and while it was dreaded there, it was cherished here.

could speak, in public or private, with sufficient fluency, and with a great deal of force. He has been generally represented by historians as a man of a turbulent and seditious character; as an arch demagogue; and as possessing all the craft and cunning of the Jesuit; but it is strange that a writer who thus speaks of him in one sentence, should say of him in the next that he lived in a country where the exercise of those qualities were not only *excusable, but frequently indispensable, as a means of redress for OUTRAGE and WRONG*; and that he induced the discontented and oppressed to unite in a general and systematic opposition to the operations of the government by which they were oppressed—the very thing that was done in the Revolution. Such were the representations of his enemies or of the government party, and historians seem to have copied them without sufficient inquiry or making the proper allowance; but those who were personally acquainted with him and knew him best, give him a different character. When people find that they have been deceived by a man who has courted their favor merely for some selfish end, they usually turn against him; but this was not the case with the people whom he represented. The writer in the Weekly Times says, “He was one of those independent Quakers who was educated in the honest school of William Penn, and refused to pull off his hat, and bow before the minions of despotism. In consequence of which he shared the contempt of the governor; but the frowns of power could never drive him from the faithful performance of his duty to his constituents.” I have conversed with a number who knew him personally and intimately in their youth, as they were his neighbors, some of whom are yet living; and they all speak of him as a man of strict integrity, and as a firm and sincere advocate of what he believed to be the rights of mankind. His energy of character, inflexibility of purpose, and indignation at the wrongs which he and others were enduring, may have led him in some cases to do things which were unjustifiable or imprudent; but I have never heard those who were well acquainted with him impeach his motives.

It has been generally said that he was the soul of the Regulation; but this does not appear to be sustained by facts; for the

disturbances, as they were called, commenced in Granville as early as they did in Orange, if not a little earlier; but they had progressed in both these counties for some time before his name is mentioned. Having engaged in the cause with a great deal of ardor, his superior intelligence and firmness made him of course, a prominent man. Being enabled by his circumstances to do it, he procured, among other sources of information, a copy of the laws; and read them to the people in their neighborhood meetings, or wherever opportunity offered, from which it was manifest that exorbitant fees were demanded by the officers.— He drew up the paper which was read before Hillsborough court, in August, 1766; the resolutions which were adopted by the meeting at Maddock's mills; and most of the petitions and papers of every description that were needed by the Regulators in his own county. Whether his influence has been over-rated or not, he certainly had the confidence of the people to a very great extent; for as soon as it was known that he was imprisoned in Hillsborough, the whole country rose *en masse*, and marched down, for his rescue, under Ninian Bell Hamilton, an old Scotchman, 60 or 70 years of age. Husband had been liberated before they arrived;* for his enemies dreaded the consequences of detaining him until his friends could rally their forces; and they took this plan of laying him under some moral obligation, as they supposed, while they had him in their power, and of mollifying the resentment of the people. The conditions of his release were that "he should never give his opinion of the laws, nor frequent assembling of himself among the people, nor shew any jealousy of the officers taking extraordinary fees, and others of a similar kind."† This was an implied acknowledgement of their guilt and of his weight of character; nor does it appear that they ever submitted to a fair investigation of their official conduct. Hamilton and his men posted themselves at a short distance from Hillsborough, on the south side of Eno, where they were joined by Husband and Hunter; and Isaac Edwards, who had not yet returned to Newbern, having rode up towards them, read the governor's proclamation, informing them that he was directed to assure them, on

*Jones's Defence, p. 35. †Martin, vol. 2, p. 234.

behalf of the governor, that, on application to him, he would redress their grievances and protect them from the extortion and oppression of any officer, provided they would disperse and go home. They all cried out at once, agreed, agreed; and they immediately separated. This did not look like they were an unprincipled mob, or that they deserved the censure which has been heaped upon them; and if the governor had faithfully and promptly fulfilled his promises, we presume there would have been no more trouble.

When the Regulators first arrived on the banks of the Eno, it is said that Fanning went down, with a bottle of rum in one hand, and a bottle of wine in the other, entreating Hamilton not to bring his men into the town, but send a horse to take him across, that they might talk about matters in good humor. The old Scotchman, however, told him that he was none too good to wade;* and that if he had any business with them, he might bring himself over the best way he could. Fanning waded the stream; but when he got there Hamilton would not permit the men to taste either his rum or his wine; and when the assurance was given them by Edwards that their wrongs should be redressed, they separated and quietly returned to their homes.

On the 21st of May the Regulators held another general meeting, at which a communication was received from the Regulators in Anson county, offering their co-operation in such measures as might be adopted for the purpose of procuring relief, and desiring information as to the manner in which their proceedings had been conducted. A committee was appointed to return a suitable answer, and give the necessary information. According to the primary intention of this meeting, and relying on the promise of Edwards, the governor's messenger, they appointed

*On this occasion some one made a song of eight verses, two of which are here given merely as a specimen.

5. At length their head man they sent out,
To save their town from fire:
To see Ned Fanning wade Eno,
Brave boys you'd all admire.
6. With hat in hand, at our command,
To salute us every one, sir,
And after that kept off his hat,
To salute old Hamilton, sir.

a committee to wait on his excellency, and lay their grievances before him. A short address was drawn up in which they made solemn professions of loyalty to the king, and of strong attachment to the established government; the committee were directed to implore, in the most submissive manner, the forgiveness of the governor, for any errors of theirs which might derogate from the honor of the crown, or tend to subvert peace and good order; and for the information of the governor the committee were furnished with copies of the proceedings at all the different meetings which had been held. From this it would seem that they were not a set of desperadoes, or a reckless mob, destitute alike of intelligence and principle, drawn together either by some indefinable impulse, or by the arts of some aspiring demagogue, complaining of injuries without any just cause, and seeking redress of imaginary grievances; for thus far, there appears to have been as much regularity in the management of their public meetings, and as much reason and propriety in their petitions to the governor, and in the measures adopted for obtaining relief, as in similar meetings at the present day.

In the latter part of June, James Hunter and Rednap Howel, on behalf of the committee, waited on Governor Tryon at Brunswick, with the address of the general meeting, and copies of the proceedings at that and all their previous meetings.— These papers were laid before the council; and by the advice of that body he wrote them a letter, dated, *Brunswick, June 21st, 1768*; but instead of removing the causes of complaint with despatch and firmness, as he had promised, and as an executive officer ought to have done, he told them that the power and authority which they had assumed to themselves of calling public officers to account, were unconstitutional; that the exactions and oppressions of the county register and other public officers, of which they complained, were only *pretended* grievances; that the measures which they had adopted for obtaining redress, by insulting public officers, or resisting them in the discharge of their duty, if they had been carried a little further, would have been denominated, and must have been treated as high treason, involving themselves with their families in ruin and destruction; that these calamities, he trusted, were now re-

moved by the timely proclamation which he had sent to them by his secretary, and by their prudent determination to petition him in council for a redress of their grievances; that the *discreet and steady behaviour of Col. Fanning*, and of the officers and men under his command,* had not only met with the entire approbation of himself and council, but would ever be acknowledged with gratitude by every well wisher to the province; that although their understandings had been run away with, and their passions had been led into captivity, by some evil designing men, who, actuated by cowardice and a sense of that public justice which was due to their crimes, had obscured themselves from public view, yet as they had determined to abide by his decisions in council, it was his direction that they should henceforward desist from any further meetings, either by verbal appointment or advertisement; that all titles of Regulators or Associators should cease, and that the sheriff and other officers should be permitted to execute the duties of their respective offices without molestation; that all branches of the peace must be examined and determined in due course of law; that this was the extent of what he had authorized Mr. Edwards to declare to them on his behalf, in a strict and punctual adherence to which directions they could hope for any further clemency on his part; that as he was willing to listen to the voice of distress, the just complaints of his majesty's subjects, and the hardships they might groan under, he would give his majesty's attorney general orders to prosecute every officer who had been guilty of extortion or illegal practices in his office, upon any application or information by the parties injured, or any others who might be authorized to prosecute on their behalf; and that he would be up at Hillsborough himself in the beginning of the next month, when he hoped to see industry prevailing over faction, and peace and harmony triumphing over jealousies and murmuring.

While this vacillating or temporizing course of the governor was discreditable to him, it was tantalizing and provoking to the Regulators. He had been trained to the profession of arms and accustomed to energetic measures; and if he had been convinced that these people had no just cause of complaint, or if he had

*Alluding probably to the seizure and imprisonment of Husband and Hunter.

felt conscious of an honest purpose to do what was right, he ought to have adopted such prompt and vigorous measures as would have suppressed the prevailing disorders at once ; but by his awkward attempts to justify himself and his officers ; and by promising and threatening at the same time, he betrayed that want of firmness and resolution which usually attend a man when he knows that he is wanting in the discharge of his duty, and that facts are against him. The Regulators having hitherto been guilty of no very great excesses ; two of their prominent men having been taken and bound over ; and the rest having quietly returned to their homes, he might have safely left the whole business to a regular process of law, if the laws had been faithfully administered ; but by becoming a party in the dispute and by entering into negotiations with those whom he professed to consider as little better than traitors, he sunk his own dignity and emboldened them. There were some things in his letter which were indeed mortifying or irritating ; but they felt encouraged by his promises ; and if he had performed them, in good faith, all would have been well.

Early in July he arrived in Hillsborough, where he had directed the council to meet him about the first of August ; and on his arrival, he issued the proclamation which he had promised. The Regulators, animated by his presence in their neighborhood, began to assemble in large numbers, for the purpose, it seems, of mutual counsel and encouragement ; but assembling with their arms which they were always in the habit of carrying with them wherever they went, and passing their usual resolutions not to submit to oppression any longer, the governor became uneasy. He sent Tyree Harris, sheriff of the county, to attend one of their meetings in order to claim the public tax, and endeavor to dispose the people to pay it *cheerfully*, and submit to the laws. He wrote them a letter by the sheriff, which was a mere echo of his communication from Brunswick, except that he gave them a little *blurny*, and appealed to their honor and conscience ; but they bade the sheriff retire ; threatened his life if he proceeded to distrain their property ; and made him return without any part of the taxes. In a few days they sent two deputies to wait on his excellency with an answer to his letter, which had been

prepared at one of their meetings. They complained that their application had not been submitted to a full board; that the governor's late proclamation was insufficient; and expressed an intention of applying for redress to the legislature at its next meeting. He told the deputies that, as he expected a meeting of the council shortly, he would lay the communication before them; and that he would, in due time, give notice of the result. On the night of the 11th, information was brought to town that a thousand or more of the Regulators were under arms in the vicinity with hostile intentions, and the nearest companies of militia were immediately called in; but it was soon ascertained that the Regulators, having been informed that an attack was meditated on them, had assembled in their own defence; and that, having learned their mistake, they had returned to their homes. Before he dismissed the militia, however, he had an oath administered to them that "with hearts and hands, life and goods, they would maintain and defend the king's government in the province, against all persons whatever, who should attempt to obstruct or prevent the due administration of the laws, or the public peace and tranquility;" but if, instead of coining oaths and putting himself to so much trouble to keep the people in subjection, he had taken the same pains to make the clerks and sheriffs honest, it would have been better for him as well as for the country.

When the council met he laid before them the last message of the Regulators, and by their advice he sent them a pretty long reply, which was very much in the same strain with his former communication; but in the winding up he peremptorily required, as a precautionary measure for guarding against the insults that were intended to be offered to the Superior Court of justice, that twelve of their principal and most wealthy men should wait on him at Salisbury, on the 25th of the month, and in his presence execute a bond in the penalty of £1,000, as a security, that no attempt would be made to rescue William Butler and Harmon Husband, who had been bound over to the next Superior Court at Hillsborough. To this an answer was sent, which was signed, on behalf of the Regulators, by James Hunter, Peter Julian, and Thomas Welborn. They lamented that it had

been their misfortune to incur the governor's displeasure, and that their conduct had given him any reason to view them as bent upon mischief rather than as waiting for justice; that the late alarms of raising troops and bringing down the Indians to cut off the inhabitants of the county, which seemed to have occasioned the demand of security against the rescue of Butler and Husband, were groundless; that they had ever exerted their utmost influence in moderating and pacifying the resentment of their neighbors; that these men would ever use the same care, and it was hoped, would be able to govern the multitude by reason; but that none of them were willing to enter into a bond; and that, if they were to do so, they would probably lose, by such a step, whatever influence they had before.

When the court met at Hillsborough, on the 22d of September, above three thousand of the Regulators, it is said, appeared and took their stand within half a mile of the town. They gave the most positive assurance that they had no design of releasing the persons who had been bound over; but entreated the governor to dissolve the present assembly, and call a new one. A message was sent to the governor, assuring him that, if he would let them come in peaceably to complain of their grievances against the officers, and pardon all past breaches of the peace, except as to Butler and Husband, they would disperse and pay their taxes; but he required the surrender of all their arms in pledge, until the trial of these persons was over. About thirty complied; but the rest returned home. Four bills of indictment were then sent to the grand jury against Harmor Husband for riot; but only one was found a true bill; and on that he was acquitted by the traverse jury. William Hunter and two others were found guilty of a riot, for which they were condemned to pay a heavy fine and suffer a long imprisonment. Two of them broke jail, and the other remained in prison, though the door was broken open; but the governor pardoned him as well as those who had escaped.

This was the court at which the six indictments for extortion were found against Edmund Fanning; and the plaintiffs were no doubt encouraged to take this course by the promises and personal presence of the governor. They had not supposed that

all his assurances of reform were a mere puff; or that instead of seeing their oppressors rebuked by being turned out of office, or severely punished in some other way, they would themselves be indicted for riots, and committed to prison, or bound over to keep the peace. The decisions of this court, made under the eye of the governor and evidently with his approbation, seem to have produced a crisis in their affairs; because there was such a mockery of justice as to convince them that no adequate relief was to be expected from executive authority, or from the judicial tribunals of the country. A prompt and thorough reform of notorious and long standing abuses on the part of the government officers would immediately have put an end to the troubles; but the miserable shifts that were made to avoid such a course, satisfied the people that they must either resist, or submit to be wronged and opposed by every pettifogger or needy coxcomb that could crawl into office.

Early in the spring of the next year, John Lea, sheriff of Orange county, when attempting to serve a warrant on Hanson Hamilton, *for a breach of the peace*, was attacked by John Pugh and two other Regulators who compelled him to desist, and beat him severely. This is all the notice I find of the Regulators in the common histories of the country, for nearly eighteen months after the meeting of the court above mentioned; but they were not idle. The year 1769 was spent in holding town and neighborhood meetings all over the country, in which resolutions of defending and preserving their liberties and property were passed. Papers, in the same spirit and of the same import, were circulated through the country, and signed by great numbers. Their meetings were probably noisy and tumultuous, as popular meetings of the kind usually are at the present day, especially when held under great excitement; and they had almost as many songs as the people have now before a presidential election.—Rednap Howell, who is said to have been from New Jersey, and who taught a common school somewhere on Deep river, was the bard of the day; and composed about 40 songs, some fragments of which still remain.* Their resolutions were soon

*The following lines written by Rednap Howel, and in the dialogue form, are here inserted, merely for the representation which they give of the char-

carried into effect; for whatever acts of violence may have been occasionally committed before this, by individuals or small parties, which the great body of the Regulators regretted, resistance seems now to have become general; and the leaders, either could not, or took no pains to restrain them. "In default of the payment of taxes, the sheriffs had been going over the country, distraining the goods of the citizens, seizing furniture, cattle, pewter vessels, or any thing else they chose to lay their hands on, thereby causing a great deal of distress.* The people in their rage sometimes caught them and married them to a black-jack, that is, tied them up to a black-jack, with their arms round it, gave them a sound dressing, and then laughed to see them hug their bride while undergoing the operation. The sheriffs and their deputies, therefore, went three or four in a company;" but this did not long answer their purpose; and the taxes could not be collected until they made arrangements in the latter part of the next year, or the beginning of the year following to restore all their unjust exactions. If ever a set of men were taught the

acter and personal appearance of the two men to whom they refer.

Who would have tho't Harmon, that hum drum old fox,
 Who looks so bemeaning with his towsled locks,
 Would have had resolution to stand to the tack;
 Alas my dear Ned, our case is quite black.
 And who would have tho't Hunter, so seemingly mild,
 Would have been so gigantic, mischievous and wild,
 I tho't him a fool, and I took him for one;
 Alas my dear Frank, our cause is undone.
 Like Turkish Bashaws they bear absolute sway;
 Alas my dear Frank, we must all run away.

*The following undoubted specimen of Rednap Howel's poetry, is so graphic and contains such a frank expression of the prevailing sentiments respecting the individuals named in it, that we presume it will not be unacceptable to the reader.

Says Frohawk to Fanning, to tell the plain truth,
 When I came to this country I was but a youth,
 My father sent for me: I wa'nt worth a cross,
 And then my first study was to steal for a horse.
 I quickly got credit, and then ran away,
 And hav'nt paid for him to this very day.
 Says Fanning to Frohawk, 'tis a folly to lie,
 I rode an old mare that was blind of an eye;
 Five shillings in money I had in my purse,
 My coat it was patched, but not much the worse;
 But now we've got rich, and it's very well known,
 That we'll do very well if they'll let us alone.

danger of making a people, whose laws they were executing, desperate by oppression, the lesson was taught to the clerks and sheriffs of that day. All or most of the sheriffs, and their deputies too, who were, at that period caught out collecting taxes were well "lynched;" and some transactions of the kind that would almost start a shudder have been described to the writer by men who were present on the occasion; but any detail of them here is unnecessary.

In March, 1770, Maurice Moore, one of the associate justices who attended at Salisbury for the purpose of holding the Superior Court, reported to the governor that the sheriffs complained heavily of not being able to collect the taxes on account of the opposition made by the Regulators; and he said that "the evil, though cognizable by the courts of law, was one which no civil process could redress, for the obvious reason that none could be executed among those people." Difficulties of a similar kind existed also in some of the lower counties; for in April, Simon Bright, sheriff of Dobbs county, having a warrant to apprehend Thomas Blake and John Coulie, two of the Regulators who were spreading their principles in that county, was attacked by a party of their proselytes, who killed James Lindsay, one of his assistants, and compelled him to abandon his purpose. The Superior Court met at Hillsborough, Sept. 22d, 1770; but was interrupted and driven out by the Regulators before the business was finished. Last fall I transcribed from the records the following entry. Monday, 24th., "Several persons styling themselves Regulators assembled together in the court yard under the conduct of Harnion Husband, James Hunter, Rednap Howel, William Butler, Samuel Divinny, and many others, insulted some of the gentlemen of the bar, and in a riotous manner went into the courthouse and forcibly carried out some of the attorneys and in a cruel manner beat them. They then insisted that the Judge (Richard Henderson being the only one on the bench) should proceed to the trial of their leaders who had been indicted at a former court, and that the jury should be taken out of their party. Therefore the Judge finding it impossible to proceed with honor to himself and justice to his country, adjourned the court 'til to-morrow at 10 o'clock; and took advan-

tage of the night and made his escape, and the court adjourned to meet in course.

“March term, 1771. The persons styling themselves Regulators, under the conduct of Harmon Husband, James Hunter, Rednap Howel, William Butler, and Samuel Divinny, still continuing their riotous meetings, and severely threatening the Judges, lawyers, and other officers of the court, prevented any of the Judges or lawyers attending. Therefore the court continues adjourned 'til the next September term.”

On the above record, and on the notions which Judge Henderson entertained of what would be “honor to himself and justice to his country,” the reader must form his own opinion; but that the people, driven to a kind of desperation by the extortions and insults of the government officers, for which they could get no redress, emboldened by their past success or by their number, and some of them no doubt under the influence of spirits, did many things which the better part of them disapproved, will not be disputed, though they were probably no worse than the numberless injuries of a similar kind inflicted by the whigs, during the Revolutionary war, on the property and persons of those who had identified themselves with their oppressors. When they turned out the court the first time, they proceeded to take summary justice on those who were most obnoxious, and to transact the business of court in their own way. Some of them met John Williams, a lawyer, when on his way to court, under pretence of business, and lynched him in the street; but Fanning was the most odious to them, because, in addition to his extortions by which he had become rich and was living in splendor, “his general conduct was marked with the most disgusting *hauteur*,” and during the two or three years in which he had represented the county in the legislature, instead of informing the people, as he ought to have done, concerning the disposition of the public money and the purposes for which the taxes were laid, he had been provoking them with the charge of treason and rebellion. They dragged him out of the courthouse by the heels, whipped him severely, and kept him in confinement during the remainder of the day. Next morning when they found that the Judge, instead of staying to try the causes

as he had given them reason to believe he would, had escaped in the night, they gave Fanning another good dressing, broke his costly furniture, and demolished his fine house, which stood where the Masonic Hall now stands. It is said that their intention was to set fire to it; but the day being windy they were afraid that the flames would spread to the other houses, and they did not wish to destroy the town.*

After this they went into the courthouse, appointed a man by the name of Yorke for clerk, set up a mock Judge, made Fanning, as tradition says, plead law before him, and issued a number of cases on docket. Their decisions were perfectly ridiculous; but they appear to have intended the whole proceeding as a mere farce; or as an expression of their contempt for the men who, as they conceived, had been so deficient in the discharge of their duties as public servants. When Judge Henderson informed the governor of these transactions he told him that no effectual steps could be taken to bring the offenders to condign punishment, for no process could issue while they were tried under the existing court law and in the district in which the offence had been committed; and requested him to have the legislature convened forthwith; but on consulting with the council it was thought best not to call a meeting of it any where in the upper parts of the province; and it could not meet at the usual place on account of the prevailing sickness.

The legislature therefore met at Newbern, on the day appointed, Dec. 5th, 1770; and the governor received them in the pal-

*Some of their conduct, however, as might be anticipated, was as much a source of amusement as of regret. While the main body of them were engaged in breaking down the house, two or three who had probably never been in town before, it is said undertook to demolish a pantry of unusual size which stood in the yard; and found in it a large bell which Fanning had procured for the Episcopal church then building in the place, and had stowed it away there until it would be needed. This was something new and wonderful; but while they were conjecturing what use could be made of it, some others came up who were a little more knowing; and they pronounced it at once to be a *spice mortar*. That was enough: It was instantly concluded that it would be well to save Mr. Fanning the trouble of pounding so much spice in future; and no sooner said than done. With the next breath the bell was in fragments; and this incident, however ludicrous, shews their inveterate dislike to the man. Such incidents are not only apt to occur among a large multitude promiscuously assembled, and under great excitement; but they shew the actual state of things better than the more important details of general history.

ace which was now finished and to which he had just removed. After making his acknowledgements to the province for the elegant edifice in which he had the happiness to meet the two houses, he called their attention, first to the abuses in the management of the finances, and then to the disturbances occasioned by the Regulators. From his speech when he dissolved the assembly at the previous session, it appears that the sheriff had been suffered to absent himself and withhold his public accounts; and from his speech on this occasion it seems that the treasurers were in the habit of speculating on the public funds, or of employing them as a stock for private trade. He laid before the assembly the depositions which had been sent him of the late disturbances at Hillsborough; and he recommended that provision should be made for raising a sufficient body of men, under the rules and discipline of war, to march into the settlements in which these disturbances had taken place, for the purpose of protecting and aiding the magistrates and civil officers.

As the causes of complaint had not been removed, the troubles were increasing; and every occurrence, however trivial, seemed to hasten the catastrophe. Harmon Husband was a member of the lower house, having been chosen to represent the county of Orange; but his presence was, of course, not very agreeable to the governor; and his conduct while there, if accounts be true, was not calculated to conciliate one of Tryon's haughty temper. The people engaged in the Regulation had refused, partly by his influence, to pay the taxes demanded by the sheriffs; and he undertook to act the part of sheriff himself in this matter. Before he left home he collected the exact amount of tax due from every man in his county, according to law; and took it with him. When the two houses met and his name was announced as a member from Orange, the governor in a haughty tone demanded the reason why the king's subjects in his county had refused to pay their taxes. With the plainness and firmness of a Quaker, he replied that the people owed his excellency, as they believed, so much butter;* but as

*What was the reason of this belief, if the remark which follows were not intended merely as a *sarcasm* on the part of Husband, I know not, unless there was some law still unrepealed, which required or permitted the taxes to be paid in butter or other produce. That he collected and paid the taxes is not

that was apt to stick to the fingers, to prevent unnecessary waste, they had freely paid it in money, and sent it by their commoner which he was then ready to pay over to the treasurer provided he could get a receipt to shew them when he returned.— With that he walked up to the speaker's table, and laid down his bag of specie, saying "here are the taxes which were refused to your sheriff;" but the governor eyed him with contempt; and sought an opportunity of putting down one whom he evidently feared; under various pretexts, such as, that a seditious piece which had appeared in the Gazette, in the form of a letter directed to Maurice Moore, one of the associate justices, had been written by Husband; that he was one of the people who called themselves Regulators, and had been a principal promoter of the late riots; and that insinuations had been made by him that if he were imprisoned the people would come to his rescue, the lower house were induced to pass a vote for his expulsion; but apprehending the consequences of his return to his own county, especially under the irritation which his expulsion would necessarily excite, Tryon wished to have him arrested; and having called his council together, he submitted the propriety of it to their consideration. They disapproved of the measure; but, *at his request*, Martin Howard, the chief justice, who, as it appears, was also a member of the board, heard witnesses at the council table, and issued a warrant for his apprehension, under which he was committed to jail, and remained there several days before he could procure bail. It is said that he was released then only on condition that he would use his influence to prevent the Regulators from coming to Newbern; and although this is only tradition it has been ever since believed in this part of the country.

To devise the ways and means of punishing the leading men among the Regulators for their past conduct, and for preventing a repetition of the same things in future, was a prominent object with the legislature or with the governor, during the present

only asserted by the writer in the Weekly Times, from whose communication the above statement is taken, but seems to be well attested in other ways; and while it shows the confidence which the people placed in him, it is an evidence that they were not actuated by a mere turbulent spirit, but were willing to pay all lawful taxes, when they knew them to be lawful.

session. An act was passed making it the duty of every justice of the peace or sheriff, when informed of the assembling of any number of persons, above ten, for the purpose of disturbing the peace, to repair to them, require and command them to disperse and return to their respective homes; and it was made felony without the benefit of clergy, for such persons to remain assembled, to the number of ten, for more than one hour. It was made the duty of the justices and sheriffs to call for the assistance of any of the king's able subjects for the purpose of apprehending the persons thus assembled together. It was also made felony for any number of persons, above ten, to assemble together with an intention of disturbing any court of judicature in its proceedings; of assaulting or threatening any judge or officer of court, during the term; of assaulting any sheriff or coroner, while executing the duties of his office; or of demolishing or destroying any church, chapel, court house, prison, or other house of any description. As it had been found very difficult to punish any of the Regulators in their own county, the attorney general was authorized to prosecute them in *any* superior court or court of Oyer and Terminer, *in the province*; and on an indictment being found, the judges were directed to issue a proclamation against the defendant, commanding him to surrender himself and stand his trial; and, on his failing to do so, he was to be held guilty and outlawed, and his lands and chattels forfeited. The governor was empowered to make drafts from the militia to enforce the execution of the laws; and any persons who were found embodied and in arms, with intention of opposing the military force, if they refused, on the command of a justice or sheriff, to lay down their arms and surrender themselves, were to be treated as traitors. To diminish the strength of the Regulators by division, four new counties were established: One by taking a part from each of the counties of Orange, Cumberland and Johnston, which, in compliment to Miss Esther Wake, a sister of Tryon's lady, was called Wake; another was formed from the counties of Orange and Rowan, which was called Guilford; a third was formed out of the southern part of Orange to which the name of Chatham was given; and the northern part of Rowan was erected into a county which was called Surry.

But they were not permitted to finish their legislation in quiet; for when they were about to adjourn, information was received that the Regulators were assembled in great numbers at *Cross Creek*; and the assembly immediately voted the sum of £500 to be at the disposal of the governor for the purpose of enabling him to defend Newbern, as it was reported that they intended to come and set fire to the palace. Before the legislature met, it was reported in Newbern that the Regulators, being greatly exasperated by the measures which had been taken to have Fanning sent to the assembly, were coming down to prevent him from taking a seat, and if they failed in that, to set the town on fire. Tryon was so alarmed by this report that he had Newbern fortified; issued orders to the colonels of the militia in the counties lying on the Neuse and Tar rivers, that they should hold themselves in readiness to march against the Regulators, on the first news of their approach; and Col. Leach, of Craven county, was directed to order his regiment into town for the protection of the legislature. The rumor which reached Newbern, when the two houses were about to adjourn, that the Regulators were coming, was not altogether groundless; for on hearing that their representative was imprisoned there, they embodied, to the number of 1000 or 1500, as soon as they could, to go and release him, which they were determined to do at all hazards. They crossed Haw river at Redfield's ford, four or five miles above Pittsborough; and encamped upon the high ground on the east side, though most of the wagons remained over night on the west side. Next morning they took up their line of march again, but had not gone far until they met Husband on his way home. He persuaded them to return, which was easily done, as they were then in a better humour; but some of them went up to Hillsborough, where they made a kind of oration, though it does not appear that they did much damage. There was snow on the ground when they started; and, as many of them had nothing more than moccasins to protect their feet, they were badly frostbitten; but this was, in their estimation, comparatively a small matter.

Early in the month of February, the governor, to prevent the Regulators from being supplied with ammunition, issued a pro-

lamation forbidding all merchants, traders, or others to supply any person with powder, shot, or lead, until further notice. In the latter part of the same month he received a fresh alarm.—Rednap Howel had been sent into Halifax, as a kind of agent for promoting the cause of the Regulators in that county; and he wrote to James Hunter, Feb. 16th, 1771, giving him an account of the prospects in that region, of the spirit and resolution of the Regulators there, of some of Tryon's late proceedings, and making some severe reflections on his excellency.—This letter was intercepted and forwarded to Tryon. About the first of March war was declared, or, it was determined in council to raise a force from the several regiments of militia, which the governor was advised to command in person, and march at their head into the settlements of the Regulators for the purpose of reducing them to obedience by force, of assisting the sheriff in levying the taxes, of protecting the election of a new member for Orange county, in place of Harmon Husband, and of supporting the commissioners appointed to run the dividing line between Orange and Guilford.—But it may be proper now to take a brief view of the country in which and the people against whom he was going to war.

Exclusive of Halifax, Dobbs, Cumberland, and some other counties in the eastern part of the province, where, according to the common histories of the country, Howel's letter to Hunter, and other sources, there appear to have been a great many who were warmly engaged in the cause, the principles of the Regulation seem to have prevailed in the following counties, according to their present arrangement, viz: Granville, Orange, probably Person and Caswell, though I have seen no special notice of them, Chatham, Randolph, Guilford, Rockingham, Stokes, perhaps Surry, Davidson, Anson, Cabarrus, Mecklenburg, Rowan, Davie, Iredell, Wilkes, and to some extent in Burke and Lincoln; for when the writer was in the latter county, a few months since, he became acquainted with some very respectable men, who said that their fathers, living, at the time referred to, on the west side of the Catawba, were in the Regulation battle; and while the people throughout this wide extent

of country did not *all* rise in arms against the governor, it is believed that they were generally Regulators in principle.

The Regulators have been, in several respects, not fairly represented; for it happened to them, as it has usually happened to most others in similar circumstances, because they were unsuccessful, however just their cause, it became the fashion to misrepresent and abuse them. The victors made their own statements and representations; and in time these were adopted even by their friends, because they had no others on which they could rely. Williamson says that they were in general of the poorest class of citizens; that while three or four of their leaders had some information and a considerable degree of cunning, the great body of them were deficient in every kind of knowledge; that they lived chiefly in new settlements upon poor land; that they had been culpably neglectful of private schools, and of all other means of instruction; and that the people in the older settlements, near the coast, had better means of acquiring knowledge, implying that this was the great reason why they were not Regulators too. In all this there is some truth; but it is not the whole truth. The people were not in general either wealthy or learned; but then they were not paupers, and they were not heathen. It was with them as it is with the people now: some lived on land which was poor; and others on that which was fertile: some were very poor and others were in better circumstances; but taken all together, as any one may see, they had the best lands in the whole province; and while they were mostly destitute of the comforts, they had the substantials of life in abundance. They had not had time to amass property or procure luxuries; for having been but a few years in the country, their time had been occupied in clearing land, and in providing the bare necessaries of life for themselves and their families. As they had, in some parts, no sawmills, no improved roads, hardly any wagons or conveniences for getting to market, and were obliged almost to give their produce away when they got it there, money, and the comforts which money alone can procure, must have been scarce. Several old men who lived in the south side of Guilford and in the parts of Randolph adjoining it, told me a few years ago, that about the time of the

Regulation, there was not a plank floor, a feather bed, a riding carriage, nor a side saddle within the bounds of their acquaintance; but it was not so every where; and on the whole there was probably about such a state of things as might be seen now in any of our frontier settlements to the west.

As most of them had come from Pennsylvania, where the principles of civil and religious liberty were then better understood, and more fully reduced to practice than in any of the other colonies, or in any other part of the world, they could not be wholly ignorant of their rights, as British subjects; nor were they entirely without the means of information. Wherever people have an enlightened and evangelical ministry, they will be instructed in the prominent doctrines of the gospel, and in their relative duties; and so far as Presbyterians were concerned they had such a ministry, not adequate to their wants, but to a greater extent perhaps than any other denomination at that time in the country. When the Orange Presbytery was organized the summer before the Regulation battle, it consisted of seven ministers; and these all lived in North Carolina. They were all men of classical education; and most of them were graduates of Princeton college. There seems to have been, as already stated, a classical school in Charlotte; probably another in Orange or Granville; and Dr. Caldwell's school, which had now been in operation about five years, had prepared several young men for college, and some who became distinguished ministers of the gospel. There were several English schools within the limits of what is now Guilford county; and the people generally understood the value of education. The Rev. Mr. Benthalm,* who, as I am informed, organized the German Reformed churches in Guilford and Orange, taught a German school for several years about this time, in the south-east corner of the former county; and the Lutherans had their preachers, who, being from Germany, were educated men. In a communication just received from Bishop Vanvleck, of Salem, he mentions the Rev. Messrs. Nussman and Arnt, who, having been sent over at an early period, "labored faithfully in poverty and privations till, on their urgent application, the Rev. Charles A. Storh, Roschen,

*Pronounced nearly as if it were written *Bitlaun*.

and Bernhard were sent to their assistance." The German Reformed churches had several ministers, some of whom were devoted and useful men; and the Moravians were well supplied. There were several Baptist ministers in the province; but of their character I know nothing. People in these circumstances could not be so grossly ignorant as they have been represented; and the Quakers, although they differ from most others in their views of the ministry, have always advocated and maintained a high degree of English education. There is no class of people in the country who are better acquainted with all the business transactions of ordinary life, or who have a more correct understanding of their rights and privileges, as citizens; but the Quakers, if they were not foremost in the Regulation, appear to have united heartily in all the measures for the correction of abuses, except fighting; and it is said that *some* of them had metal enough to try their hand at that too. Such, in brief, appears to have been the general character of the population; and there were a number of men over the country of liberal education, besides ministers, whose names might be mentioned, if it were necessary, so that the community was far from being in a state of barbarous ignorance, or regardless of their moral obligation.

There were other reasons, besides their superior intelligence, even admitting that such a superiority existed, why the people near the coast were not engaged in the Regulation. As they were more convenient to trade, and as there was more wealth, the country having been much longer settled, the taxes were not felt to be so much of a burden. Besides the more wealthy and influential classes, who controlled the rest, either shared more in executive patronage by having offices of profit conferred upon them, or were protected by their weight of character from the rapacity of office holders, so that the causes of dissatisfaction did not exist there to the same extent as in other parts of the province; but in the upper counties all, except office holders and office seekers, admitted the absolute necessity of reform. Men of education and intelligence, who were uninfluenced by the possession or the prospect of office, were with the Regulators in principle and spirit, but not in measures, or not in their ultra measures, just because they believed that the

people were not prepared for a conflict with the established government. Jones, in his Defence of North Carolina, says that Maurice Moore, one of the associate Judges of the Superior Court, was a Regulator; and his letter to Governor Tryon after his transfer to New York, shews that he sympathised strongly with them, though he did not and could not consistently take part with them in their open resistance to government. The same writer says that Thomas Person, of Granville, and several other intelligent and influential men were hearty in the cause; but, for prudential reasons, were not at the battle; and he tells us that the party was kept up in the legislature until the Revolution. It is believed that Alexander Martin, who was afterwards governor of the State, was of the same sentiments; for he and Dr. Caldwell were very intimate, and, if my information be correct, the Dr. was favorable to the cause of the Regulators, but not to some of their measures. From the commencement of the dispute between Great Britain and her American colonies he had advocated the cause of freedom; and in his war sermon, which is published at the end of this volume, he calls those who resisted the Stamp Act, as they were every where called, by way of distinction, the *Sons of Liberty*. He not only procured all the publications that were within his reach respecting the right of the mother country to tax her colonies without their consent, but the charters and laws of North Carolina; and took some pains to instruct his people in the knowledge of their rights. He knew that the people had just cause of complaint; but thought it unwise in their circumstances to wage an open war against the government. So did many others; and all who viewed the matter in this light, either remained neutral, or exerted what influence they could to obtain a redress of their common grievances in other ways.

The indignation of the people had become so general and the weight of public sentiment so great that the officers found they must submit; and on the 7th of March, 1771, the sheriff, clerk, register, and other officers of the county of Rowan, met a committee of the Regulators, consisting of James Hunter, John Inyard, William Welborn, Thos. Fluke, John Cuny, James Wilson, Samuel Waggoner, David Gillespie, James Graham, Henry

Wade, Peter Julien, Jeremiah Fields, John Vickory, Samuel Jones, and Joshua Zagur. At this meeting the officers agreed "to settle with, and pay, every person in the county, any and all such sum or sums of money, as they or their deputies had taken through inadvertancy or otherwise, over and above what they severally ought to have taken for fees, more than the law allowed them to receive, without any trouble or law for the recovery of the same;" and the committee on their part agreed that, "when any doubt should arise, all persons within the county should give in their demands to such persons as should be appointed by the people in each neighborhood to receive the same and be determined by gentlemen, jointly chosen by both parties, whose judgment should be final." The persons appointed were Matthew Locke, Harmon Husband, James Smith, James Hunter, Samuel Young, Thomas Person, John Cain, and James Graham; John Frohawk, clerk of the county court, Thomas Frohawk, clerk of the superior court, John Brawley, register, Griffith Rutherford, sheriff, William Frohawk, his deputy; Benjamin Miller, Andrew Ellison, Francis Locke, William T. Coles, former sheriffs; Alexander Martin and John Dunn. They agreed to meet on the 3d Tuesday in May; but whether the meeting took place or not I have seen no mention.

It is said, though there is no record of the fact, that such a meeting took place in the western part of Guilford county, where restitution was actually made to the people in that section; and that a subsequent day was appointed for the same purpose in the eastern part of the county; but the meeting was prevented by an event as unexpected as it was disastrous. There was, at this time, a fair prospect that all difficulties would soon be adjusted, at least so far as to restore peace and quiet; but the plan of pacification thus happily begun was frustrated by the conduct of the haughty and imperious governor, and of those who were under his influence, or who harmonized with him in his views. A special court of oyer and terminer was held at Newbern, on the 11th of March, under the late act of assembly, where bills of indictment were found against William Butler, John Gappen, Samuel Divinney, James Hunter, Matthew Hamilton, and Rednap Howel, for riotously and feloniously breaking the house of

Edmund Fanning on the 25th of September, 1770; and others against the same persons and Harmon Husband, John Frost, Eli Branson, Thomas H. Smith, James Lowe, Daniel Smith, Jeremiah Fields, John Gugle, William Dunn, Henry Litterman, Thomas Welborn, Ninian B. Hamilton, Peter Craven, William Paygee, Robinson Yorke, Reuben Sanderson, James Bignour James Haridon, Samuel Culbertson, and Patrick Crayton, for an assault on John Williams, at Hillsborough, on the 24th of Sept. 1770. To say nothing of the injustice and hardship, (in view of all the circumstances,) of thus arraigning and trying men at a distance of two or three hundred miles from home, and among entire strangers, before the court adjourned, an association paper was drawn up, which was signed by the governor, the members of the council, the speaker of the house of assembly, the grand jury, and other persons of respectability, by which the subscribers solemnly engaged "to support government against the insurgents, at the risk of their lives and fortunes; and to adopt every salutary measure in their power, for restoring peace and tranquility, and enforcing a due execution of the laws of the province. The paper was then circulated in Craven county where it was generally signed by the inhabitants; and similar papers were circulated in other counties around the seat of government, which also obtained many signatures. This seems to have been viewed by the people in the upper counties generally as putting an end to all lenient measures for restoring peace, or as leaving them no hope but in their own resources; and acts of violence were again committed.

The next news they heard was that Tryon had taken up the line of march; and was on his way at the head of an army to subdue them by force. He had commenced the organization of an army in March by issuing orders to the colonels in all the counties, in which the Regulators were not predominant, to have one company of fifty men from each regiment, well officered and ready to march when called on; and on the 24th of April, he marched from Newbern at the head of 300 men, a small train of artillery with a number of baggage wagons, and attended by a posse of his friends. He was joined by detachments from different counties as he advanced; and having halted at Hunter's

lodge in Wake county where he arrived on the 4th of May, he ordered a party to attend the sheriff in levying the fines due from the men who had attended a muster of the militia without arms, on the preceeding day, and in collecting the taxes due in the neighborhood, except from those who had joined the army as volunteers. When he left Newbern the infantry was commanded by Col. Joseph Leech, the artillery by Capt. Moore, and a company of rangers by Capt. Neal; and before he arrived at Eno, he had been joined by a detachment from New Hanover, under the command of Col. John Ashe, another from Onslow under Col. Richard Caswell, another from Carteret under Col. Craig, another from Johnston under Col. William Thompson, another from Beaufort under Col. Needham Bryan, one from Wake under Col. John Hinton, and at his camp on Eno, a few miles from Hillsborough, he received a considerable re-inforcement from Orange, composed of clerks, constables, coroners, broken down sheriffs, and other materials of a similar kind, under the command of his friend Col. Fanning. Gen. Hugh Waddel, who had been appointed commander of all the forces, was directed to march with the division from Bladen, Cumberland, and the western counties. These forces were to rendezvous at Salisbury on the 2d of May; and to join the militia from the southward and eastward in Guilford county, on the 13th. While he was waiting in Salisbury for a supply of powder from Charleston, the Regulators fell upon the convoy, if I mistake not, in what is now Cabarrus county, and destroyed the powder. He took up his line of march, however, from Salisbury; but having crossed the Yadkin, he received a message from the Regulators next day, not to advance any further. To this he replied that he should take the liberty of using the public highway; but finding that the Regulators were assembled in great force at a small distance in front, he called a council of his officers in their camp at Potts' creek, May 10th, 1771, when it was determined to retreat across the Yadkin. The Regulators however, contrived to entangle him in a skirmish; and being superior in numbers, they surrounded his small army, and took many of them; but he escaped himself with a few of his followers to Salisbury.— He had been for some time in that region; and having espoused

the cause of the government with some zeal, he was much disliked by the people. Many of the men under his command, were more favorable to the Regulators, than they were to the government; and a constant intercourse had been kept up between them. From Salisbury he sent an express to Governor Tryon, informing him of his flight, and other circumstances, which arrived before he left his camp on the Eno; and it made him hasten his movements. The situation of Tryon was at this time becoming very critical; for news had now reached him, that the Regulators were assembling in great numbers, with the intention of standing in their own defence; and the troops on whom he relied, were considerably reduced in number. The men in Duplin county, except perhaps a small troop of cavalry, had nobly refused to march against the Regulators at all; and many who came from other counties were either so reluctant to shed the blood of their fellow citizens, or were so well affected to their cause, that they deserted, while the Regulators were increasing every hour. In this situation nothing could save his excellency but a bold and expeditious stroke; for to hesitate was to suffer a certain defeat; and in the promptitude and energy of his subsequent movements, he displayed a good deal of generalship. He immediately took up the line of march; crossed Haw river on the 13th; and the next evening pitched his camp on the banks of the Alamance. While encamped here, one third of the army was ordered to remain under arms the whole night, to be relieved every two hours; and the same was done the next night; but with the additional precaution that the cavalry were to keep their horses saddled during the night, and a guard of ten men at about half-a mile in front, or towards the encampment of the Regulators. That they were not seditious, or had no other design than to obtain relief from what they regarded as downright oppression, is evident, from the fact that on the 15th they sent a messenger to the governor with a petition; that he would redress the grievances of the people, as the only means of preventing the bloodshed which, from the ardor of the leaders on both sides, must otherwise ensue; and they desired an answer in four hours; but instead of giving them any satisfaction, he sent back the messenger, with a promise that he would give

them an answer next day by noon. In the evening of the 15th Col. John Ash and Capt. John Walker, being out on a scouting party, were apprehended, "tugged up to trees, severely whipped, and made prisoners." This is said to have been the result of personal animosity on the part of one or two individuals, which was strongly censured by the great body of the Regulators, and some of them were so much disgusted that they threatened to give up the cause entirely, if such acts were repeated; but they caused much alarm in the governor's camp, and especially in the breast of Col. Fanning; for "his soul had these things still in remembrance, and therefore his spirit was overwhelmed within him." The two armies encamped on the night of the 15th within five or six miles of each other, the Regulators being on or near the battle ground; and on the morning of the 16th, Tryon had his army in motion by break of day, and marched in perfect silence, leaving their tents standing, and the baggage and wagons in the camp, the wagon horses being kept in the gears, and the whole under a guard commanded by Col. Bryan.— When they got within half a mile of the Regulators, they halted and formed the line of battle, which was done by arranging them in two lines, about a hundred yards apart, with the artillery in the centre of the front line.

In this account I have hitherto followed Martin chiefly, sometimes taking the statements of Williamson and Jones, though without an express reference to either of them, as that seemed to be unnecessary; but it is time now to take some notice of the other side. These histories give Tryon ten or eleven hundred men; and tradition says that several hundred of these were regular soldiers; but of this I have seen no notice in history, unless the three hundred with which he left Newbern were of this description, and perhaps the artillery company. The Regulators could not have had, it is believed, more than a thousand, who were furnished with arms at all suitable for such an occasion, though there may have been as many as two thousand on the ground; for a great many went there not expecting to have any use for arms. The majority certainly did not expect that there would be any blood shed; and therefore many who started with their guns left them by the way, either hid in hollow

trees or deposited with their friends, until they returned; because some wiseacre had said, "if you take your guns, the governor will not treat with you." It is doubtful whether even Harmon Husband really wished to fight: In fact I have been told by some who knew him well in their youth and who were at this time 18 or 20 years of age, that his Quaker principles would not let him fight; and that when he saw the "tug of war" would come, or about the time the governor began to fire on them, he mounted his horse and rode away. It is believed by many that his aim was to carry his point by making such a display of numbers and by manifesting such a determined spirit that the governor would be obliged to yield; and that if he had succeeded in collecting the people in such numbers, and in having them so well armed as to make the impression which he wished, he would have given this explanation of his own motives and conduct. However this may have been, it is certain that many went to the place of meeting, not from an idle curiosity, nor with a blood thirsty intent, but from a desire to see the result; others were actuated by the higher motive of using what influence they could towards effecting a reconciliation; and of this latter class Dr. Caldwell was one. It was a trying time to his feelings; for a large proportion of the men in his congregations were Regulators. They had attended the meetings and united in most of the measures that had been adopted for obtaining a redress of their greivances in a regular way; but so far as I can learn, they were not concerned in the acts of violence that were committed, and it is believed that none of them were ever indicted for being concerned in any of the riots. As the Regulators knew that they could not fight the governor with any hope of success without cannon, runners were sent out in every direction, on the news of his approach, to collect as many as possible, with a view of presenting to the governor such an array of numbers as would make him feel the necessity of a compromise; and the people of these congregations obeyed the summons. Although they went not expecting to fight, yet they carried their guns, as they were in the habit of doing wherever they went, being resolved, like many others, that "their life and their gun should go together;" and when there, many of them

having too much mettle to be mere spectators when others were shedding their blood or risking their life in what was regarded as a just cause, they united with them, and fought as bravely as any on the ground. Before they left home they requested Dr. Caldwell to go along and use his influence in effecting a reconciliation. He accordingly went down the day before the battle, in company with Alexander Martin, who was afterwards governor of the State, and with the sheriff of the county; and it is said that he had an interview that evening with Tryon at his camp; but of what passed, if such an interview took place, nothing is known. Next morning however, it is known that he passed back and forward two or three times from one side to the other, endeavoring to prevent a collision; and obtained from Tryon *a promise* that he would not proceed to extremities or fire on the Regulators until he had made a fair trial of what could be done by negotiation. This is not a matter of record, but it is from such a source that I cannot doubt its truth.

The accounts of the battle and of the transactions immediately preceding it, as given in the common histories of the country, differ considerably from the statements made by Regulators who were present; and some of these statements, though only omitted and not contradicted by history, seem to be so well attested as to be entitled to credit. Martin says that when Tryon formed his line of battle, at the distance of half a mile from the scene of action, and the signal for which was the discharge of three cannois, he sent the Regulators a message, in reply to their petition the day before, the purport of which was, that he had nothing to offer them, but required their immediate submission to government, a promise that they would pay their taxes, and return forthwith to their respective homes, with a solemn assurance that they would not protect the individuals who were indicted, from trial; that he would allow them one hour to consider, after which, if they did not yield and accept his proposals, the consequences which might follow, must be imputed to them alone; that on the arrival of the messenger at the camp of the Regulators, they heard the reading of the governor's answer to their petition with impatience, bid him return to Billy Tryon, and tell him they defied him, for battle was all they wanted; that, although their

leaders prevailed on them to listen to a second reading of the paper, they expressed their impatience for battle with the most violent imprecations; that on the return of the messenger, while Tryon marched to within three hundred yards of the Regulators' camp, they advanced at the same time to a certain point in the road, when they halted likewise, and waved their hats as a challenge for him to advance; that he then sent a magistrate and an officer, with a proclamation, commanding them to disperse within one hour; but that they disdained to listen to the magistrate when he read it aloud in front of their lines, and cried out battle, battle! All the histories represent the Regulators as eager for the contest; and as acting more like maniacs than men who were conscious that their present comfort, and even their life, was at stake.

The accounts of this transaction vary so much, that it is difficult to reconcile the discrepancies which are found even in the same history. During the hour that Tryon gave the Regulators to determine whether they would submit to the terms of his proclamation or not, a proposition was made for an exchange of prisoners, of whom he had seven, and the Regulators two, John Ashe and John Walker. Jones says, "while the parley was going on for this purpose, the *impatience* of the armies was so great, that the leaders made a simultaneous movement, and led on to battle," but in the very next sentence he says, "The two armies marched with the most profound silence; and such was the *indisposition* of either side to fight, that the ranks *passed each other*, and were then compelled, by a short retreat, to regain their respective places." He represents the contending parties as standing at the distance of 25 yards apart, and occupying the solemn hour before battle with a verbal quarrel; the Regulators as shaking their clenched hands at the governor and Col. Fanning, walking up to the artillery with open bosoms, and defying them to fire; and each loyal soldier, or each one of the king's forces, as "too busily engaged either in an argument, or a fist fight," to pay any attention when "the governor roared out the word of command, directing them to fire." Martin makes nearly the same statements. He says that the opposing forces advanced in silence till they met, *almost* breast to breast,

the governor having forbidden his men to fire until he ordered them; the first rank of the governor's men were *almost* mixed with those of the Regulators, who were stationed a little before the main body, and who now began to retreat slowly, to join the army, "bellowing defiance and daring their opponents to advance; and that the army, meaning Tryon's army, kept on till within 25 yards of them, and then halted, the Regulators continuing to call on him, to order his men to fire, several of them advancing at the same time towards the artillery, opening their breasts, and defying them to begin. He also represents the governor as commencing the action before the hour had expired, because, the Regulators being tardy in making known their decision on the proposal for an exchange of prisoners, his men became so impatient to advance, that he thought it advisable to lead them on;* but in the next paragraph he tells us that it was with the utmost difficulty his men could be induced to fire at all,† though additional provocations had been given.

It is quite possible that a few who were hot headed or under the influence of spirits, may have acted in the manner above described; for Tryon had so often made promises and threats without fulfilling either that what he said was probably not much regarded; but I have received no such statements from men who were present, either under arms or as spectators. An old gentleman of respectability informed me that in the extreme part of the Regulation army to the westward, where a near relative of his was stationed, they were stretching themselves along the side of the road as far as they could, in order to let the governor, when he came by, see how many there were; and that they were looking for him every moment to pass along, as on a review, or in a friendly way, when the guns began to fire. An old Regulator with whom I conversed last fall, told me that in the part of the army, if it might be called such, where he was, the younger part of the men were all engaged in the athletic exercises, wrestling, jumping, &c., and that he was himself engaged in wrestling with another young man, when Patrick Mullen, an old Scotchman who had been in the British service before he came to America, but was now a Regulator, came up

*Vol. 2, p. 281. †Vol. 2, p. 282. Jones's Defence, p. 53.

and told them, with a look and a tone of firmness, to put themselves into some order, for they would be fired on in a very few minutes. About this time Dr. Caldwell rode up in front, and commenced making a speech to them, the purport of which was that those of them who were not too far committed should desist and quietly return home; that those who had laid themselves liable should submit without further resistance, promising that he and others would obtain for them the best terms they could; and that they had all better wait until circumstances would be more favorable; for the governor, as it seemed, was determined to yield nothing, and unprepared as they were, having no cannon, not much ammunition, no military discipline, and no officers to command them, they must sustain a defeat; but before he finished, the old Scotchman called out to him that he had better go away, or the governor's men would fire on him in three minutes. He then rode off; but had scarcely got out of sight when the firing commenced.

Before Tryon ordered his men to commence the attack, he sent an adjutant to receive Ashe and Walker, but having reported the answer of the Regulators, that these men would be surrendered within half an hour, he was sent back to inform them that the governor would wait no longer, and that if they did not *lay down their arms* immediately, they should be fired on.—The answer was, fire and be d—n'd. He then ordered his men to fire; but they did not seem disposed to obey. When he perceived this, rising on his stirrups and turning to them, he called out, "fire, fire on them or on me," when the action began, and almost immediately became general. Such is Martin's account, which is probably that of the governor or of his party; but it differs so much, as to the commencement of the action, from the statement of the Regulators, that they ought at least to be heard. According to their account, Tryon himself shot the first gun, and killed the first man. Some time in the course of the morning, as has been already stated, he gave Dr. Caldwell a promise that he would not fire on the Regulators until he had fairly tried what could be done by negotiation; but *negotiation* was not in his thoughts; for he offered them no other terms than unconditional submission. The writer in the Weekly Times says that "the

Regulators sent Dr. Caldwell into the governor's lines in order to effect a compromise; and that Robert Thompson* and Robert Mateer had gone there on the same business; that the Dr. was permitted to return to the Regulators for the purpose of informing them that nothing could be done in the way of compromise, the governor being determined not to recede from the terms of his proclamation, while the other two were detained as prisoners; and that when Thompson attempted soon after to go away without leave, observing that as he had come in peaceably he had a right to return, the governor seized a gun from some one who stood near, and shot him with his own hand.—That Tryon shot Thompson himself, and shot him before the action between the two armies commenced, there is no doubt; for it is sustained by the concordant testimony of all the Regulators with whom the writer has ever conversed; and Maurice Moore, in his letter to Tryon says: "I can freely forgive you, sir, for *killing* Robert Thompson at the *beginning* of the battle: he was your prisoner, and was making his escape to fight against you." Moore not having been present, wrote from hearsay, perhaps from the private statements of the governor or some of his party; and it is believed that he was under a mistake as to Thompson's *motive* in attempting to escape. He had gone to the place of meeting, like many others, without any expectation of fighting; he had not put himself in the ranks of those who were arrayed as combatants; nor was he even armed with a gun or any deadly weapon, but he and Mateer had both gone to the governor,—whether deputed or not is unknown to the writer,—for the purpose of trying to obtain a friendly adjustment of the existing difficulties. His leaving was, therefore, not an *escape*, but a *retiring* in the conscious dignity of a freeman. Being a bold independent kind of a man, however, and accustomed to express himself without much reflection or regard to the rules of etiquette, his excellency may have construed his manner of expression as an insult; and in a fit of passion took

*The communication in the Weekly Times has appended to it the following note: "Robert Thompson, the first man who fell in the battle, was the grandfather of Newton Cannon, the present governor of Tennessee, General Robert Cannon, of Shelbyville, Jacob Wright, Esq., of Rutherford county, John Thompson, of Davidson county, and Andrew Hynes, of Nashville."

his life. As if conscious that he was chargeable with a flagrant violation of good faith he soon sent out a white flag; but the Regulators, in a spirit of revenge for the death of Thompson, by which they considered that Tryon had violated his promise to Dr. Caldwell, instantly shot it down, or shot at the bearer, and the flag disappeared; but whether he was really killed or not, was perhaps never ascertained.

It is strange that historians have not noticed either of the facts, that the governor shot Thompson, or that he sent out any flags; and yet both seem to be well attested. Regulators have generally said that he sent out two flags at different times, both of which were shot down; but the second one will come into notice presently. So far as I can reconcile the accounts given in different histories one with another, and these with what appears to be authentic tradition, it was directly after the first flag was shot down that Tryon commanded his men to fire. The men seemed disposed not to obey; and his situation was extremely critical. It was citizen against citizen; and no wonder that they were reluctant to commence the work of destruction. But some bold measure was necessary; for the Rubicon was passed; blood had been shed; to hesitate would be instant ruin; but to go forward with intrepidity *might* be followed by success. Then, probably, it was, that rising in his stirrups and turning to his men, he called upon them, in all the earnestness of desperation, to fire on the Regulators or on him. Some ventured to obey; and that emboldened the rest. The work of destruction was then plied with vigor on both sides; for men generally find a Rubicon in every thing; and whether induced or forced over that, when it is once passed, there is no return.

The governor's party had greatly the advantage as to arms, ammunition, and military discipline; but the Regulators compelled them to remain in the road, just where they wished them to be, while they occupied a more advantageous position, and nearly every man was ensconced behind a tree. Jones says "that the artillery was idle for the *first hour*, during which time the conflict was equal and well sustained." Martin says, "The insurgents, pursuing the Indian mode of fighting, did considerable injury to the king's troops; but owing to the *artil-*

lery, and firmness of the latter, were, after a conflict of one hour, struck with a panic and fled." Williamson says that the engagement commenced with the discharge of *five cannon*; that "Col. Fanning, who commanded the left wing, unused to action and deficient in courage, fell back with the whole of his regiment, except Capt. Nash and his company;" and that "in the mean time the cannon did great execution." The writer in the Weekly Times speaks of the havoc made by the cannon in terms of great exaggeration; but he is evidently mistaken in many of his statements. The account of MacPherson is here given in full, because he was present during the whole conflict, and because it accords, as far as it goes, substantially with that of other Regulators. "The next day at noon the battle forces came in sight. The governor's aid* came forward first to the Regulators and read a proclamation. (MacPherson stood near him.) The Regulators required an hour to return an answer. The messenger wheeled his horse and returned to his own friends; and the firing immediately commenced on the part of Tryon with the cannon. He had four small swivels and two six pounders. At the first fire the balls struck the ground some distance in front of the Regulators; and MacPherson heard one of Tryon's men say,—'I told the gunner he aimed it too low.' The next shot went over the heads of those at whom it was aimed. After the first fire on the part of Tryon the Regulators commenced an irregular fire from behind trees, and had the better of the day. The other side fired regularly by platoons.—Presently a flag was seen advancing from Tryon's side of the field. The meaning of this no body knew except an old Scotchman who had served in the army; and who called out, 'it's a flag, don't fire.' Three or four rifles were however fired; and the flag fell; but whether the bearer was killed was not known. The fighting now began again; and the royalist party fell back about the width of the battle field, that is, about one hundred yards, leaving their cannon behind. Some of the Regulators, among whom were two of MacPherson's brothers, one older and one younger than himself, now rushed forward and seized the cannon; but when they got them they had no ammunition.

*Philemon Hawkins, I presume. See Williamson, vol. 2, p. 148.

nor did they know how to work them.* The smoke now cleared away; and the royalists saw that there was only a small body of Regulators on the ground, the rest having retired.—They began therefore to advance for the purpose of surrounding them, which the Regulators perceiving took to their heels and the battle was over.”

The writer in the Weekly Times, whose testimony is here given only so far as it seems to be corroborated by that of others, says; “there was such confusion as cannot well be described. Some who had no guns attempted to rally those that had; and some gave up their guns to such as were willing to face the enemy. The Regulators were not prepared for battle; for they had no higher officer than a captain. Montgomery, who commanded a company of mountain boys, was considered the principal captain; and he fell about the second fire from the cannon. They all soon fled and left the field except James Pugh from Orange county, and three other men who had taken a stand near the cannon. They were defended by a large tree and ledge of rocks. Although half the cannon were directed against them, they could not be driven from their position, until they had killed fifteen or sixteen men who managed the cannon. Pugh fired every gun, and the other three men loaded for him; but at length they were surrounded. Pugh was taken prisoner: the others made their escape.” It has been the uniform testimony of the Regulators in this section, that they did not fly until their ammunition failed;† and this was probably the fact; for most

*The old Regulator, before alluded to, who gave me an account of the battle last fall, after describing the retreat of the governor's men, and the taking of the artillery, or the attempt to take it, by the Regulators, in which he agreed almost exactly with the statement given above, though he knew nothing of MacPherson, exclaimed with much animation, as a kind of sedative to his feelings, ‘O, if either John or Daniel Gillespie had only known as much about military discipline then as they knew a few years after that, the bloody Tryon would never have slept in his palace again!’—The statements of no one man, neither MacPherson nor any body else, are given in this work without some qualifying expression, unless they are sustained by the testimony of others.

†An old man who was then about 17 years of age, told the writer a little more than a year ago that he assisted George Parsons in moulding his bullets the night before the battle; and that when they had moulded twelve they stopped. He then observed somewhat jocosely to Parsons that if he shot all those bullets, and did execution every time, he would do his share. Parsons

of them, when they left home, did not expect that they would need more powder and lead than they were accustomed to take with them on a common hunting expedition.

The accounts vary very much as to the number of killed and wounded. Williamson says that "seventy of the militia," meaning the governor's men, "were killed or wounded;" and that "the insurgents lost above two hundred." Martin says, "The loss of the governor was only nine killed, and sixty-one wounded: that of the insurgents was upwards of twenty dead, and a number wounded." MacPherson reverses the first part of this statement, and says, "nine Regulators were said to have been killed on the ground, and a great number wounded; but how many of the royalist party were killed is not known. The account which I have always had from the Regulators and other old men in this region is that nine of their men, and twenty-seven of the royalists were left dead on the field; but how many were wounded on either side they never knew. It may be inferred from a statement in Williamson* which was probably from an official communication, that Tryon lost more men than are reported by Martin. He says, "Capt. Potter commanded a company of *thirty* men from Beaufort: *fifteen* of these were killed or wounded in the action." If the *half* of one small company was killed or wounded, it is natural to suppose that he must have lost more than nine in all; but this is a matter which cannot be determined with precision, nor is it of much importance.

Those who fled were pursued; and fifteen or sixteen of them were made prisoners. Rednap Howel, Harmon Husband, Jas. Hunter, and William Butler, were outlawed; and a reward of £100, and 1000 acres of land was promised to any person who would bring in either of them, dead or alive;† but neither of them was ever taken. The governor issued a proclamation the next day in which he offered pardon to all persons who had risen against the government, if they would come into his camp within five days, lay down their arms, take the oath of allegiance, replied in the same spirit, that he would certainly shoot them every one if there should be occasion for it. He afterwards told my informant that he had shot them every one; and he believed that he had done execution every time except once when his gun choked in loading.

*Vol. 2, p. 276.

†Williamson, vol. 2, p. 150.

promise to pay their taxes, and submit to the laws of the country. According to MacPherson, the oath was very severe, binding them "never to bear arms against the king, but to take up arms for him if called upon; to pay all taxes, those that were due as well as those that should become due; and to obey all laws that had been enacted or that should be hereafter enacted." By subsequent proclamations, the proviso was extended to the 10th of July; but outlaws, prisoners, and those who blew up Gen. Waddell's ammunition were excluded from the benefit of the proclamation: So were the following persons who were mentioned by name, viz: Samuel Jones, Joshua Teague, Samuel Waggoner, Simon Dunn, jr., Abraham Creson, Benjamin Merrill, James Wilkinson, sen., Edward Smith, John Bumpass, Joseph Boring, William Rankin, William Robeson, John Winkler, John Wilcox, Jacob Telfair, and Thomas Person.

Among the prisoners taken immediately after the battle was one by the name of James Few, who was hung on the spot, as Martin says, without a trial, or, according to Williamson, by sentence of a court martial. This was an act of cold blooded cruelty and almost of fiendish malice which admitted of no apology; for he was in a state of insanity; and was therefore not a fit subject of punishment. Wiley Jones, who was sent by Tryon after the battle, to seize the papers of Harmon Husband, found among them a letter from Few in which he alleged that *he was sent by heaven to relieve the world from oppression; and that he was to begin in North Carolina.* MacPherson says he was "a young man, a carpenter by trade, and owned the little spot of ground, just out of Hillsborough, where Mr. Kirkland's house now stands. He was engaged to be married to a young lady, whom Fanning seduced. He then joined the Regulators; was taken on the field of battle; and, *at the instigation of Fanning,* was executed on the spot." The effect upon the susceptible and perhaps somewhat visionary mind of a young man, in such circumstances, of having his prospects of domestic happiness blighted by such a base villain as Fanning, who was trampling on every body, and especially on the poor around him, because as he was protected by the governor and by the superior court, he was above the reach of law, probably pro-

duced in Few a degree of monomania, and he began to think that he was commissioned from heaven to rid the world of such heartless oppressors; and as the regulators were then engaged in a conflict with the government, in the issue of which Fanning and others of his class were so deeply concerned, it afforded a good opportunity for him to begin the work. The sacrifice of Few however, uncalled for and inhuman as it was, could not abate the rage of Tryon, or quiet the guilty mind of Fanning, under whose influence he appears to have acted in this matter. Though petitioned by the citizens of Hillsborough to spare the family, he extended his vengeance to the unoffending parents, brothers, and sisters by the destruction of their property; and thus shewed that he was as destitute of humanity as he was regardless of justice.

After burying the dead and making provisions for the sick and wounded, Tryon marched with his army, on the 21st, to Sandy Creek, Husband's neighborhood, where they encamped and halted for a week. Detachments were sent out to assist in collecting the taxes, and to disperse the Regulators who were still lurking about in small parties, probably from mere feelings of mutual sympathy and not with any purpose of making further resistance. The treatment of the Regulators was certainly one of the most extraordinary things that has occurred in an enlightened and christian country. Their worst acts could by no fair construction of law be made any thing more than riots. It does not appear that one of them ever entertained a thought, much less a settled purpose of overturning the government; but by a temporary act of assembly, of twelve months' duration, passed for the purpose, and therefore, in the spirit, if not in the letter, an *ex post facto* law, their conduct was construed into premeditated rebellion; and the leaders were tried, condemned and executed as if they had been the worst of traitors. As their riots, if such they must be called, were the result of acknowledged and flagrant abuses on the part of the government officers, and as all they ever asked was a correction of these abuses, they might have been, at any time, either before or after the battle, converted into as peaceable and orderly subjects as any in the province, by simply redressing their grievances, and treating

them with that moderation and kindness to which they, in common with all others, were entitled.

From Sandy Creek he marched through the country administering his new coined oaths of allegiance; disarming the inhabitants; "levying contributions of beef and flour;* burning houses, treading-down corn, and insulting the suspected; holding courts martial, which took cognizance of civil as well as military offences; extending their jurisdiction even to ill-breeding and want of good manners;"† and exhibiting his prisoners in chains,‡ as scarecrows to others. He went as far west, according to Martin, as the Jersey Settlement, or, as others say, to Salisbury; and being joined, somewhere in that region, by Gen. Waddel with a large body of men, he commenced his return on the 9th of June. After a circuitous route through the Moravian settlement in Stokes, Big Troublesome in Rockingham, &c., he came to Guilford courthouse, seven or eight miles north east from the present site of Greensborough, on the High Rock road; and after remaining there for a day or two on the important business of his military expedition, he continued his march to Hillsborough, where a special court of oyer and terminer was held for the trial of the prisoners: twelve of them were indicted for high treason, convicted, and sentenced to death. On six of them, the sentence was executed almost immediately, June 19th; but the execution of the other six was respited until the king's pleasure should be known. The execution of these men was considered as unjust, or impolitic and cruel in every sense.

*After his return from this western tour, sixty head of cattle, as I have been informed, were collected on the plantation on which Col. McConnell now lives, four miles south-east from Greensboro'; and were driven from that place under the charge of John Gilchrist, to Tryon's camp near Hillsboro'. These were chiefly collected from Guilford county; and it is probable that similar contributions were demanded and made in some other counties for the support of the army while his excellency was employed in the important work of *hanging the traitors*.

†"One Johnson who was a reputed Regulator, but whose greatest crime was writing an impudent letter to *lady* Tryon, was sentenced, in one of these military courts, to receive five hundred lashes, and received two hundred and fifty of them accordingly."--See Maurice Moore's letter, Martin, 2nd vol.--Appendix.

‡One of the present Editors of the Greensborough Patriot, Lyndon Swaim, has informed me that an ancestor of his, Marmaduke Vickory, was one of the men who were thus exhibited in chains through the streets of Salem, several of them being chained together.

They had been almost driven, by both public and private impositions, to act the part which they did ; as the law by which they were condemned was to expire by limitation within a few months, their death could not operate as a warning to others any longer than the law was in force ; they had acted only a subordinate part, for the *leaders* had all made their escape ; and “the rebellion,” as Tryon wished to have it considered, was now completely subdued ; but he shewed on this occasion that he had neither the generosity of a soldier, the dignity of a gentleman, nor the liberal views and humane feelings of a patriot. His anxiety to have the men condemned, and the useless display which he made at the execution, betrayed as much vanity and weakness as disregard to justice and the claims of humanity.— He appears to have “exerted the whole influence of his character against the lives of these people ; for as soon as he was told that an indulgence of one day had been granted by the court to two of them to send for witnesses, who actually established their innocence and saved their lives, he sent an aid-de-camp to the judges and attorney general to acquaint them that he was dissatisfied with their inactivity, and threatened to represent them unfavorably in England, if they did not proceed with more spirit and dispatch.”

On the day of execution, the whole army was drawn out under arms, except the quarter guard and sentinels. They formed and marched in a hollow, oblong square ; the artillery forming the front and rear faces ; the first line, the right, and the second, the left face ; the main guard marching in the centre, with the sheriff and prisoners ; and the light horse covering the out side of the flanks to keep off the crowd. This order of march had been sketched out, and given in general orders by the governor himself, who stooped in this manner to point out the spot for the gallows, and to give orders for clearing the field around, to make room for the army.” As Maurice Moore observed in his letter, “the governor’s minute and personal attention to these particulars, left a ridiculous idea of his character behind, bearing a strong resemblance to that of an undertaker at a funeral.”— Some of them were as brave as they were loyal ; and having warred only against corruption and oppression, deserved a very

different fate; but Tryon was not like "Fingal, who never injured the *brave* though his arm was strong:" others of them had not warred in any way, nor had they done any thing "worthy of death," or even "of stripes;" and none of them deserved the condemnation which they received, if they deserved any at all; but they had fallen into the hands of one who neither acknowledged the claims of justice nor was capable of appreciating merit, especially in those who, like Job, "knew not to give flattering titles," or who could not bow to his haughty mandate.— Dr. Caldwell attended the trial of the prisoners; and was present at the execution. None of them belonged to his congregations; but with some of them he was personally acquainted; and for the welfare of all he felt, as a man and a christian, a deep concern. He went therefore to Hillsborough, a distance of 46 miles, for the purpose of using what influence he could to procure their acquittal or their pardon, by testifying to the character of such of them as he knew, and by appearing there as a minister of mercy to intercede on their behalf; and if he should fail in that, to aid *them* by his counsels and his prayers in preparing for the solemn change which awaited them. As to the former, his efforts were unavailing; but as to the latter, his labor was not in vain in the Lord, and he probably felt rewarded for his trouble.

When this bloody tragedy was over, the army left Hillsboro' on the following day, and encamped at Stony Creek. Next morning the governor took leave of them, and proceeded to Newbern. The troops were conducted by slow marches to Col. Bryan's in Johnston county, near the spot on which the town of Smithfield now stands, where the different detachments separated, and returned, each one by the nearest route, to their respective counties. The inhabitants of Duplin having acted in such a way as to bring their loyalty into question, Col. Ashe was directed to stop there and get them to take the oath of allegiance; but they were as obstinate about taking the oath as they had been about marching against the Regulators; and after waiting two or three days in vain the Colonel left them to enjoy their independence and returned to his home. Thus ended an expedition which was, in fact, little more than a crusade against jus-

tice, freedom, and humanity, in which his excellency effected nothing for the permanent tranquility and peace of the country; and while he subjected himself to the keenest shafts of ridicule, he gathered no laurels but such as were stained with the blood of his wronged and injured subjects, or blighted by the tears of the widow and the orphan.

It is matter of some regret that we are not better acquainted with the character of all those who were either outlawed, or tried and condemned; for the justice of a cause, or the propriety of a given course of conduct, may often be estimated in a good degree by the character of the men who were engaged in it; but even the *names* of many of these are forgotten. Rednap Howel, as we have seen, was the bard of the day, the "poet laureate" of his party; and while he amused himself by making their oppressors the subjects of ridicule, he was contented with exciting others to deeds of heroism in the cause of freedom.— He appears to have been a pretty good English scholar, and a man of general information, very shrewd and full of humor; but he took no active part in the battle, and was outlawed, not for his fighting, but for his songs. He was not like the warrior bard who "sung the battles of his own spear;" for he preferred the society of the Muses to that of Mars; and although "his soul was fire, few were the marks of his sword in battle." James Hunter was a man of some property and influence. He had belonged to one of Dr. Caldwell's congregations, though it is not recollected whether he was in communion with the church or only a stated hearer; but he withdrew because he thought the Dr. was not sufficiently zealous in the cause. He was the only one however who did so: the rest all thought his course very judicious; but one little fact may be mentioned here as throwing some light on the character of Hunter. On the morning of the battle the Regulators requested him to take the command of the whole; but he refused, saying, "we are all freemen; and every one must command himself." He is said to have been a man of good mind naturally, and moral in his deportment, if he was not a christian; but was very ardent, and prone to be enthusiastic in whatever he undertook. "Samuel Diviny was a bold man, who could fight, but not contrive." Rob-

ert Mateer, one of those who were executed, was a quiet, amiable and upright man. No man in the neighborhood was more esteemed while living, or more lamented when dead; and he had from first to last taken no part in any of the riots, or in the resistance which was made to government. There seemed to be a peculiar hardship in his case; for he never had openly joined the Regulators, or committed any overt act which he supposed could make him liable to punishment. He had been for some time in a very anxious state of mind to know whether the Regulators were right, or what was his duty in the case; and had become pretty well satisfied in his own mind that the cause in which the Regulators were engaged was a good one, or at least that they had justice on their side; but it was still a question with him whether, in view of all the circumstances, they ought to make an open resistance, though at the risk of their lives, or wait for a more favorable opportunity. In this state of suspense he went to Newbern with a wagon load of produce; and Tryon having learned where he lived, as there was then no mail carried in this direction, made him the bearer of a letter to Alexander Martin. To get relief from his painful anxiety, which was of course increased by the fact that he was carrying a letter from the governor, and not knowing or thinking of the consequence, he opened the letter on the road and read it; but was so disgusted with the haughtiness and tyranny which it manifested, that he handed it over to some of his friends who were Regulators. Through their carelessness or intemperate zeal, it became known and was the sole cause of his death. On the day of the battle it seems that in the simplicity of his nature and with the best intentions, he went, in company with Robert Thompson, and perhaps with Dr. Caldwell, to confer with the governor on the subject of their difficulties; but was detained as a prisoner, and executed at Hillsborough. This account, though not a matter of history, is believed to be substantially correct; and whether he deserved to die, the reader must judge. Nor will the fate of Captain Merrill excite much less regret. He was from the Jersey Settlement, according to MacPherson; or, as others say, from Mecklenburg county. He was regarded as a pious man; and was much esteem-

ed wherever he was known. He was within an easy day's march of the place of meeting, with three hundred men under his command, when he heard of the defeat; and if he had got there in time the result would have been very different. His men immediately dispersed; but he was taken prisoner, and his life was the forfeit. In this trying situation he gave his friends satisfactory evidence that he was prepared to die; for he not only professed his faith in Christ, his hope of heaven, and his willingness to go, but sung a Psalm very devoutly just before he swung off, and died with the resignation and composure of a christian.

The author of the communication in the Weekly Times says, that James Pugh was an ingenious gun smith, and had mended many of the Regulators' guns; and the sentiments and conduct which he ascribes to him, when taken prisoner, after having, with his own hand shot fifteen or sixteen of the men who managed the artillery, and when placed under the gallows, are those of a hero and a patriot; and are worthy of any age or any country. While that writer is probably mistaken in some things, as to time and place, though I have no means of ascertaining with entire certainty, he has been sustained by the concurrent testimony of Regulators, and of their cotemporaries in this region, as to the main facts. When placed under the gallows, he appeared perfectly calm and composed; told them that he had long been prepared to meet his God in another world; refused to make any acknowledgements for what he had done; and requested of the governor permission to address the people for one half hour in his own defence. Having obtained this permission, he told them that his blood would be as good seed sown on good ground, which would soon produce a hundred fold; recapitulated the causes of the late conflict; asserted that the Regulators had taken the life of no man previous to the battle, nor had they aimed at any thing more than a redress of their grievances; charged the governor with having brought an army there to murder the people instead of taking sides with them against a set of dishonest officers; advised him to put away his corrupt clerks and tax gatherers, and be a friend to the people whom he was appointed to govern; but when he told him that his friend

Col. Fanning was not fit for the office which he held, he was suddenly interrupted; the barrel was turned over, at the instigation of Fanning; and he was launched into eternity before he had finished his speech, and before the half hour which had been promised him was expired.

According to the same writer the death of Capt. Messer, though less heroic, was no less melancholy. Being an influential man in his neighborhood, and having taken a very active part, he was to have been hung the next day after the battle; but owing to a very affecting incident which occurred, he was reserved for the grand *fête* at Hillsborough. His wife having heard, in the course of the night, of what was to take place, went in the morning to see the last of her husband, taking along with her their oldest son, an uncommonly smart and pretty child, about ten years old. She was lying on the ground, her face covered with her hands, and her boy weeping over her, while the preparation was making for his execution, but when the fatal moment had arrived, as he thought, the child stepped up to Tryon, and asked him *to hang him and let his father live*. Tryon wished to know who had instructed him to do so. "No body," was the reply. "What is your reason for making this offer?" "Because if you hang my father, my mother will die, and the children will perish," said the boy. This request was made with such simplicity and earnestness, that it touched the governor's feelings; and he told him that his father should not die that day. At Fanning's suggestion a pardon was offered him, on condition that he would bring in Harmon Husband; and he was permitted to go in pursuit of him, while his wife and son were retained as hostages. On his return he reported that he was unable to bring him, for the want of more force, though he had overtaken him in Virginia; and while his wife was sent home, he was put in chains until the time of execution, and his son was retained as a foot page to the governor. This account of Messer was new to me, when it first appeared in the newspapers; but the main facts respecting Capt. Pugh, had been frequently related to me by surviving Regulators and their co-evals.

On the character of Harmon Husband, perhaps enough has been said; but the reader may wish to know something of his

subsequent history. After leaving North Carolina, which he did with all expedition after the battle on the Alamance, he settled in the western part of Pennsylvania, not far from fort Pitt, now the city of Pittsburg, and remained there until he was taken away shortly before his death. He came back to this country, after the Revolutionary war, on business; but did not remain long. Two of his sons settled on a large tract of land which he had on Deep River, near the Buffalo ford; and lived there for a number of years after the war. His daughter also married a man by the name of Wright, and lived in that county for fifteen or twenty years after the Revolution. When laboring under a chronic disease, she applied to Dr. Caldwell as a physician, and remained several days in his house. His family speak of her in very high terms, not only as a woman of superior mind, and agreeable manners, but as uncommonly intelligent and interesting for the age and country in which she lived. In 1794, Husband was concerned in the whiskey insurrection which took place in the region of country where he lived; but of the part he took, and of the motives by which he was influenced, we have no information. The people all over the union having recently suffered so much from the arbitrary measures of the British government, and having made such sacrifices to obtain their independence, were extremely jealous of the legislative power; but in Pennsylvania excise laws were particularly odious, because a large proportion of the population were "emigrants from Ireland, who brought with them strong prejudices against such laws, and because the first attempt at direct taxation by the British Parliament over the American colonies, was an excise law." Besides it was viewed as partial and peculiarly oppressive in the western part of the State; for whiskey was almost the only article which they could take to market; but they could not descend the Ohio; it was near 400 miles to Philadelphia; and they had nothing but a packhorse path across the mountains. When the State therefore laid a tax on distilled spirits, the people not distinguishing between a law of their own legislature, and one made by a foreign power to tax them in all cases without their consent, manifested their opposition to it in the same way as they had done to the stamp act; and the law was

obliged to be repealed. This was the object at which they aimed, and not a subversion of the government; and when congress passed a similar law a few years after, the people attempted to force a repeal of it in the same way. A law of the general government which *appeared* so partial and oppressive in its operation was just calculated to rouse a man of Husband's temperament; but the only notice of him in relation to that matter, which has fallen under the eye of the writer is in the number of the Southern Literary Messenger for January 1842, from which it appears that he was appointed on the committee of safety with Brackenridge, Bradford, and Gallatin. From his being associated with such men it would seem that his influence in the country must have been considerable;* but his Quaker plainness with his frank and unyielding straightforwardness prevented him from making any shifts to keep out of difficulty. Brackenridge with all his talents, ingenuity, and legal knowledge found it difficult to escape, though his motives were probably good; but Husband, whose motives may have been equally as good, was taken and condemned. He immediately wrote to some of his friends in this country, for a certificate of his character while he lived here; and this was not only granted, but a petition was drawn up for his pardon, which had attached to it a pretty long list of respectable names. As Dr. Caldwell was, about this time, the spring of 1795, going on to Philadelphia with an afflicted member of his family, the petition was sent by him; and he happened to enter the city on the same day, and about the same time with the prisoners. The Doctor, as his family have informed me, always thought Husband a little headstrong and impetuous, but believed him to be honest in his intentions. He therefore wished to have him pardoned; and got his old friend Doct. Rush to unite with him in the petition. The two senators from this State, Martin and Bloodworth, both of whom probably knew him when he lived here, also united in it; and he was pardoned: so were the other prisoners; but Husband died at a tavern on his way home; and his wife, who had set out for Philadelphia, met with him there, and was with him in his last hours.

*Since the above was in type the writer has been informed that he had been for several years a member of the Pennsylvania legislature.

The issue of the battle on the Alamance, has always been regarded as unfortunate; and in some respects it was exceedingly so; but on the whole it was perhaps best for the present peace of the country, and ultimately for the cause of liberty. If the Regulators had been victorious it would have brought on the province the whole power of the British government, before the other provinces were prepared to make a common cause with it; and in that case, the consequences must have been still more unhappy. It enabled the governor, naturally imperious, and now elated with success, to traverse the region of the disaffected, with fire and sword; the country was ravaged, and a large amount of property destroyed or carried away as plunder; the inhabitants were disarmed and insulted; and the province was saddled with a debt of sixty thousand pounds; but the country was not depopulated, for all that had been killed were hardly missed; the people were not subdued; and while their losses could soon be repaired by industry and economy, they had learned by experience an important lesson. There is hardly any thing for which people can be well prepared without some experience; and this was their initiation into that kind of knowledge. They learned the necessity of making adequate preparation, and of having some military discipline; for although all were freemen, it appeared that if every one was left to "command himself," he would soon have to run away, or, could not live to fight another day. From the execution which was done by the bravery of a few, they also learned their own strength, or saw what might be done by union and proper discipline; nor would they have been defeated again by the same troops and on the same ground, notwithstanding the artillery. It is true that the battle of the Alamance made many tories, a large proportion of whom were as conscientious and good men as any in the country; and some of them were men of property and influence in their respective neighborhoods. Being honest men, and having escaped an ignominious death by taking a solemn oath never to bear arms against the king, but to fight for him when called on, they never could bear the idea of violating the obligation which had been thus imposed upon them. They have therefore lain under an imputation which they did not deserve;

for they were consistently conscientious, through all the changes of time and place, until their death; and during the war these were generally called "good tories," because they never burned houses, nor committed depredations on the property of the citizens. The influence of their name and character, however, gave encouragement to a larger number of most unprincipled and reckless men, who could do a great deal in a bad cause, but little or nothing in a good one. These were called "bad tories," because, having nothing to lose, being regardless of character, and under no restraints of conscience, they paid no respect to age or sex, law or reason; and deserved, as they have received, the execrations of posterity. Some of these had probably been engaged in the Regulation; but the greater part had not; and altogether, though they were too bad to die, they were not fit to live: or as the poet has said, they were

"a race,
Able to bring the gibbet in disgrace."

But while a majority of the Regulators who became tories were men of respectability and moral worth, and while a majority of those who actually took up arms against the government perhaps did become tories, it was not so with all; and if the battle of the Alamance made many tories, it also made many staunch whigs. Although a large proportion of the men in Dr. Caldwell's congregations were not only Regulators, but took an active part in the conflict; yet so far as the writer has been able to ascertain, none of them became tories, nor is it known that there was a single tory belonging to those congregations during the war. The Gillespies, the Gilmers, the Forbises, the Montgomeries, and many others were men whose names ought not to "be written in the earth," or excluded from the enduring records of time; nor will they be forgotten soon; for if their names were never to appear in history they would live in the traditions of the country for generations to come; yet these men and many others who might be named, after having been with the foremost in the Regulation battle, were the best partizan officers, and the best soldiers that the cause of independence had in this region, if not in the State. Daniel Gillespie was a member of the convention which adopted the State Constitution, and also

of that which adopted the Federal Constitution; and afterwards represented his county in the legislature, and was appointed to other offices of importance and responsibility. He was a Captain during the Revolution, and was a very skilful and enterprising officer. His older brother, John Gillespie, was a Colonel during the war; nor was there a more resolute man in North Carolina or any where else to be found; and if ever it could be said with truth of any man, it could be said with truth of Colonel John Gillespie, that "he never knew fear." Both these brothers were in the battle of the Alamance; but John distinguished himself so that he attracted the notice of the governor. He was about the last man to leave the ground,—I mean, of those who were under arms,—and he would have been taken on the spot, probably, like Capt. Pugh, had not two of his acquaintances who had no share in the engagement, taken him, one by each arm, and led him away. Tryon, having learned his name, offered a reward for his apprehension, and sent two or three men in pursuit of him, who overtook him at the distance of a mile or two from the scene of action, at the far side of a rye field which he had just passed; but not suspecting, from his dress and appearance, that he was the man of whom they were in pursuit, they asked him if he knew one John Gillespie. With perfect composure, he replied that he did, very well; and that they could probably overtake him, if they would pursue on, as he had seen him passing the rye field only a few minutes before. With that they put spurs to their horses, and went off at full speed; but he changed his course and hastened home; and then taking his waggon and servant boy he set off for the mountains. When Tryon came into the neighborhood, having learned where he had gone, he sent two men after him; and compelled one of Gillespie's neighbors, by the name of Reese Porter, to go along as a pilot. They overtook him in a place called the Hollows, in Surry county; and knowing their business as soon as they came in sight, his servant requested him to make his escape and let him take care of the horses in the best way he could; but he said that he never had run from man and he should not do it then. Being well armed with a rifle, pistols &c., he let them come within about a hundred yards; and told them not to

advance another step, or he would kill one of them at all events. As neither of them felt willing to die just then, and knowing the determined spirit of the man, they remained there; and after talking for some time at that distance, they left him. When he learned that Tryon had left this part of the country he returned home; and when Independence was declared he embarked in the cause with irrepressible ardor. Several of his neighbors retired to the mountains as he did and remained there until they could return with safety; but never surrendered; and never took the oath of allegiance. These facts the writer learned years ago from Regulators and their contemporaries, who had, in part at least, personal knowledge of what they related; and he feels no doubt of their being substantially correct.

If Tryon's victory on the Alamance caused many serious and respectable men to become tories, it was only because they feared God, and could not bear the thought of committing perjury; for, to use their own language, "this would be giving themselves to the devil at once;" but they had no more real attachment to the government by which they had been oppressed, nor any less love for liberty, than before; and were led wrong by their conscience only for the want of better information. In proof of this the following fact may be mentioned here, though it properly belongs to a later period. When the crisis of American freedom arrived, some of the men in Dr. Caldwell's congregations who, although they had taken the oath of allegiance, were with the friends of liberty, in principle and feeling, and wished to share with them in the toils and dangers as well as the honors of the contest; but could not at once reconcile such a course with their conscience, in view of the oath which they had taken. Under these circumstances they stated their difficulties to the Dr.; and soon had their scruples of conscience removed. He shewed them that the oath was not and could not be binding; for besides the fact that the oath was in a measure forced, having been taken by them as the only means of escaping the gallows, the British government had grossly and repeatedly violated our chartered rights since the oath was taken; and, as obligations and duties in such cases are always reciprocal, if those who held the reins of government and to whom

the oath was taken, instead of protecting us in the enjoyment of our rights as British subjects, which they were bound to do, had so notoriously violated their engagements and had declared their purpose to persist in this violation, we were, of course, released from our obligation to obedience. Moreover, in all cases where there are parties, and reciprocal duties to be performed, as between rulers and subjects, when one party, and especially the stronger one, fails, it becomes impossible for the other to comply; therefore both must lose the advantage which they expected to derive from the connexion, which henceforth ceases; but the blame, if there be any, must rest on the party which made the dissolution necessary. This simple course of reasoning, expressed in his peculiar manner, which was that of asking questions, and allowing them to suggest the answer themselves, was satisfactory; and they shewed no more hesitancy, or want of zeal in the cause. For this the tory party abused him and charged him with having acted the part of a popish priest in absolving men from their oaths, and with having used sophistry to quiet their consciences; but he claimed no right or power of absolution. He merely gave them his reasons for believing that they were no longer bound by their oath; and, judging of these reasons for themselves, as intelligent men, they were satisfied; but if there was any sophistry, it was just the sophistry by which the whole cause of Independence was sustained; for the leading men, not only in North Carolina, but in most of the other colonies, had repeatedly taken the same or a similar oath, and justified their conduct on the same grounds.

The battle of the Alamance was followed by a temporary submission on the part of the people generally, so far, at least, as the payment of the taxes was concerned; but it did not suppress the spirit of freedom, nor prevent them from resisting what was considered oppressive or felt to be irksome in other ways. When Guilford county was formed, as we have seen, only a few months before the battle, it was by the same act of assembly erected into a parish, by the name of *Unity* parish; and the people were required to elect twelve vestrymen and two churchwardens, who were empowered to levy taxes, build churches, employ ministers to preach, and to do all that the

laws of the province required for the full establishment of the church of England in this county as it had been established in all the other counties; but the writer has not been able to ascertain that a house of worship was ever built or a minister settled here, or that the people of Guilford county ever paid a parish tax after it was organized as a county. If reports be true, they elected Presbyterians for vestrymen, which was equivalent to saying that they had no use for such an establishment; and the act remained in force only about two years; for the assembly which met at Newbern, Jan. 25th, 1773, passed *an act to dissolve the vestry of Unity parish in Guilford county*, of which the following is a copy:

“Whereas, by an act of assembly passed in Newbern in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-one, the freeholders within the several parishes therein mentioned were empowered to elect vestries for their respective parishes; and whereas *undue measures* were made use of in the late election of vestrymen in the parish of Unity in Guilford county:

“*Be it therefore enacted by the governor, council, and assembly, and by the authority of the same*, That the said vestry of Unity parish be hereby dissolved and set aside, as if never elected; and that any *tax* that is laid by the vestry aforesaid on the taxable persons of the said parish, *shall not be chargeable* upon the said taxables, *or be deemed, taken, or collected*, by the sheriff, or any other person whatsoever.”

The people of other counties, and particularly of Rowan, while Guilford was a part of it, had adopted the practice of electing vestrymen who would not serve, or who would evade the laws and levy no parish taxes; but towards the close of Gov. Dobbs' administration, the few members of the established church who lived in that county petitioned the governor, council, and assembly, to interpose their authority; and an act was passed, as we have seen, subjecting any man who was elected, and refused to serve, as a vestryman, to a fine of three pounds. The petitioners complained, “That his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects in this county, who adhere to the liturgy and profess the doctrines of the church of England, as by law established, have not the privileges and advantages which the rubrick and canons of

the church allow and enjoin on all its members. That the acts of assembly calculated to forming a regular vestry in all the counties have *never* in this county produced their happy fruits. That the county of Rowan, above all counties in the province, lies under great disadvantages, as her inhabitants are composed almost of all nations of Europe; and instead of uniformity in doctrine and worship they have a medley of most of the religious tenets that have lately appeared in the world; who from dread of submitting to the national church, should a lawful vestry be established, *elect such of their own community as crude the acts of assembly and refuse the oath*, whence we can never expect the regular enlivening beams of the holy gospel to shine upon us." This notable petition had only *thirty-four* subscribers, six of whom made their marks, and some of the other *signatures* were hardly legible. Williamson, who is my authority here, says, "when *thirty-four* such persons could propose that six or seven hundred (more likely there were as many thousands) should be taxed for their accommodation, they certainly had need of the gospel that teaches humility." Whether this practice of resisting or evading the parish laws was continued until the Revolution, is not known to the writer; but from the character of the people, and from the spirit which they manifested on all occasions where their liberties were at stake, it may be presumed, that if they submitted in this case for any length of time, it was from dire necessity.

As soon as Tryon returned to Newbern, from his expedition against the Regulators, having been appointed governor of New York, he took shipping for that province; and was succeeded here by Josiah Martin, who commenced his administration under auspices rather favorable than otherwise; and his personal and official conduct at first, together with some concurring circumstances in the province, were calculated to render him popular. Not only the number and respectability of the Regulators, but the spirit which they had manifested in their late conflict with Tryon, had commanded some respect from the government; and one of the first acts of Martin was to denounce the frauds and extortions of the officeholders which had been the cause of the late disturbances. He was mild and conciliatory

in his manners; and a report had been circulated among the Regulators that their complaints had reached the throne and that the removal of Tryon was a mark of the royal displeasure.— These things were all favorable; but he soon got into difficulties that were inextricable. His condemnation of his predecessor's profligacy and extortion, in which he had been supported for five or six years, chiefly by the lower part of the province, which would be insufferable, even at the present day, though a mark of his wisdom, provoked the hostility of Tryon's friends. Then he got into contests with both houses of the legislature, but particularly with the lower house, about the taxes, the court law, the running of the boundary line between this province and South Carolina, and almost every thing of most importance in the estimation of the people; and these contests continued with increasing warmth and asperity until the province renounced its allegiance to the mother country.

The year 1772 was spent by governor Martin in visiting different parts of the country; and among others he paid a visit to Guilford county. One object which he had in view was to conciliate the most prominent men among the Regulators; and he was to some extent successful. Tryon was haughty, choleric, and absolute. With high notions of his prerogative as governor, he was determined to rule; and seemed to think as the poet has said,

—a prince that would reclaim
Rebels, by *yielding*, is like him, or worse,
Who saddled his own back to shame his horse.

But Martin took the opposite course; and as he was condescending and familiar in his manners, the people thought him "a mighty clever, genteel man." Among others, it is said, he visited Col. William Field, and his two brothers Jeremiah and Robert. They were men of property, standing and influence in society; and to secure them was an important object; for whichever way they went, many others would go with them. If reports be true, it was by his influence that they were secured to the British service;* for otherwise they would have tried to remain neutral; or if not neutral, comparatively inactive; but

*Southern Citizen, September 9th, 1837.

as William was the more influential one of the two, he was appointed a Colonel in the army.* William and Jeremiah continued in the service of the king during the war; and were taken with Cornwallis at Yorktown. His lordship having then given them their choice, either to return home or go to Nova Scotia, where provision would be made for them, they chose to return; but after peace was concluded they suffered their property to be all confiscated and sold, in 1785, rather than violate their oath, or renounce their allegiance to king George. Jeremiah used frequently to say in conversation that having fought twice, once for his country and once for his king, and having been whipped both times, he would fight no more; but generally added that, if war were to arise again between England and America, though he would not fight at his age, he would be on the side of the king, because he had taken a solemn oath to be faithful to him while he lived; but he would tell all his sons to fight for their country. Many others took the same course; and, although they were manifestly wrong, it was for the want of better information; but they were respected while they lived for their integrity, their christian deportment, and their many good qualities as men and as citizens; and their descendants

*Just before the battle of Moore's Creek, in the spring of 1776, William Field collected a small body of men and started for the *Scotch Camp*, then, as he supposed, in or about Cross Creek; and in his party was a youth, 17 or 18 years of age, by the name of John Cavin, who, having been left a poor orphan boy, was raised among the Quakers of New Garden, and was now led away by the influence of Field. They had not gone far until they heard of the defeat of their party; and while Field, with a few others, went on to join the British at Wilmington, Cavin returned home; but feeling perhaps that he had not done exactly right, and being afraid of the whigs, he remained for a few days concealed; for he thought if they should find him and know what he had done, they would make sad work with him. At length, however, he ventured out; but had not gone far from the house when a squad of them came riding up; and, although they were strangers to him personally, he knew them to be whigs from their having deer tails stuck in their hats as badges of distinction. Having very soon asked him, among other things, where he was going, with promptness, though with some trepidation, he replied that he was hunting a broom stick, for he wanted to make a broom and sweep all the d—n'd Tories out of the country. With that they left him, thinking probably that he had no more sense than he ought to have, whatever they might have thought of his honesty; but as soon as Independence was declared, he enlisted in the army for a year. At the expiration of that term he returned to visit his friends; but immediately enlisted again, and served during the war. When peace was concluded he returned with two honorable scars; and soon after married and removed to the west.

are to this day estimated very differently from the descendants of those who were of an opposite character.

Soon after Martin commenced his administration, the veil of oblivion was, at his recommendation, thrown over all the past disturbances, and over all the distinctions and animosities to which they had given rise, by an act of assembly, passed with much unanimity, granting a general pardon to all who had been concerned in the late rebellion, and making provision for the prevention of lawsuits and vexatious prosecutions; and so far all was promising; but the other causes of dissatisfaction, already noticed, would soon have rendered his situation as unpleasant as that of his predecessor had been. The people, however, if they did not lose sight of their internal grievances or causes of complaint, had their attention turned to the great source from which they proceeded; for while they remained subject to the British government, as was becoming manifest from the spirit and measures of that government, they must be burdened with an unknown amount of arbitrary taxation, and harassed by a rapacious set of officers, over whose appointment they had no control, and whose only security for the tenure of their offices was the royal favor. We need not enumerate the causes of the Revolution; for it is supposed that all are acquainted with them; but it was an event of such transcendent magnitude, involved so many interests of vital importance, and was beset by difficulties so great that it required the counsels and co-operation of all classes of the community; and all who were friends to the rights of man and the interests of pure religion were drawn together and united in a common, determined and persevering effort for Independence.

Civil and religious liberty are essentially the same, or at least are inseparable; and in our case at the period to which we refer, both were at stake. Our civil rights, if not entirely taken away, were partially gone; and principles had been asserted by the British parliament, and carried out to some extent, which, in a little time, would not have left us even the name of liberty. The church of England was already established in this and some other colonies; and it was believed that a settled purpose had been formed in the mother country, to make its establishment

co-extensive with the British possessions in America. When therefore all that was most dear and valuable was at stake, no wonder that those who loved the cause of truth and righteousness, or who valued their rights, as men and as christians, should exert whatever influence they had, to obtain a redress of their present grievances, and to secure themselves against a power which had assumed so threatening an aspect.

The discomfiture of the Regulators, seems to have had no effect towards bringing the mass of the people into subjection; for if they were in some respects unprepared, and wholly unable to contend with the gigantic power of Great Britain, they understood their rights too well, and valued their liberties too highly, to be patient under oppression. The causes of dissatisfaction, so far from being removed, were receiving daily aggravations, from the unjust and tyrannical measures of the mother country; and the spirit of resistance, instead of being crushed or overawed, was daily acquiring greater vigor, and pervading all the departments of society. Except along the sea board or near the seat of the colonial government, the people of North Carolina would hardly have known that there was such a thing as government in the country, but for its oppressions; and being strangers to the influence of time-hallowed institutions, as well as to the pomp and parade of royalty, even in their mimic forms, they had imbibed the spirit of freedom which reigned in the native wilds of their country, and seemed to animate the living orders of creation around them. While intelligence was eagerly sought, every accession to their knowledge in relation to their rights and their grievances, only created a desire for more; and when obtained, it was treasured up, not only for reflection but for conversation wherever they met. There were no newspapers circulating among the people then as at present; but what was done by the legislature of one province being immediately communicated to that of every other, and to the continental congress, when it was formed, they obtained a knowledge of public affairs from their representatives, and in other ways.—Those who were able procured pamphlets and papers for circulation; and men of intelligence either took it upon themselves or were sent by some official body to visit different parts of the

country and inform the people as to the nature of the approaching contest;—so that the people then appear not only to have been familiar with the names, but to have known as much about the character, principles and employment of all the principal men in England connected with the government, the Bedford Ministry, Lord North, the earl of Chatham, Burke, Fox, and others, as those of the same class at the present day know about the men who administer their own government. The different acts of Parliament as they were passed in succession, such as the restriction on the fisheries, the shutting up of the port of Boston, the quartering of soldiers on the people here in time of peace, the stopping of legislation in New York, the attempts, after the repeal of the stamp act, to tax the colonies in other forms and under various pretexts, the recall or modification of the colonial charters, &c., were all discussed at their firesides, their log-rollings, or wherever they met; and thus they were preparing to assert their independence and to maintain their rights.

But, probably, no revolution in government was ever made, in any age or country, in which religion or the ministers of religion had not an important influence, directly or indirectly; and in that which we are now considering the ministers of the gospel had an essential influence; for, if they had been generally opposed to a revolution or change of the government, it could not have been effected. The church establishment seems to have had but few friends; for, so far as is known, not an effort was made for its preservation, and not a tear was shed for its downfall. An established religion, or a religion upheld by the civil power, has generally been an appendage to monarchy, and is perhaps necessary to its support; but the two have, in most cases, been so connected that the one could not be overturned without the other. In some of the colonies, as in Virginia, great efforts were made to retain the church establishment; but it was obliged to go down with the power by which it had been supported. The measures of the British government had become so arbitrary and oppressive; and its claims were so arrogant, unfounded and extensive, that *most* of the christian denominations in the country, finding all their most valuable

rights, as men and as christians, either taken away, or in danger, united in the common effort to gain their Independence; and in this, among some of the denominations, they were supported and encouraged by their ministers. Ramsay, who is one of our best historians, says, "Most of the Episcopal ministers, of the northern provinces, were pensioners on the bounty of the British government. The greatest part of their clergy, and many of their laity, in those provinces, were therefore disposed to support a connexion with Great Britain." But in the southern provinces, he tells us, it was different; or there were more exceptions among their clergy in favor of Independence, because here they were not so dependent on the British crown. In North Carolina, the clergy belonging to the established church, with very few exceptions, left the country; but the people, or a large portion of them, who were attached to that as an Episcopal church, engaged heartily in the cause of Independence.

"The Quakers, with a few exceptions, were averse to Independence. In Pennsylvania they were numerous; and had power in their hands. Revolutions in government are rarely patronized by any body of men, who foresee that a diminution of their own influence is likely to result from the change. Quakers, from religious principles, were averse to war; and therefore could not be friendly to a revolution which could be effected only by the sword." The Quakers are as much opposed to church establishments and as warm friends to liberty as any other class of people; and in North Carolina they had given sufficient proof of both from the first settlement of the colony; but for the reasons given in the above extract, they preferred submission to the established government, unjust and oppressive as it was, to the bloodshed and calamities of war. "The Irish in America, with a very few exceptions, were attached to Independence. They had fled from oppression in their native country; and could not brook the idea that it should follow them. Their natural prepossessions in favor of liberty were strengthened by their religious opinions. They were generally Presbyterians; and people of that denomination, for reasons hereafter to be explained, were mostly whigs." Again. "The Presbyterians and

Independents were, almost universally, attached to the measures of congress. Their religious societies are governed on a republican plan. From Independence they had much to hope ; but from Great Britain, if finally successful, they had reason to fear the establishment of a church heirarchy." The Presbyterian ministers from north to south advocated independence ; and on the most liberal principles, wishing all to be placed on an equality, both as to their civil and their religious rights. In North Carolina, where they appear to have been more numerous and more influential than those of any other denomination at that time, they took a great deal of pains to make the people acquainted with their rights ; with the oppressions which they were enduring, and with their duty in view of the approaching crisis ; and for this purpose every means was employed and every opportunity was improved, such as conversation on all suitable occasions, instruction from the pulpit, and expressions of their views and sentiments in various forms in the judicatories of the church, which were circulated or read in their congregations.

Matters of this kind, or notices of individual ministers of the gospel, excluded as they are from a direct agency in the political affairs of the country, might not comport with the design of general history ; but in the life of one who was prominent and influential in his sphere, they cannot be deemed out of place. Whatever may be said or thought, in ordinary times, about the propriety of introducing politics into the pulpit, no man of enlightened views and patriotic feelings could object to it in such circumstances, when liberty and every thing valuable was at stake. The influence of the pulpit is confessedly great every where and at all times ; nor should it ever be desecrated, or perverted from its legitimate and proper use ; but if those who occupy it are never to lift up their voice against corruption in high places, or against the iniquity and oppression of rulers, they must be unfaithful to their high trust ; for they must then neglect a part of the counsel of God and swerve from the example of the apostles and prophets, who were required to denounce, with fidelity and fearlessness, the bribery and corruption, the haughtiness and oppression of kings and rulers. With the common course of politics, or with political measures which relate merely to the

prosperity and improvement of the country, ministers should have nothing to do in the pulpit; nor out of it, in any way that would lessen their ministerial influence; but measures of government that proceed from a want of moral principle, that are fraught with injustice and corruption, or that tend to oppression and threaten the subversion of human liberty, are as legitimate objects of denunciation and warning from the pulpit as any thing else. If truth is to be maintained in its purity and the ordinances of the church kept from profanation, the liberties of the people must be preserved; for when man undertakes to interfere with the freedom of conscience in others, he must exercise a power equally extensive in other things: and if corruption should ever become so extended in this country, and the iron sceptre of rising despotism be so firmly grasped by those in authority, as to overturn or menace the liberties of the people, the eyes of every patriot in the land would be again most anxiously and imploringly turned, as they were in bygone days, to those who minister at the altar.

After the difficulties became serious, and especially after the meeting of the continental congress, Dr. Caldwell often preached on the subject of the existing difficulties between England and the American colonies; and although he was a great lover of peace, and would make any reasonable sacrifices to maintain it, yet when fundamental principles or important interests were at stake, and he saw any prospect of success, he was decided, firm and persevering. Hardly a Sabbath passed in which he did not allude to the subject in some way or other; and while he denounced, in the strongest terms, the corruptions and oppressions of the existing government, he exhorted his hearers, with equal energy and zeal, to value their liberties above every thing else, and to stand up manfully in their defence; but although he preached so much on this subject, and at that period generally wrote his sermons, only one remains, and that is somewhat mutilated. How it escaped when the rest of his papers and his books were burned, is not known; but either it must have been in some corner of the house where they did not find it, or it was dropt by the way, in the hurry and confusion, when carrying it out to the fire, so that it was trodden in the dust and left unno

ticed ; and judging from the appearance of the manuscript, the conclusion would be that this was the way in which it escaped the fate of the rest. When the writer came into this county a number of years ago the old people who were then living in his congregations and who well remembered those times, mentioned a number of other texts on which they had heard him preach in relation to the pending contest ; and they said that the sermon which has been preserved and which is inserted at the end of this volume, was by no means the best. It seems to have been one with which he had taken no pains whatever ; or it was one of what may be called his *every day* sermons ; but it shews his high-toned feelings of patriotism and the facility with which he could make a common text bear upon such an uncommon subject. It is not in that elegance of style in which some men of more leisure and under more favorable circumstances would write, or in which he himself would have written had he intended it for the eye as well as for the ear of the public ; but the wonder is how he could find time to write at all ; and although it was evidently written in haste, under a pressure of other business, and without any thought of its ever coming before the public in this form, it is thought best to give it just as he left it, with some mere verbal corrections, and the addition of a few sentences to keep up the connexion in one or two places where the manuscript was mutilated. It is here published partly because it is worth reading any where, and partly because it is a relick of those times which, we have no doubt, every one will be glad to see. From the internal evidence it appears to have been written very shortly before the Declaration of Independence, and while that matter was under discussion in congress, probably in May or June ; and this gives it perhaps an additional interest.

Most of the Presbyterian ministers in North Carolina and throughout the Union pursued a similar course ; and with very gratifying success ; for wherever a minister of that denomination was settled, so far as I have been able to ascertain, the people around him were whigs, almost to a man. Some two or three able and popular men, of whom Dr. McWhorter was one, were also sent out from the north to travel over the southern

States, and particularly among the Presbyterian population, for the purpose of enlightening them on the subject of the pending contest and of engaging them in the cause of Independence. In the Orange Presbytery there was perhaps one, and only one member, who remained neutral for a while, merely from an *excess of caution*, which is said to have been a prominent trait in his character; but he soon came out on the side of liberty. So far as has come to my knowledge, there were in the Scotch settlements at that time only one or two Presbyterian ministers; and of these the Rev. Colin M'Iver has given me the following account: "The Rev. James Campbell was a *whig*. In proof of this fact, a grandson of his, who is still living, and who resides in this place, informs me, that, in making his last will and testament, he manifested his displeasure against his eldest son, by bequeathing much more of his property to his *younger sons* than to *him*;—because *they* were *whigs* and *he* was a *tory*.—The next Presbyterian minister, settling in these parts, of whom I can learn any thing, was the Rev. John McLeod. He came directly to this country from Scotland, in the year 1770. He was accompanied by a large number of families, who migrated from the Highlands of Scotland, and who, on their arrival in N. Carolina, settled chiefly in Cumberland county; and formed themselves into several congregations, of which he took the pastoral charge. I think it probable that he was the original founder of the congregations now known as the congregation of the Bluff, and the congregation of Barbeque; for it is certain that he was pastor of those churches. He possessed very popular talents, and was considered as a man of solid worth and eminent piety. It is probable that his *political* sentiments were the *reverse* of those of Mr. Campbell. Mr. McLeod continued to preach in this neighborhood from the year 1770 until the commencement of those disturbances which preceded the Revolutionary War; and which took place in 1773. About this time he left America, with a view of returning to his native country; and having never since been heard of, it is believed that he perished on the high seas." Mr. McLeod never had any connexion with the Orange Presbytery; but Mr. Campbell, or one of the same name, had for 8 or 10 years.

While a number of the Scotch were as good whigs as any in the country, the majority of them, although they had sacrificed much to liberty in their own country, supported the claims of Great Britain in America. For this many reasons have been assigned; but the most cogent were such as the following: The older part of them had felt the effects of British power so much in the land of their nativity, particularly at and after the battle of Culloden, that they dreaded to encounter that power again; their nation had for some time previous shared, as they thought, quite liberally in the royal favor for which, with their characteristic generosity and sense of gratitude, they felt themselves under obligations on that account, though personally beyond its reach; and then all their chieftains, or prominent and influential men had taken the oath of allegiance to King George before they crossed the Atlantic. A venerable and excellent old man who had borne a pretty high commission in the British service during the war, remarked in presence of the writer, some years ago, that he had sworn allegiance to the king of England, when in London, about to take shipping for America; and he felt himself bound by that oath. The obligation of an oath is one which a conscientious people, like the Scotch, especially when left without proper instruction as most of them were at that time, cannot be easily induced to violate; and their course in this matter, though evidently wrong, as all the better part of them were ready to acknowledge afterwards, was creditable to them as a *christian* people.

The Germans who, as we have seen, were numerous in this State, labored under great disadvantages. They had but few preachers; and if my information be correct, *some* of them were not calculated to enlighten the people, or to elevate their character. The older and more influential part of them hardly knew a word of English; and of course could not so well understand the merits of the controversy; but so far as they did understand it, they were sound whigs and good soldiers. The same or a similar remark may be applied to many others. In fact the mass of the people in the back country, for some time, neither knew nor cared much about certain things which were regarded by statesmen and men of intelligence as matters of vi-

tal importance;* but their patriotism and their attachment to the great principles, in defence of which the war of Independence was waged, kept pace with their information.

The views entertained and expressed publicly by the Presbyterian ministers of that day were liberal and patriotic. The synod of New York and Philadelphia, which met in the city of New York, May 17th, 1775, wrote a pastoral letter to the churches and people under their care, in which, after recommending that they retain their allegiance to the reigning sovereign, king George, as well as to the revolution principles by which he had been placed upon the throne; and that they would *especially* leave nothing undone that might tend to preserve the union which then subsisted through all the colonies, they use the following language: "In particular, as the continental congress, now sitting at Philadelphia, consists of delegates chosen in the most free and unbiassed manner, by the body of the people, let them not only be treated with respect, and encouraged in their difficult service—not only let your prayers be offered up to God for his direction in their proceedings—but *adhere firmly to their resolutions*; and let it be seen that they are

*The following extract of a letter, received some time ago, from an old gentleman, who, from his intelligence and great respectability, is considered perfectly good authority, and especially as he had lived all his life in the neighborhood where the incident occurred, furnishes an amusing illustration of the above statement. It refers to the time when the excitement began to prevail about the duty on tea; and when the patriotic ladies in our sea port towns were forming anti-tea associations.—He says, "I will now give you an anecdote which I have often heard repeated with great humor by the good old mothers of that day. Mr. B., who was afterwards a military officer of high rank during the war, then kept a country store; and in one of his trips to Philadelphia for goods, he purchased a pound of tea, as a matter of curiosity. When it arrived, a gentleman of high standing in the neighborhood, happened to be at his house; and, on his accepting an invitation to stay for dinner, Mr. B. whispered to his wife to let them have some of their new tea for dinner.—She boiled a ham of bacon; and put in a part of the tea with it. She boiled and boiled; but could not get it done, or in a condition fit to eat. The tea was spoiled; Mrs. B. was mortified; and an unfavorable impression was made on the neighbors, as to the importance of the controversy on that subject. When the Boston boys threw the tea overboard, and the news of war spread far and wide, the question went round the neighborhood, whether there was sufficient cause for war. The answer given was for taxing the tea, without a dissenting voice. One and all drank the tea; and said they might tax that as much as they pleased, for they never had seen any, and they had no use for it; but when the matter was explained, and they understood the *principle* which was involved, they were just as much united the other way."

able to bring out the whole strength of this vast country to carry them into execution. We would also advise, for the same purpose, that a spirit of candor, charity, and mutual esteem, be preserved and promoted towards those of different religious denominations. Persons of probity and principle, of every profession, should be united together as servants of the same master; and the experience of our happy concord hitherto in a state of liberty, should encourage all to unite in support of the common interest; *for there is no example in history, in which civil liberty was destroyed, and the rights of conscience preserved entire.*" Again, after urging the necessity of ecclesiastical discipline, of sobriety and good order in society, and of a moral and christian deportment in all the members of the church, they say, that "the greatest service which magistrates, or persons in authority, can do, is *to defend and secure the rights of conscience in the most EQUAL and IMPARTIAL manner.*" Although the question of a separation from Great Britain was, at that time, hardly stirred in any of the political assemblies, it may be inferred that there were some remarks made on it at this meeting of synod, at least by individuals; for one member "*dissented* from that paragraph of said letter which contains the declarations of *allegiance.*" During the war the same synod, then the highest judicatory of the Presbyterian church, in this country, made the following declaration, and entered it on their records: "It having been represented to synod, that the Presbyterian church suffers greatly in the opinion of other denominations, from an apprehension that they hold intolerant principles, the synod do solemnly and publicly declare, that they ever have, and still do renounce and abhor the principles of intolerance; and we do believe that every peaceable member of civil society ought to be protected in the *full* and *free* exercise of their religion." There is not a denomination in the United States that has given more unequivocal proofs, than the Presbyterians, of an honest desire that the church should be kept separate from the State, or that all should enjoy equal privileges, civil and religious; and none that has done more to establish and maintain an equality of rights.

The Presbytery of Hanover, in 1776, memorialized the gen-

eral assembly of Virginia on this subject in a most able and forcible manner. After stating the grounds on which they petitioned for a free toleration in religious opinions and forms of worship, for themselves and for all other classes of men, even infidels and Mahomedans; after enumerating the oppressions and invidious restrictions to which they had hitherto been subjected by having to pay a heavy tax annually for the support of the establishment, &c.; and after arguing the case both from reason and scripture, they entreat that the laws then in force, which gave one religious denomination a preference over others, might be speedily repealed—"that all, of every religious sect, may be protected in the full exercise of their several modes of worship; and exempted from all taxes for the support of any church whatsoever, further than what may be agreeable to their own private choice, or voluntary obligation." The general association of the Baptists in Virginia also sent a memorial to the general assembly of that State, through a committee which had been appointed by a resolution passed at their meeting in 1775, praying "that the church establishment might be abolished, and that religion might be allowed to stand upon its own basis." In North Carolina no efforts of the kind were found to be necessary; for the church establishment seems to have had so few friends, that, in changing the government, it was hardly noticed; and there was such a prevalence of correct views on the subject of religious as well as civil liberty, that the present system of free toleration and equal rights found a response in the bosoms of all, or nearly all, who had authority to act in the matter. It is believed that the only move which was made with a view of calling the attention of the legislative authority to this subject was made by Dr. Caldwell; but it was soon found that any application of the kind was unnecessary.

The Presbytery of Orange met at Sugar Creek, April 2nd, 1776; and Dr. Caldwell, having been prevented from attending, wrote them a letter, suggesting the propriety of applying to the provincial congress, then about to meet in Halifax,—“if said congress should assume the reins of government,”—through Mr. Avery who was a member of that body, for relief from the restrictions and oppressions to which they, in common with other

dissenters, were subjected by the church establishment. The Presbytery, having taken his letter into consideration, and deeming his suggestions important, or, in their own language, "improving the hints of Mr. Caldwell," would perhaps have prepared a memorial accordingly; but Mr. Avery, being present, promptly assured them that he would endeavor to obtain the relief they desired, "for which he received the thanks of Presbytery;" and there the matter ended. The members of that congress probably did not feel themselves at liberty to meddle with this subject, as it had not been contemplated in their election; and their business was not only of a different kind, but required all their time and attention. All matters which related to fundamental and inalienable rights were properly referred to the convention which was appointed, or was directed by this congress to be appointed, for the special purpose of forming a new system of government, adapted to the views and circumstances of the people; and which met at Halifax, Nov. 12th, 1776. Dr. Caldwell was a member of that convention as a delegate from Guilford county, which then included Randolph and Rockingham; and although very little is known of the debates which took place, as the proceedings have never been published, the *result* is known; for with "the Bill of Rights and Constitution of the State, which were then formed and adopted," all are no doubt acquainted. "That all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences," is one article in the bill of rights; and there is nothing in the constitution inconsistent with or variant from it, any further than was supposed to be necessary for the safety and welfare of the country. It has been said, though I know not on what authority, that Dr. Caldwell drew up the 32d section; but as the assertion is supported by no evidence, nothing need be said here in his justification. Perhaps no apology would be necessary if the authorship were certain; for it showed a vigilant concern for the preservation of the protestant religion which was generally regarded then as the safeguard of our liberties; and many still doubt the propriety of altering that article, as was done in 1835; but whether the alteration was wise or not time will determine.

The legislature of Great Britain having declared the American colonies out of their protection; and the continental congress having declared them free and independent states, it became necessary that each of the states should form a regular constitutional government, and with as little delay as possible; but the great importance and difficulty of the work in itself; and the exigencies and peculiar circumstances of the country at that time, just engaging in a war with the most powerful nation in the world, yet without either experience or resources at all adequate to the occasion, all the energy and promptness, as well as the patriotism, intelligence, and wisdom that could be furnished, were requisite. Whatever prejudices, personal animosities, and individual or family rivalships may exist in ordinary times, and operate to the injury of the country, were then, as they usually are, subdued by such an emergency; and the respective counties appear to have delegated those whom they regarded as their most enlightened, firm, and upright men. Hence men were sent by the people and permitted to act in that convention who were precluded by the very constitution which they formed from ever being members of the senate, house of commons, or council of state, under that constitution; and whatever may be said in ordinary times against ministers of the gospel having any thing to do with the legislation or politics of the country, probably no one will find fault with their appointment, or with the result of their labors, on that occasion.

The country was now involved in all the hardships and perils of war; and these, sufficiently great at any time or under any circumstances, were more than doubled by the fact that the enemies with whom the war was waged were domestic as well as foreign. This part of North Carolina was not ravaged or invaded by the British until the beginning of the year 1781; but it was much harassed by the tories, who were very numerous to the south and south-east. The frequent calls for men, military stores, or provisions, &c., which had to be furnished for the army from all parts of the State, together with the reports of the successes or disasters which attended the American arms to the north, were sufficient of themselves to keep the minds of the people in a state of constant and intense excitement; but in

this county, as in most others in which the whigs were sufficiently numerous to embody at all, the men, who were not in the regular service, were obliged to be constantly on the alert, and half of their time, or more, from home, for the purpose of suppressing the tories, or of revenging their insults and depredations. In this state of things, teaching, preaching, and every thing of the kind, as well as the uniform and wholesome operations of civil government, if not entirely suspended, were greatly interrupted. Dr. Caldwell did not remit the exercises of his school until about the time that the British army came into this region; but the number of his scholars was considerably reduced. He continued to preach, though the number of his hearers was not so large; and those who did attend, often went with fear and trembling, especially towards the latter part of the war, or when the militia companies were out on duty; for they were liable at any time to be attacked by the tories. When the men were at home they felt easy; for the whigs in this county were sufficiently numerous to repel and chastise any assault that the tories could make, and at any period of the war; but when the men were away, if the people went to church, and were unmolested there, they might find their dwellings plundered or in ruins when they returned. At such times every man, young and old, who was able to carry a gun, took it with him to church, as he did wherever he went; but under those circumstances it might be expected that their minds were not in a state to be benefited by the services of the sanctuary; and yet there is evidence that pious people maintained a high degree of spirituality and christian enjoyment.

Until the summer of 1780, the Presbyterian ministers, the only class of whose character and labors at this period I have any knowledge, seem to have continued their efforts for the promotion of learning, as well as for the advancement of vital piety, without any abatement of their zeal or any contraction in the sphere of their operations. As the population between the Yadkin and Catawba rivers was almost wholly Presbyterian, except the Germans, the act for incorporating Queen's College, at Charlotte, was of course obtained through their influence; and the institution, if it had gone into operation, would have

been sustained by them, though it was not chartered as a *Presbyterian* college, for they had not then felt themselves compelled, as they have done since, to take that ground; but if they were disappointed in this enterprize, noble and generous as it was, they were not discouraged. They were not only intelligent as a community, but there were many men among them who had been liberally educated: they knew and felt the value of education; and man might as well attempt to lay his interdict upon the coming forth of vegetation, when the powers of nature are warmed and refreshed by genial influences from above, as to arrest the progress of such a people in knowledge and improvement. In April, 1777, *the first year of American independence*, an act was passed by the legislature of North Carolina, incorporating Isaac Alexander, president, Col. Thomas Polk, Col. Thomas Neal, Abraham Alexander, Waightstil Avery, Adlai Osborn, John McNitt Alexander, Doct. Ephraim Brevard, Rev. David Caldwell, Rev. James Hall, Rev. James Edmunds, Rev. John Simpson, Rev. Thomas Reese, and Rev. Thomas McCaule, as president and trustees of *Liberty Hall Academy*. "These gentlemen had various powers, such as corporations of this nature usually possess. The first meeting of this respectable body was held in Charlotte, January 3d, 1778. Doct. Isaac Alexander, Doct. Ephraim Brevard, and Rev. Thomas McCaule, were appointed to frame a system of laws and regulations for the government of the members of the Academy.—It was then determined to purchase the lots and improvements belonging to Col. Thomas Polk, for which they stipulated to pay him £920. Commissioners were appointed to make an additional improvement, by building a frame house, of convenient dimensions, to answer for a common dining room to the Academy.—The salary of the president was fixed at £195, occasionally to be increased, according to the increasing price of provisions, which was extremely fluctuating, owing to the harassed state of the country, then experiencing all the calamities of a civil war, of a most malignant nature, kept alive by parties mutually exasperated by insult and injury."

"The regulations respecting the steward and boarding, were singularly excellent; and calculated to give general satisfaction.

—In April, 1778, the laws formed by Dr. Isaac Alexander, Dr. Ephraim Brevard, and Rev. Thomas McCaule, the committee chosen at the last meeting, were adopted without any material alteration. The course of studies, and the distinction of classes, were nearly the same as those pointed out by the trustees of the University of North Carolina, but more limited, and the honors conferred were the same, except that instead of degrees of Bachelors and Masters, the trustees had only the right of giving a certificate of their studies and improvements.—At this meeting, overtures were made to Dr. Alexander McWhorter, of New Jersey, to accept of the presidency; but he could not comply with their request, owing to the derangement of his affairs, from a long absence during the revolutionary war, having been appointed by congress to preach up liberty and independence to the inhabitants of the southern States. Mr. Robert Brownfield was then appointed to the office, and he agreed to accept for one year, as Doct. Alexander had thought proper to resign. Several gentlemen of great literary talents were successively invited without success.—Doct. Ephraim Brevard, and the Rev. Samuel E. McCorkle were then sent to New Jersey with a second invitation to Dr. McWhorter, with instructions, if he should think proper again to decline, to solicit the advice of Dr. Witherspoon and Mr. Houston, of Princeton, in the choice of some other gentleman of eminence in the republic of letters.—Dr. McWhorter, after settling his affairs, removed to Charlotte; and was about to take charge of Liberty Hall, when the whole business relating to it was suspended, never to be resumed. This took place about the 15th of February, 1780.” The charter of this academy I have seen in Davis’ Revisal; and the above account of it, so far as it is distinguished by quotation marks, is taken from a communication in the manuscript volume, so often mentioned already, in the University library. The communication was written 32 years ago, by Adlai Osborn, the same, I suppose, who is mentioned in the charter as a trustee; and if so, as he wrote from personal knowledge, it is no doubt correct.

The history of Liberty Hall Academy is interesting to the friends of literature as a bold and vigorous effort made for its promotion at that early day, and under the most discouraging cir-

cumstances; and it is especially interesting to Presbyterians as being one in a *series* of efforts made by the people in that region to establish a literary institution, not only of a high order, but on christian principles, and under christian influence. Both before and after its incorporation, the Presbytery of Orange exercised a degree of supervision over Liberty Hall, as they probably would have done over Queen's College, if it had gone into operation; but precisely on what grounds and to what extent does not appear. For this purpose the Presbytery met, during its existence, much oftener in Charlotte and Sugar Creek, than in any other part of their bounds; they appointed committees to examine the students; and they co-operated with the trustees in procuring the services of Dr. McWhorter. They sometimes held part of their sessions in one of these places, and the remainder in the other. Thus, having met in Charlotte, October 1st, 1776, they adjourned in the evening to Sugar Creek, where they transacted the rest of their business; and among other things they appointed "Messrs. Caldwell and Reese to examine the school in Charlotte." Again, "Fourth Creek, April 10th, 1778, Messrs. McCorkle, Hall, and McCaule, are hereby appointed to write a letter to Dr. McWhorter, concerning the academy in Charlotte." It appears to have been an object of their constant and anxious solicitude; and their whole influence was exerted for its promotion; nor was its failure owing to any neglect or want of zeal on their part; but to causes which were beyond their control; and it is to be hoped that the effort which the people in the same region are now making, the noblest and best that they have ever made, will succeed to the full extent of their wishes. It is presumed that facts like these, which are very interesting in themselves, and yet known to very few, will not be deemed out of place in a work of this kind; nor can the writer be accused of undue partiality by the world, or charged by his friends with a needless repetition of what is sufficiently known already, in saying so much about the church to which he belongs, or about its early efforts in the cause of education, liberty, and bible religion, especially as some of the things here related are not generally known even to the ministers of that church.

In 1774, the Presbytery of Orange, which then appears to have included South Carolina, though it did not when first organized, had twelve ordained ministers, all of whom, except two or three, were in North Carolina, and the number was increased more, during the first half of the war, in proportion to the whole population, and to the instrumentalities and means employed, than it has ever been since, in the same length of time. Thomas H. McCaule, who had been licensed in the fall of 1775, was ordained and settled as pastor of Centre Church, April 4th, 1777. James Hall was licensed at Sugar Creek, April 6th, 1776; and, on the 8th of April, 1778, was ordained and settled as pastor of the three united congregations of Fourth Creek, now Fourth Creek, Bethany and Concord. Samuel E. McCorkle was received as a licentiate from the Presbytery of Hanover, Oct. 1st, 1776; and was ordained and settled as pastor of Thyatira church, April 2nd, 1777. They intended to ordain him soon after he was received, as the congregation had sent their call for his services to the Hanover Presbytery, and the arrangements were all made on their part; but, owing to some circumstances which rendered it inconvenient for the Presbytery to attend to it, his ordination was deferred until the next spring. Thomas Hill, a foreign licentiate, was received at Charlotte, Oct. 2nd, 1776; and was ordained and settled at Indian Town, June 11th, 1777. John Cossan was received as a licentiate at the same time with Mr. Hill; and was ordained as an Evangelist at Salem church, in December, 1778. When the Presbytery met at North Buffalo church, June 3rd, 1777, the Rev. John Debow, who had been pastor of Oxford and Mount Bethel churches in New Jersey, and had come to North Carolina as a missionary in the fall of 1775, was received on his dismissal from the Presbytery of New Brunswick; and was stationed, for several years, though not formally installed, in the churches of Eno and Hawfields. Robert Archibald, who had been licensed in the fall of 1775, was ordained and settled as pastor of Poplar Tent and Rocky River churches on the 7th of October, 1778. At the meeting held in Fourth Creek church, April 7th, 1778, Andrew Patton, a native of Ireland, was received as an ordained minister belonging to the Associate Pres-

bytery of Pennsylvania ; but although he was a popular speaker, and prepossessing in his manners, it is believed that he never settled as the pastor of any of our churches. At Little River, Nov. 25th, 1777, James Fraser was received as a licentiate from the Presbytery of Falkirk in Scotland ; and was stationed for some time, though not installed, in Little River church. At Little River, Sept. 2nd, 1778, James Templeton was received as a licentiate from the Presbytery of Hanover ; and at the same meeting it appeared that calls had been presented to the Hanover Presbytery from Pleasant Garden, Reedy Branch, and Quaker Meadows, in Burke county, for his pastoral services. At Fourth Creek, April 11th, 1778, they licensed Thomas Donnell, James McCree, Thomas Craighead, and David Barr ; and Thatcher, Lake, and others, soon after ; so that, in 1780, they had eighteen ordained ministers and five licentiates.*

During this time they lost two by death—Mr. Balch, in the beginning of 1776 ; and Mr. Criswell, in the fall of 1778. Although the Presbytery appears to have been exceedingly careful about bringing men into the ministry,† and about receiving them when brought into it any where else, either by other denominations, or by Presbyteries in their own connexion, one or two unworthy men got into their body ; but they were from a distance. The Rev. Alexander McMillen, who had been for some time preaching in Hillsborough, New Hope, and Little River, though not settled in any of these places, was silenced

*Records of the Presbyterian Church, p. 486.

†The Presbytery hardly ever ordained a man without permission of Synod, unless he were invited to take charge of some regular church ; and when they concluded, after much deliberation, in 1778, to ordain John Cossan without a charge, they made the following minute. “ Finding that Mr. Cossan has no inclination at present, for taking a particular charge in our vacancies, and signifies a desire for ordination, assured that in this capacity he would be more extensively useful in the churches, the Presbytery have so far *presumed upon the consent of Synod*, as to venture to ordain Mr. Cossan *sine litulo*.—Many things seem to concur in urging the Presbytery to this measure : among which are—the great distance from Synod ; the uncertainty of conveyance, and of the times and places of Synodical meeting, are none of the smallest ; but the wide extent of our bounds, and the importunate cries of the churches for ordained ministers, press themselves upon our minds with peculiar force, and induce us to take this uncommon step, which, however, we mean not to repeat, except in a case equally urgent with the present, or in consequence of a special grant from Synod.”

for habitual intoxication and other acts of immorality. He had been for some two or three years a member of the Orange Presbytery; but he had been both licensed and ordained elsewhere. After obtaining full proof of his guilt and of his utter disregard of principle and of character, he was deposed, Sept. 3rd, 1778; and the churches were warned against receiving him as a minister of the gospel, or giving him any kind of encouragement. But the number of ministers increased regularly through the whole period of the war; and while their best ministers were from their own churches, it is not known that one of them ever proved unsound, or acted inconsistently, either with his profession as a christian, or with his vocation as a minister of the gospel. There was perhaps one exception which will be noticed in another place; but it occurred or became known long after the period of which we are now speaking.

The influx of Presbyterians into this State, for a number of years before the war, had been so great, that they could not be supplied with the ministrations of the gospel. The discovery of America, and the intolerance and persecutions of the old world, seemed to put all christendom in motion; and while tens of thousands were driven across the Atlantic, but few came along who could break to them the bread of life. Ministers have never since kept up with the tide of emigration; and in North Carolina, during the period under consideration, there was a christian community spread over the length and breadth of the land, but almost without ministers. There were only about a dozen or fifteen to traverse the State from north to south, and from east to west, or the people must be left without religious instruction, and without christian ordinances. As soon as a young man was licensed, there were commonly half a dozen calls, more or less, immediately presented for his pastoral services; and the applications made at every meeting of Presbytery for supplies, from vacant congregations, and Presbyterian settlements in which there was no church organization, though desired, were at least three or four times as many as there were preachers. Some of these applications were from the counties in Virginia adjoining this State; and others from the coves and vallies in the mountains, where it would hardly be supposed that there was any body

then living who knew what the gospel meant. There were also applications for chaplains to the army; and at almost every meeting there were new churches or settlements petitioning to be taken under the care of Presbytery. Many of these are now forgotten; and are either lying waste, or are occupied by other denominations.* Then they felt the need of preaching, and the Orange Presbytery was almost their only dependence; but the ministers of that age were laborious men; and they performed an amount of labor which their successors at the present day love to admire, but cannot or do not imitate.

The ministers composing the Presbytery of Orange at this time appear to have been of one heart and of one mind in relation to all the important subjects which occupied their attention; nor did any thing come before them, so far as the writer has been able to ascertain, on which there was any division of sentiment or any warmth of discussion, except a case of discipline brought up from one of the churches; and as that was a small matter which soon passed away, leaving no root of bitterness, and causing no diminution of fraternal regard, it would not be noticed here, but for the part taken in it by the subject of this

*The following list of applications from churches and settlements for supplies, at each of the stated meetings of Presbytery in 1778, will probably be interesting, at least to our ministers. These places were nearly all under the care of Presbytery, though they did not all have organized churches; and they were all supplied except perhaps one or two. At each meeting of Presbytery, the ministers were all appointed to supply a number of Sabbaths—many of them six, and none of them less than four; but often their appointments were a hundred miles or more from home. They were generally fulfilled however; and this appears to have been a regular thing from year to year; for as some were supplied with pastors, new applications were continually made:—Fair Forest, Nazareth, Hopewell, Steel Creek, Wrightsborough, Great Kicca, Providence, Salisbury, Crystal Spring, Waxhaws, Beaver Creek, Bethel, Poplar Tent, and Rocky River, in the spring; Bethesda, Catholic, Goslien, Union, Little Britain, Sugar Creek, Hitchcock, Little River, New Hope, Yadkin Valley, Coddle Creek, Quaker Meadows, Davidson's Fort, Mineral Spring, New Erection, Lower Dan, Lower Hico, Jersey Settlement, Deep River, Upper Haw River, Mountain Meeting House, Starkin's Quarter, Lone Island, Cartledge Creek, New Providence, Duncan's Creek, Indian Creek, Charlotte, Cedar Spring, Jackson's Creek, Upper Hunting Creek, Lower do., Chesnut Spring, Williamsburg, Cape Fear, Upper Union, Valley Settlement, Nolachucky, Country Line, Stoney Creek, Unity, Upper Hico, Wake County, Fork of Yadkin, Long Creek, Mountain Creek, Beersheba, Calvary, Colonel Jack's Battalion, Allen's Creek, Good's and Avery's in Virginia, Sandy River in Pittsylvania, Pacolet, Broad River, Mumford's Cove, Fishing Creek, Mud-dy Creek.

memoir. At an intermediate meeting of the Presbytery held at North Buffalo, June 3d, 1777, for the purpose of settling a difficulty in that church, a man who had been suspended from church privileges by the Session of the church to which he belonged,* brought his case before the Presbytery; and as the crime charged upon him was one which admitted of no positive testimony, the Presbytery administered to him "the oath of purgation." It was first put to vote whether the session had sufficient evidence to judge him guilty of the crime with which he was charged, which was decided in the negative; but Dr. Caldwell dissented. The vote was then taken whether they should propose to him "the oath of purgation;" and after much discussion it was decided in the affirmative; but Dr. Caldwell again dissented; and entered the reasons of his dissent on the records. Some of these reasons were, of course, peculiar to that case; but those which related to the abstract principle would be good any where. He stood alone in this matter; and the course he took shews at once his firmness, and the correctness of his judgment. It is believed that this was the only instance in which that oath was ever administered by the Orange Presbytery; and if it has ever been administered by any of our church sessions, the cases have been few and far between. In the case above referred to, it should be remarked that the person accused requested that they would permit him to take the oath; but while much may be said in its favor, and while the object proposed to be accomplished by it is certainly good, it furnishes such a strong temptation to perjury, and is so liable to be abused, that it can seldom, if ever, be justifiable or expedient.

From the summer of 1780 to the close of the war, every thing in North Carolina was in confusion; for when the country was invaded and ravaged by the British army, it was harassed and plundered in a cruel and reckless manner by the tories, who were emboldened by the presence or proximity of an army whose progress for a time seemed to be irresistible. In this state of things, the Presbyterian ministers were not only interrupted in their work and labor of love, and suffered, in common with others, the loss of their property to a greater or less extent;

*James Balch, a member of Rocky River church.

but were subjected to personal hardships and perils, in various ways. Their intelligence, piety and consistency of deportment, as ministers of the gospel, were such as to command the respect of all who had any regard for religion, or were capable of appreciating moral worth; but a large portion of the tories were not of this description; and then the influence which these ministers had exerted in favor of Independence had made them really and in a high degree obnoxious to the British. They were men who could not fail to exert an extensive influence any where or at any time; for while many of them were *young* men, just entered on the public stage of action and not more than two or three of them were in the decline of life, they were all men of classical education, and a majority of them were graduates of Princeton, or some other college. Dr. McWhorter, as we have seen, was employed and sent out from the north to aid the cause of Independence in the south. He was a man of literature and science, a sound divine, an able preacher, and a laborious servant in the cause of his master, as well as an ardent friend to the rights of mankind. McCaule was eloquent and accomplished, true to the church, and true to his country. Hall was talented, brave, and patriotic; a firm defender of the truth in all its bearings; and had all his powers and acquisitions employed for the honor of God, and the welfare of his fellow men. McCorkle was a man of extensive learning, and a profound thinker; a philosopher and a christian; and one who stood firm in support of Bible doctrine, the rights of conscience, and the diffusion of knowledge. Caldwell was not only a fine classical scholar, and a man of very general information, but was remarkably judicious, vigilant, firm and uncompromising in defence of whatever he regarded as important to the present or the future welfare of mankind; and wherever he was known, he received as he deserved the confidence of all who were engaged in the same cause. Similar remarks might be made respecting most of the others who, during this great crisis in the destiny of unnumbered millions, were associated with them in the service of God and their country; but as my knowledge of their character is more limited, the task of perpetuating their memory must be left to others. A passing notice however of those who were most distinguished cannot be

regarded as either uncalled for or out of place; for if the Apostle admonished the churches of his time to remember those who had spoken to them the word of life, or who had been instrumental in delivering them from their bondage to sin and Satan, the people of this country might be admonished, in the same spirit, to remember those who, with the divine blessing, achieved their independence, planted their churches, founded their institutions of learning, and bequeathed to all who might come after them, the inheritance of their intelligence, their patriotism, and their piety. These are the men, whatever might have been their station—whether employed in the cabinet or in the field, in the senate or in the pulpit—whose names should live while our liberties and our institutions of learning and religion endure; for their history is in fact the history of the country and of the church; and while we love and value the one we shall remember and venerate the other.

In proportion as a man is efficient or conspicuous in any cause he becomes obnoxious to those who are opposed to it; and on this principle, as might have been expected from his weight of character, as well as from the active part which he had all along taken in the cause of independence, Dr. Caldwell was regarded by the enemy with no friendly feelings; but for a similar reason, his house became a place of resort for his brethren of the clerical profession, and for his friends of every description, far and near, especially when they found it necessary to seek a place of greater safety, or wished to confer with him on any subject of difficulty and importance. When the British took Charleston and overran South Carolina, in the spring of the year 1780, most of the whigs in that State fled into North Carolina and Virginia; and those who had friends or acquaintances in either of these States, naturally sought refuge with them. On this occasion the Rev. Mr. Edmunds of Charleston, being an old acquaintance and an intimate friend of Dr. Caldwell, came to his house, and made it his home, until he and his people could return with safety. Some of his brethren, who lived between the Yadkin and Catawba rivers, when the British came to Charlotte, also sought refuge in his house, and remained with him or in his congregations until the enemy were driven back into South Carolina.

Two of his brothers-in-law, Mr. Crawford and Mr. Dunlap, who had married sisters of Mrs. Caldwell, and who lived in some of the upper districts of that State, came and brought their families with them. They rented a house on a small farm in the neighborhood, and kept them there for eighteen months, more or less; or until the British were driven out of South Carolina; in the fall of 1781. Their wagons and teams were employed most of the time in the American service; and they were themselves much of the time with the army. Perhaps no minister of the gospel in North Carolina, or none of the Presbyterian order, was more harassed and plundered by the tories, or endured greater hardships and run more risks of being killed or taken prisoner, than Dr. Caldwell; and in the course of a few weeks, from the time that the British army penetrated into this State after the battle at the Cowpens until after the battle at Guilford courthouse, a variety of incidents occurred, some of which were amusing, and others calculated to awaken feelings of sympathy and gratitude, but all of them deeply interesting. The precise date of their occurrence is not known, because they depend on the recollections of his family and other aged people in the neighborhood, or have been communicated from memory by some of his old pupils who live at a distance; but of the facts there seems to be no doubt.

The histories of that period contain many and loud complaints against the whigs of the southern States for refusing to give up their saddle horses to the service of the country, in consequence of which the army was subjected to great inconvenience, and the cavalry especially, rendered much less efficient than otherwise it would have been. This induced a necessity of impressing horses of that description for the use of the cavalry, as well as wagons and teams for other purposes; and it is said that sometimes men who were connected, or who pretended to be connected with the army, took the liberty of impressing the best horses they could find, under the plea that they were wanted for the service of the country, but could shew no authority for what they did. An incident of this kind occurred with Dr. Caldwell, which is worth relating, as it furnishes some illustration of his character, and of the state of things then in the country; or if the persons concerned had any authority for taking his property, as they probably

had, they did not shew it at the time, and acted as if they had none.

He had a fine blooded mare, which he called his English mare, and which was known all over the country by that name. As he was returning home one evening on his favorite animal, he was met at the end of his lane by two or three men who were perfect strangers to him; but one of them immediately told him that he must have his mare for the use of the American army. As this was about the time when Greene and Morgan were retreating before Cornwallis into Virginia, and when every possible effort was making to recruit the army, he supposed that this man had been sent out by Greene for the purpose of impressing suitable horses wherever he could find them, and mildly asked him for his authority; but the man drew his sword, and brandishing that about, rudely told him, *that* was his authority. The mare being a favorite, and the one on which he always rode, money could hardly have bought her; but as he could not help himself, he quietly gave her up; and the man, vaulting into the saddle, rode away, without making him any remuneration, or giving him any thing by which he might expect ultimately to obtain compensation;—leaving, however, the very indifferent animal on which he had been riding, now become unfit for service, and the accoutrements, which were in a similar condition. Next morning, having learned that the men were at Martinville, he followed them to that place, with the hope of being able either to get his mare back, or to obtain some assurance of indemnity at a future time; but instead of obtaining either, they took from him the horse on which he then rode—the one they had left—and gave him no compensation for that one, except another which was little more than a skeleton, so broken down that it was hardly able to carry him home, and with a back so sore that it was almost putrescent, while the saddle was not sufficient to prevent him entirely from coming in contact with the horse's back.

It is said that he was *nearer* being in a bad humor that day than he was ever known to be before or after; but he kept the command of his temper; and fortune seemed to turn in his favor, though it was only for a short time. In the evening one of his

neighbors came and told him that his mare was in McCuistin's stable, not half a mile off; as the spoilers had taken up there for the night. He immediately laid his plan for getting her back; and as she had been taken from him without any plea of legal authority, or any evidence that the act was not downright robbery, he thought himself justifiable in adopting any method for her recovery that would injure no body else. Prompt, as he was, on every emergency, and never at a loss for expedients, he was not long on this occasion in devising his plan or in carrying it into effect. He had a negro servant by the name of Tom, a native African, who was remarkable for the darkness of his complexion, being the blackest negro in all the country; and also for his dexterity at thieving, for he was considered the most expert thief any where known. Calling up Tom, therefore, about dark, he told him that if he would contrive to get his mare away from McCuistin's that night without its being known, and would conceal her in the woods so that he could get her again, he would give him a handsome reward, which he specified; and Tom, delighted with the idea of getting so much money, as well as at having an opportunity for gratifying his furtive disposition, said at once, like one of our heroes in the last war, *I'll try, sir*. Accordingly he went over about midnight, with a bridle in his hand; and as the night was cloudy and exceedingly dark, he stript himself entirely naked, the better to avoid discovery if any thing should occur to give the alarm. Then he succeeded in getting her out of the stable while the men were asleep in the hay above, and made his escape. With this exploit he was as much gratified as ever Bonaparte was with any of his victories; for he not only took a pleasure in thieving, but felt a pride in having it known how successful he was in the business, or in being considered the *best* thief in all the country.

Anticipating the course which the men would take, Dr. Caldwell, to be prepared for it, sent by daylight for his two brothers-in-law, Crawford and Dunlap, to come over without delay and bring their guns with them, which they did; and having two or three of his clerical friends there at the time, such as McCorkle, Hall, and Thatcher, he felt pretty safe. About sun rise, according to his expectation, he saw two of them coming towards the

house; and having met them at the door, while his friends remained in an adjoining room, out of view, the one who had taken the mare, as it was supposed, for his own use, and who, of course, felt much spited at the trick which had been played, accosted him with some degree of sternness, and asked him if he could tell him where the mare was. He replied that he could not; for he had not seen her,—which was literally true: he had not seen her, nor had he ascertained where she was concealed. The military hero then made some remarks which implied a charge of prevarication; but the Doctor told him that he had never before been accused of any such thing, or treated with so much rudeness; and intimated that he would not bear it, especially in his own house. With that the other began to bluster and utter some heavy threats, when Dr. McCorkle came out of the room, where he had heard all that passed, and stepping up to the door, observed to him, in a very grave and positive tone, that he had better be civil; for if he conducted like a gentleman he should be treated as a gentleman; but if he continued to act in that manner they would tie him and send him off to General Green's camp with an account of his conduct—assuring him at the same time, as the others now came forward, that they were able to do it, and would do it forthwith, unless he demeaned himself more like a gentleman. This had the intended effect: The young man became quiet, and moved off quite chafallen, and on his own stumps, just as he came. Thus the mare was saved for that time; but it was not long until she was stolen by the tories, and was never recovered. Had Dr. Caldwell been able to foresee this, or had he known that she was impressed by the proper authority in the first instance, he probably would not have put himself to so much trouble and expence to get her back; but the whole transaction shews the state of things in the country at the time, the hardships to which the most venerable and peaceful men were sometimes subjected, and the expedients to which people often resorted to save or rescue their most favorite articles of property.

With most men, a good saddle horse is, at all times, and in all countries, a favorite object; but in this country, and especially in the condition in which it was at that time, destitute of good

roads and filled with enemies, foreign and domestic, when a man's safety often depended upon the fleetness of the animal on which he rode, it is not surprising that any one should be reluctant to part with the horse that had saved, or that might save his life, even for the benefit of those who were fighting the battles of their country. In such cases there was hardship on both sides; and it is not necessary now to discuss the question of duty, for that would often depend on the circumstances of the case. As Dr. Caldwell's mare was taken last by the tories, he got some compensation for her after the war, as he did for some of his other losses, by prosecuting the men who had done the mischief; but he did not get what he considered an equivalent.

About the same time, as it is supposed, an incident occurred of a different kind, which called for the exercise of different qualities, and was rather more fortunate in its results. His brother Alexander Caldwell was either in the army, or away from home on business; and when he was away Dr. Caldwell was the only one to whom his wife and children could look for advice in difficulty or for protection from danger. The plantations joined and the houses were not a mile apart. One evening about dusk, two men came there and were acting very rudely, seizing whatever they wished to carry away, ordering her to get supper for them, &c. It is said they were British—one a sergeant or some subaltern officer, and the other a common soldier. General Greene had passed by Dr. Caldwell's a few days before; Cornwallis was now passing within two or three miles on the other side; and the supposition is, that having camped some where in the vicinity, these men were sent out foraging, as others had been in other directions. There was no necessity for sending many together; for the militia companies were mostly out against the tories; and several of the neighbors who were either not fit for military service, or who could not leave their families consistently with their duty, were with Greene's army—some having gone alone, and others had taken their families with them. As Greene passed by they took their wagons with their families in them and went along with the army, merely for protection; but bore their own expenses, and returned when they pleased. Of course when the British army

passed through the country in pursuit of Greene, it met with no opposition; and the men thought that they could go any where without fear of molestation. Dr. Caldwell saw the two men above referred to, passing by the end of his lane after sunset; and as they were going towards his brother's house, it occurred to him that perhaps he had better go over; but before he started or fully determined to go, Mrs. Caldwell sent a messenger informing him of the circumstances, and requesting his advice. He sent her word that she must treat them politely, get them as good a supper as she could, and as soon as practicable; but that she must be careful to notice where they put their guns, and set her table in the other end of the house; and in the meantime he would go over and conceal himself behind a certain haystack. She was moreover directed to let him know when the men sat down to supper; and to inform him correctly of all the arrangements.

The house, like most others in the country at that time, was a double cabin, or a log house, with a chimney in the middle, an outer door to each apartment, and a communication from one end to the other; and she arranged every thing according to the directions given. While the men were engaged in demolishing what was on the table, without suspicion of danger or interruption, he went quietly into the other apartment, took up one of the guns which, of course he found loaded, and, stepping to the door of the room in which they were so comfortably employed, presented it, and told them that they were his prisoners, and that if they attempted to resist or escape their life would be the forfeit. As neither of them felt willing to die just at that time, they surrendered at once; and he marched them over to his own house where he kept them until morning; but it being inconvenient for him to keep them long at his own expense, to say nothing of the risk he run of being captured himself by some other party of the British or tories, and Greene's army being expected back in a short time, he put them on their parole by making them take a solemn oath on the Family Bible that they would not take up arms against the United States, nor in any way assist the British or tories, but demean themselves peaceably and return to him on such a day. By that time he expected Greene's army would be

in the country or somewhere within reach ; but in this he was disappointed. However they kept their word very honorably, and returned to him on the very day appointed ; but as Greene had not come according to expectation, and it being uncertain when he would come, as he was employed in watching the movements of Cornwallis about Hillsborough, and waiting for more reinforcements, he put them on their parole again in the same way ; and directed them to go and report themselves to Col. Paisley. It was never known, or is not now recollected, what became of them ; for his own situation soon after became perilous ; and Col. Paisley being almost constantly out on duty he had no opportunity of seeing him, until after the Guilford battle, when matters of this kind were pretty much forgotten. When the writer came into this country however, a number of years ago, the circumstance was well recollected by the old people then living ; and it is still recollected by some of Dr. Caldwell's family ; for although they were then small, it made an impression which could not be erased, and it is believed that the fact as above related is substantially correct.

It is said that Dr. Caldwell was known to Lord Cornwallis, by character, before he ever crossed the limits of North Carolina ; and this was probably the fact. Governor Tryon became well acquainted with him at and after the Regulation battle ; and whatever *he* knew would probably be communicated to those whom it concerned. The Doctor was also a member of the convention which adopted the State constitution ; and his lordship would no doubt be made acquainted with the names and character of the men who composed that body. Again, the men of his congregations were all thorough-going whigs ; and that of itself would be enough ; for a commander like Cornwallis would hardly penetrate into a country without knowing how the people in its different sections stood affected towards him. However this may have been, when Cornwallis came into this region he offered a reward for his apprehension : so says tradition ; and it appears to have been so uniform and so well sustained that the probability in the case is certainly very strong. When the writer first came into this county, before Dr. Caldwell's death, it was frequently mentioned by the old people in

his congregations, as a thing of which there was no doubt; nor has it ever been contradicted or doubted since. It is also said that the reward offered was £200; and that they found a Judas, not in his congregations nor in his immediate neighborhood, but within a few miles, who agreed to betray him for the proffered reward; but as he was disappointed, it is best perhaps to let his name be forgotten. It was not long however, until he fell into the hands of the tories; but was again delivered.

A reward having been offered for his apprehension, as he understood; and the tories, encouraged by the proximity of the British, having become more bold and reckless, he did not deem it prudent to remain in his house; but lay concealed for the most part in the woods,—coming home occasionally to see his family, but making his visits short. He apprehended no danger of his life from the British, as he often remarked; nor from the tories while the British were within reach; for the object of the former in apprehending him, if they could do it, would be, as he supposed, to deliver him up and get the reward; but in this he might have been mistaken. Having ventured home one day, however, he had not long been there until the house was suddenly surrounded by a body of armed men; and he was taken prisoner. They were tories, and intended carrying him to the British camp, then, as we suppose, in the lower part of the county; but as their primary object was plunder, they set one or two to guard him, and the rest went to gather up what provisions, clothing, &c., they could find. Some of his family, though they were then young, still recollect seeing their father standing there beside the plunder, while the men were around him with their guns; and they often heard their parents relate the circumstances for years afterwards. When they were nearly ready, as they supposed, to depart—the plunder piled up in the middle of the floor, and he with his guard standing beside it,—Mrs. Dunlap, who happened to be in the house at the time, though she had hitherto remained with Mrs. Caldwell in an adjoining room, with that promptness and presence of mind for which females are often so remarkable in sudden emergencies, stepped up behind him, leaned over his shoulder, and, whispering in his ear as if intending that he alone should hear it, but

really intending that some of those who stood by should hear it too, asked him if it was not time for Gillespie* and his men to be here. The one who stood nearest, as she intended he should, caught the words; and, with manifest alarm, asked her what men? She told him it was none of his business; for she was just speaking to her brother. But that served only to increase the alarm; and, in a moment, they were all panic-struck, and in perfect confusion;—some exclaiming, “who? who? what men?” and others vociferating at the top of their voice, “let us go, let us go, or the d—nd rebels will be on us thick as hell before we know what we are about;” and in the consternation produced by this ingenious though simple maneuver on the part of Mrs. Dunlap, they all fled with precipitation, leaving their prisoner to the enjoyment of his liberty, and their plunder to the care of its rightful owners. Some alarm was perhaps natural; for they were just within the limits of one of the strongest whig neighborhoods in the State, as Dr. Caldwell lived on the west side of his congregations and near the line of separation between them and the Quaker settlement; Gillespie too and his men were a scourge and a terror to the tories; and then Gen.

* This was John Gillespie who has been already noticed as shewing so much prowess in and after the Regulation battle. He was then a captain; but was raised to the rank of Colonel soon after the Declaration of Independence. He was too daring and impetuous perhaps to have the command of a large body of men; but with a small number of kindred spirits such as the Forbises, the Halls, the McAdoos and others, he was admirably calculated for the service in which he was engaged as a partizan officer; and while the exploits which he performed were sufficient in number and importance to furnish materials for a novel or a romance, one will suffice to illustrate his character. Not long after the war commenced he was out on an expedition against the tories below Deep River. Within a few miles of the place where quite a large body of them were encamped, most of his men, having been by some means or other separated from him, were captured in the evening and taken to the encampment. Early in the morning, having learned what had happened, he proposed to the few who were with him, to go and release the men; but they told him that it was folly to think of it; for the tories were ten or twenty to one; and if they should get him in their power they would be sure to take his life. This was true; for although they had never seen him they knew him well by character; and would rather have had him put out of the way than a dozen others. However he determined on making an effort to save his men, whether any body went with him or not; and set off alone.—When he arrived at the camp he found a large body of them collected around his men; and heard them telling John Hall, one of his best men, that he might be saying his prayers as fast as he could; for he had but a few minutes to live. Gillespie rode a very fleet animal; and, throwing her bridle loosely over a bush, he walked up carelessly into the crowd. His men saw him; but

Greene with his army was known to be distant not more than a good day's march, the cavalry or some scouting party of which might come upon them at any time; but that they should be so panic-struck by a whisper as to fly before an enemy was in sight, though in such a situation that they could have seen one approaching from almost any direction, and while at a considerable distance, can be accounted for only on the supposition that the hand of an overruling Providence was in it; and it furnishes additional proof that "he is doubly armed, whose cause is just."

There never was a cause in this world, however good, that was not injured and disgraced by pretended friends; and the cause of American Independence shared, in this respect, the common fate of every thing good. Every body has read or heard of Piles' defeat, which took place about half way between the present town of Greensborough and Hillsborough; and while every one has felt indignant that some four or five hundred men from the south-west quarter of Orange, with some perhaps from the parts of Guilford and Randolph adjoining, should thus attempt to strengthen the enemies of their country, he has at the

were careful not to betray him either by looks, words or actions. The Tories felt a little disconcerted by the sudden appearance of a stranger among them under such circumstances; and they hardly knew how to proceed; but they soon asked Hall if he knew John Gillespie? He replied that he did, very well; and that he gloried in being one of his men. He was then asked if he knew where he was. He said if he did, he would not tell. They offered him his life if he would give them such information that they could get him in their possession; but he nobly refused to save his life upon any such terms. The question was then put, 'Is he in this place?' Keeping his back to Gillespie and casting his eyes over the crowd, he replied, 'If he is I do not see him.'—He was then commanded to mount a stump close by, and look all over. Keeping Gillespie again in his rear, and looking over the company from this more elevated position, he made the same reply. He was now ordered to turn round and tell them at once whether he was on the ground or not; for they would be trifled with no longer. He turned round; but looking entirely over Gillespie, he still gave the same answer—'If he is here I do not see him.'—With that they became angry, and told him with an oath that he had but three minutes to live. When Gillespie saw that his men would not betray him even to escape an ignominious death; and that there was no more time to lose, he walked off to his English filly, as he called her; and as he vaulted into the saddle, told them he was John Gillespie, and they might make their best of it. That was enough: the shout was immediately raised; the men flew to their horses; and in their eagerness to get him, let the others escape; but he was as much at their defiance in flight as he was in battle, when the disparity of numbers was not too great.

same time felt delighted with the tact and bravery of Col. Lee, who so adroitly and completely cut them off, before they accomplished their purpose, and thus turned the tide of fortune in favor of his country. This was one of the most fortunate exploits of that heroic and enterprising officer—the most fortunate, I mean, for the cause of independence in this State; but there were some things about it, which, though they have not been noticed, ought to be known, in justice to a portion of those who were so suddenly and so fortunately perhaps for the cause of freedom, hurried into eternity. Some of them were driven to take the step which they did, by the injustice and oppression of certain officers in the whig ranks; and if my information be correct, the name of Col. William O'Neil ought to be more odious than that of tory; for while he was elevated in rank, and clothed with power for the benefit of his country, he used both, not for the common good which he was bound in honor, and by the most sacred obligations to support, but to enrich himself. Many of those men were no doubt destitute of principle, and deserved the reward which they received; but others of them had been true friends to the cause of independence, and had even suffered much in support of that cause. This was the case particularly with the German part of them, who not being able to understand English, and being generally in good circumstances, were fit subjects for the rapacity of such a man as Col. O'Neil; and seeing no other way of escape from his oppressions, they sought refuge in the British army. Many however, who left home with the intention of joining the British standard, not having fallen in with the body which was forming under Col. Piles for that purpose, when they heard of his defeat; immediately returned, but the following communication from an old gentleman of much intelligence and respectability in that neighborhood, who has been already referred to, will give the reader some idea of Col. O'Neil's treacherous conduct, and of its effects upon the people in his region.

“ DECEMBER 5th, 1841.

“*Dear Sir*—I write you a few lines on the subject, about which we had some conversation when you were at my house, I mean the conduct, for a few years previous to the Guilford battle, of

Capt. O'Neil, who was, soon after the commencement of the war, promoted to the rank of colonel. Instead of aiding in the defence of our country against the tyranny of England, his conduct had a tendency to sour the minds of our citizens against the government recently established. His taking advantage of the times to speculate and make money, commenced when a captain, by drafting an old man's son, among others, to go against the notorious Col. Fannen, who commanded a company of Tories, and occupied the swamps and sandy wilds between Cape Fear and Pee Dee rivers; but this region, having been represented as very sickly, was a terror to the people; and he obtained £75 from the old man, by finding a substitute for his son. This money he divided with the other two officers of the company, the lieutenant and ensign, but the ensign returned the old man his third part of the money, which was £25. O'Neil soon became very expert in this kind of traffic; and increased his calls for men, solely that he might have it in his power to take advantage of their necessities or their fears; for he always had some understrappers ready to take the drafted man's place, for good pay; and one man was known to take the place of six different men in one day. There was no power to call him to account, as he was head commander of the regiment; and he operated in this way in the less informed parts of the country.

"The people in this neighborhood were still somewhat cowed by the late Regulation battle, and the tyranny of Gov. Tryon.—When young men returned, after having actually served the tour for which they were drafted, he would renew his calls for men; and those who were most able to pay, by having a good horse or a rich friend, were the most lucky to be drafted. As he knew the circumstances of most men in the country, his practice was, while he professed to put the blanks and prizes all in a hat, to keep out the names of those whom he wished to have drafted, and put them into the drawer's hand as it went into the hat: of course the right ones were always drawn. He obtained so many horses in this way, that he employed an active old man to drive them to the lower counties about Edenton for sale; but he was so *prudent* in his maneuvering with the enemy, that he never had a fight with Fannen. They would run, turn about, and

some guns were perhaps fired at long distances ; but he always kept out of harm's way ; and never went far over Deep river, generally about Moore county. This conduct so ruffled the minds of the people that many of them refused to serve or pay his price : some fled to their friends in other counties ; and others lay out for days and months at a time. The end of this oppression was the arrival of the British army at Hillsborough, when the outlyers, and all who would not submit to O'Neil's tyranny, flocked to the British standard ; and not many of them ever returned. O'Neil became very rich, though he was very poor at the beginning of the war. He never fought any ; and was not in the Guilford battle, but was sitting, on that memorable day, at his own fireside."

The defeat of Col. Piles, and the effect which it had upon the loyalists of the surrounding country, had its share of influence in drawing Cornwallis from Hillsborough ; and after a skirmish with the Americans on the Alamance creek, and another on the Reedy Fork, at Wetzel's mills, he moved up with his army into Dr. Caldwell's congregations. They first encamped on the plantation of William Rankin, who lived on the North Buffalo creek, and was a member of the Buffalo church. He was a man in good circumstances, highly respectable, and withal, a staunch whig. After remaining there until they had eaten up and destroyed every thing on the plantation or in the neighborhood that was eatable or destructable, they removed over into the Alamance congregation, and encamped on the plantation of Ralph Gorrel, Esq., who lived on the South Buffalo creek, and was not only a true whig, but was in better circumstances than any other man in that settlement. The family were turned out, as at other places, to shift for themselves ; and the officers took possession of the house. What the men and their horses could not consume, was destroyed : the corn cribs were pulled down, and the corn wasted ; the hay and fodder were burned or scattered about ; the fences were destroyed ; and it seemed to be an object with them to do as much mischief, and produce as much wretchedness over the country as possible, even to the unoffending and the helpless. Their cavalry and detached parties were almost continually out foraging and annoying the inhabitants ;

but they did not always return in safety ; for Col. Lee who was ever on the alert, was harassing them at every turn ; and sometimes the neighbors would way-lay them, and cause them to return with one less than they took away.

For some time, probably for two weeks or more, Dr. Caldwell had kept his retreat in a very sequestered place in the low grounds of North Buffalo ; and about two miles from his own house. Not far from the time of which we are now writing, or perhaps a little earlier, though the precise date is not recollected, he came nearer losing his life, or being captured by the enemy than he had ever done ; and the event made a more vivid and abiding impression on his mind, through subsequent life, than any other. His enemies, anxious to get him in their power, attempted to accomplish their purpose by stratagem and falsehood ; and they had well nigh succeeded. Some half a dozen men rode up to his gate one evening towards sunset, and, having called out Mrs. Caldwell, asked her where her husband was. She replied that she expected he was in Greene's camp. They told her he was not there ; for they had come directly from it ; but that Gen. Greene, having understood that he was a good physician, had sent them to take him there, if possible, as he had a great many sick men in his camp, and wished to have his assistance as a physician. This was said with so much apparent sincerity and candor, that she was completely deceived, and in the prevalence of sympathy and benevolence, she replied that if he was not there she did not know certainly where he was, as he had expressed an intention the last time she saw him, of going there ; but added that, if he was not there, he was probably in a certain place on the North Buffalo, which she described. That was all they desired ; and with many bows and thanks, they bid her good bye ; but there was something in their looks and actions, after they had got the secret, which excited her suspicion ; and the thought immediately came across her mind with alarming power that she had been imposed on, and had betrayed her husband. But it was too late : the word was out ; and the men were gone. All she could do was to commit him to the protection of her covenant-keeping God ; and

that night was spent, not only in sleepless solicitude, but in fervent prayer.

Whether they were all tories, or part British and part tories, is not now recollected, if it was ever known; but as it was too late for them to venture into such a place that night, unacquainted as they were with the locality and the way of access, they made their arrangements, it seems, to be there very early in the morning. In the course of the night, he dreamed three times in succession, that he was in danger there, and must leave the place. This made such an impression on his mind, that as soon as daylight appeared, he gathered up what few articles he had with him, and set off for Gen. Greene's camp, which was then on or near Troublesome creek; but, as it was ascertained afterwards, he had not left more than a few minutes when his pursuers arrived. Those who choose may sneer at the idea of his having been warned of his danger in a dream; but of the fact, as the writer has been assured by his family, there is no doubt; and it answered the purpose, come from what source it might. His enemies were disappointed; and he was preserved, if not from death, at least from trouble and vexation; and there is no one, not even the greatest sceptic, or the most wicked man, who would not be willing to be preserved in the same way, when cut off from the ordinary means of deliverance. No man of intelligence and sober reflection will ever pay any superstitious regard to dreams, and neither expect them before hand as a means of securing his welfare, nor rely upon them at any time when he has it in his power to ascertain his duty, or make provision for his safety, in the ordinary way; but no substantial reason has been given why impressions, intended to secure his welfare, if suddenly placed in circumstances of great peril or difficulty, may not be made by some guardian power on the mind of a good man when asleep as well as when awake; for *the angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them.* Were we to admit the principle that such impressions may be made at any time, they may be made at one time as well as another; for it seems to be generally admitted that the mind is always active; and, not from any feelings of superstition, but from the nature of the case, they must be more effectual if made

in sleep than when the person is awake. It is not my intention however, to enter into any discussion of this matter here, nor even to express an opinion; but simply to state the fact as it occurred, and leave the reader to draw his own conclusions, or make what comments he pleases; yet it may be proper to remark farther that he regarded it ever afterwards, and probably every christian will love to contemplate it, in whatever way it may be explained or accounted for, as a kind interposition in his favor when placed in a most perilous and critical situation, in which there could be no hope of succor from any other source.

As the event just related could not have taken place more than a week or ten days previous to the battle at Guilford courthouse, he must have remained in Gen. Greene's camp, or in the vicinity of it, until after the conflict; for he did not return to his family until the evening of the day following or perhaps not until the second day after the battle.

The British army having spent about two days at Gorrell's, consuming, like the locusts of Egypt, every green thing, and destroying furniture, fences, farming tools, &c., made their next encampment on the premises of Dr. Caldwell; and as this was a very important event in his history, we beg leave to give it with some minuteness, just as it was received from his family, and one or two of his old pupils who lived in the family within a few years after the event took place; because, in the life of an individual, especially of one who was not directly engaged in the great political or military transactions of the nation, no circumstance or occurrence, however trivial in itself, can be out of place, or fail to be interesting, and just in proportion as it affects his usefulness or his personal comfort.

On Sunday afternoon, which, it is believed, was the Sunday before the battle, some gentlemen rode up to the gate and asked for the *landlady*, as they called her. Two of the neighbor men happened to be there at the time; but they remained in the house, and kept out of view until they could be satisfied whether the men were friends or foes. There was also a woman living in the family at the time, whom we shall call Margaret.—She was a single woman, though somewhat advanced in life;

but being "a woman of rough manners, and of rougher language, when excited," fearing no body and caring not what she said, or in whose presence, Mrs. Caldwell persuaded her to go out and pass herself for the landlady, which she did without any hesitation. One of the gentlemen, who was introduced to her as Col. Washington, asked her where Dr. Caldwell was. She replied that she expected he was in Gen. Greene's camp. He told her she must be mistaken; for they were just from the camp, and he was not there. She then said, if he was not there she did know where he was, as she had not seen him for some time. With that they rode away; but in a few minutes some of them returned, and called again for *the landlady*. Margaret went out as before; but having ascertained or suspected the deception, they told her she was not the one they wanted, and they must see the landlady. Mrs. Caldwell then went out to the gate herself, when the same gentleman was introduced to her as Col. Washington; the same questions were asked; and similar answers were given. When this gentleman was introduced to Mrs. Caldwell as Col. Washington, Margaret disputed it, and flat contradictions were bandied from one to the other several times, the one affirming and the other denying, until having mounted the fence, and seeing some of the army at a distance entering the field, she replied, "It's a d—nd lie; for there are your d—nd red coats." Mrs. Caldwell also began to suspect as soon as she went to the gate that they were British, and by a little inspection of their dress, &c., as well as by the reply of Margaret, was now convinced that this was the fact. Under this conviction, she politely asked them to excuse her for a minute, that she might see to her child, which was then a sucking infant, only a few months old; and running into the house, as if for that purpose, she told the men, who were still there, to escape from the other door as speedily as possible, for those men at the gate were certainly the British.* Having given them

*One of these men, it is said, made his escape: the other crawled into a large hollow log, not far from the house, thinking that the British were only passing by and would soon be gone; but to his utter surprise and dismay, he soon found that there was a squad of soldeirs about the log, piling up brush and kindling a fire. He had not much time to deliberate; for the log was very dry; and the flames were cracking and roaring around him. To remain

warning she returned to the gate, when one of them told her that they would not deceive her; for they were the British, and must have the use of her house for a day or two. With that they alighted, and took possession of their quarters without delay. Dr. B. says, "The gentleman who attempted to pass himself for Col. Washington was Lord Cornwallis. I had always considered his lordship the most dangerous and deadly enemy of my country, yet a gentleman; and I would frequently observe to the old lady, when rehearsing this scene, that she might have been deceived; for certainly Cornwallis would not condescend so disingenuously to deceive a lone woman; but she always emphatically replied that it was Cornwallis, and she knew his person well, as he had a defect in his left eye." When they turned her out of the house "she retired to the smokehouse where she was confined for two days and nights with no other food for herself or her children than a few dried peaches, which she chanced to have in her pockets. Her situation was peculiarly distressing, as she had borne five children in two years or a little more, four of which consisted of two sets of twins, one of which died soon after they were born, but the other two are yet living, and the fifth was quite a young infant. Such was her distress that she went at last to her own door, and, falling on her knees, begged for food for her children; but no attention was paid to her entreaties. Margaret exerted herself greatly for her, passing fearlessly and resolutely among the officers and soldiers, and returning them curse for curse. The old lady used there was certain death; and the idea of being suffocated with smoke and burned up there without anybody knowing it, was by no means a pleasant one. By falling into the hands of his enemies he might find mercy; and of course this was the alternative chosen; but as he had gone in head foremost, he was obliged to keep in the same longitudinal position until he got out. The attention of the soldiers was soon attracted by a mysterious rumbling inside of the log; and when he first became visible through the smoke and brush at the end, and covered as he was with the black rotten wood, his appearance, instantaneously and with great force suggested the idea of a certain personage whose name they were in the habit of using at all times very familiarly, but whose visible and tangible presence was by no means agreeable. Many exclamations were uttered at the moment, and some trepidation manifested; but when he had retrograded far enough to let them see that he was really a human being, and not something worse, their alarm gave place to the most boisterous mirth; and after keeping him over night, more for sport than any thing else, and finding that he was not likely to do them much harm any where, they gave him his liberty, rather than be troubled with his maintenance.

to say, when talking on the subject of her trials on this occasion, 'Ah! Margaret was a wicked creature; but she was good to me: what should I have done without her?' A young officer went to the smokehouse door one morning for no other known purpose than that of adding to her distresses by attempting to ridicule the Americans as cowards, swearing that they were rebels and cowards, and would not dare to fight his majesty's army. The pious lady said to him, 'wait and see what the Lord will do for us.' The young military fop replied, 'By G—d, if he intends to do any thing it is time he had begun;' and, she added, in giving me the account, before Thursday night he saw what the Lord did." The fact that Cornwallis attempted to impose on Mrs. Caldwell by passing himself for Col. Washington is recollected by the surviving members of her family, or by some of them; and another of Dr. Caldwell's oldest pupils yet living, has informed me that the Doctor either did write or talked strongly of writing to his lordship, after the battle, and remonstrating with him for this ungentlemanly conduct.

The family of Dr. Caldwell agree almost precisely with the above account of Doct. B. as far as it goes, except that they do not recollect the circumstance of their mother going to her knees to beg for bread; but they well recollect that they had nothing to subsist on during the whole time except a few dried apples or peaches; and they recollect another fact which may have included the one above mentioned by Dr. B. Unaccustomed as she was to the profaneness and rude conduct of soldiers, she applied for protection to a man, who, from his dress, and from the importance which he appeared to assume, she took to be a man of some rank in the army; and in making this application, she may also have asked for something to eat; but instead of treating her with the courtesy which was due to a lady of her standing, he cursed her, and told her he did not know what right she had to expect any favors; for the women were as d—nd rebels as the men. She then applied to another, who, from his dress, his deportment, and the respect which was paid to him, she supposed was more of a gentleman; nor was she in this case disappointed. Having informed him of the treatment she had received, he told her that the other man had no authority what-

ever in the camp; but he assured her that if she would let him know what she wanted, it should be done, so far as was in his power. She told him that she wished, in the first place, to have a guard appointed for her protection; in the next place, she wished to have a bed for herself and her children; and finally, she wished that some two or three articles of cooking utensils, and about as many of household furniture, all of which she specified, might not be injured nor taken away. With much urbanity and politeness, he told her it should be done; and it was so done accordingly. A guard was soon appointed, with strict injunctions to see that the woman and children were not molested. A bed, with the furniture, was sent off immediately to the smokehouse; and when the army removed, the articles of household and kitchen furniture that had been specified, were left uninjured. He who acted such a gentlemanly part on this occasion, was the principal physician of the army; but this fact was not known until after the battle, when Dr. Caldwell had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with him, while attending to the sick and wounded; and of thanking him for the kindness he had shown to his wife and children. To us it is pleasant to find one bright spot in a picture which is otherwise so dark; and to him it must have been a source of no small gratification, to know that among the hundreds or thousands who were giving every demonstration of the bitterest hostility, there was even one, in whose bosom the principles of honor and humanity were predominant, and who had perhaps shown all the kindness he could in the station which he occupied.

We always feel pained for the honor of humanity, as well as for the suffering that must follow, to see men recklessly destroying that which cannot promote the cause in which they are engaged; but which must involve the helpless and the unoffending in want and wretchedness. Such was the conduct of the British army on this occasion; and so complete was the destruction made of every thing necessary, not only to their comfort, but even to their subsistence, that, as soon as they left, the family of Dr. Caldwell were obliged to quarter themselves on the neighbors, until some provision could be made for their support. The encampment extended entirely across the planta-

tion, and over a part of two others, one on each side, and the marks of it are still visible. Every pannel of fence on the premises was burned; every particle of provisions was consumed or carried away; every living thing was destroyed except one old goose; and nearly every square rod of ground was penetrated with their iron ram rods, in search of hidden treasure. Mr. Dunlap had shortly before brought a wagon load of salt from Petersburg, which was a most valuable article in those times; but of that they destroyed what they did not need.

Perhaps the most unprincipled or inexcusable part of their conduct, however, was the destruction of Dr. Caldwell's library and papers, not sparing even the large Bible which contained the family record. This was neither accidental nor unavoidable: It was not done by ignorant or drunken soldiers, in the absence of their superiors, or when too much enraged to admit of control; but by the officers and men of most intelligence in the British army; for it was done by the direction of those who occupied the house; and they were the officers and medical staff. Whether this was done by the order of Cornwallis himself, was never known; or if it was known, it has been forgotten. Although he rode up there at first, attempted to deceive Mrs. Caldwell, and made arrangements for the army, he did not remain; but occupied the house of Mr. McCuistin, about a quarter of a mile, or a little more, to the east, because that was immediately on the public road leading from Martinville to Fayetteville; yet, as the main body of the army was encamped on Dr. Caldwell's plantation, the officers who occupied his house must have been of a high rank. It was done too with as much cool deliberation as Omar gave the order for destroying the library at Alexandria, or as Amron had it executed; and this is evident from the manner in which they proceeded. There was a large brick oven in the yard, a few steps from the house, which was used for baking bread; and having caused a fire to be kindled in that, they made their servants carry out the books and papers, an armful at a time, and throw them into the oven. As soon as one armful was burned, another was thrown in, until the whole was consumed; and the oven was apparently as hot as Nebuchadnezzar's furnace. Some of the family still have a distinct

recollection of seeing the men at work, carrying out the books and throwing them into the oven. He had a large library for the time and circumstances of the country; but he was often heard to say afterwards, that he regretted the loss of his papers more than any thing else; for they included pretty much all he had ever written, or all that was worth preserving: his college exercises, his trial pieces while under the care of Presbytery as a candidate for the ministry, his correspondence, and all the sermons, except one, that he had ever preached since he entered the ministry, a period of seventeen years. This transaction is thus minutely recorded, not to excite rancorous feelings against the perpetrators of the deed, nor undue prejudices against the nation to which they belonged; for all who were concerned in it, directly or indirectly, have long since gone to their final account; but as a matter of justice to the subject of this memoir, and to let the present generation know what their ancestors sacrificed and suffered in the cause of liberty.

The British, while they remained in Guilford county, were continually harassed and insulted, either by the neighbors, or by the light armed parties under the command of Gen. Greene; and a number of incidents occurred which were quite amusing, and some of them not very creditable to British valor. The following extracts from the communication of my correspondent Dr. B., will be read with interest. "When his lordship was encamped at Dr. Caldwell's, Thomas Cummins, an old Presbyterian bachelor, being at the house of his friend John Larkin, on the Reedy Fork, and wishing to know how his friends were faring on the Buffalo, proposed to Larkin that they should go and visit them; and on they went. The same day the Buffalo neighborhood was visited by a British foraging party, escorted by the famous, or rather, infamous Col. Tarleton and his corps, attended by a number of camp followers, or plunderers. This party found at old Mr. Denny's the objects which they were seeking, such as oats, straw, &c.; and whilst the wagons were being loaded, and the camp followers were pillaging, the Col. entered the house to amuse himself by ridiculing the rebels and boasting of British prowess, when suddenly an orderly came in and whispered the Colonel, who changed color, and, without say-

ing good bye, hastened out, mounted his horse, and fled with his whole corps, wagons and camp followers, helter skelter, *sauve qui puet* ; but by the time they arrived at the road leading by Buffalo meeting house, the panic of the pillagers began to subside, no one having been knocked on the head. A widow Anderson, whose house was on the opposite side of the road from that of her father, Mr. Denny, observed that the pillagers were taking a direction towards her house. At that time there was on the opposite side of the Buffalo creek, a ridge covered with lofty timbers ; and Mrs. Anderson waved her hand as if giving a signal to some persons concealed in those timbers.—The route commenced again with cries and screams ; and they were more frightened than ever ; for by this time the colonel and his men were far on their way to head quarters, where the wagons arrived as expeditiously as possible, having strewed the road with oats and straw. Now the prime cause of this panic was that some one of the party had discovered two heads over the fence on the opposite part of Mr. Denny's plantation. The two heads were those of Thomas Cummins and John Larkin, who soon after entered Mr. Denny's house—Johnny looking a little wild.

“No one at the present time can imagine the daring of the whigs of that day. Dillon's mill was about a mile from the head quarters of the British army ; and some soldiers being stationed at the mill for the purpose of grinding corn, it was determined to surprise them. A captain's company was detailed for that purpose ; and Robert Anderson, a son of John Anderson, long an elder of Buffalo congregation, was the person who acted as pilot. He was conducting them over the creek about seventy yards below the mill, when a sentinel fired on them ; and the party at the mill instantly took the alarm, and fled. However, they were fired on at random ; and Mrs. McQuistin told me that a wounded British soldier was that night brought to her house,” which was then occupied by Cornwallis, “and was about a quarter of a mile from Dr. Caldwell's. Robert Anderson was much surprised at the profanity of a soldier in the company which he piloted : The poor fellow had, by some means, procured a canteen of spirits, through which the ball fired by the sentinel, passed ;

and this caused him to utter a volley of curses; but none of the party were injured, except the one who lost his whiskey.—A Mrs. McClane lived one or two hundred yards below the mill, whose house had been so often plundered, that, she said, there was nothing more in or about it, as she thought, to be plundered; but one day two very insolent British soldiers entered the house, and were very busily engaged in searching it, when she observed them assume a very humble position, pull off their hats, and cry quarters, quarters. On looking towards the door, there sat on their horses, a squire Brown whom she knew, and an officer whom she did not know, with presented rifles. They instantly wheeled their horses round, and directed the prisoners to leap on behind them. As they rode off a sentinel, placed at the barn, about 70 yards from the house, fired at them; but without effect. In a few minutes, Tarleton, with his whole corps, came on; and having ascertained what had occurred, he bestowed many curses on Mrs. McClane, swearing that if such a thing occurred again, he would burn the house with her in it.—Other incidents of a similar kind might be related;* but these, attested as they are by other persons in this neighborhood, are sufficient to shew the spirit of the whigs in this region, the conduct of the enemy, and the state of things generally, at that time.

The British army after remaining two days and nights on Dr. Caldwell's plantation, left it a scene of desolation; and removed into the Quaker settlement on Deep river; but they were not permitted to depart in peace. Col. Lee and his corps were watching their movements; and ready to pounce upon them,

* While the British lay in this neighborhood they had a number of prisoners whom they had picked up over the country, as it was their practice to make a prisoner of every whig they could catch; and among them was a man by the name of James Archer. He lived in the vicinity of Marinville; and was an independent, broad mouthed, rough spoken sort of a man, who generally said what he pleased and where he pleased. When the army encamped the prisoners were put into a high pen of rails with a guard stationed round it to prevent their escape; and this enclosure was called the *bull pen*. Archer was by no means pleased with his accommodations; but he was obliged to put up with them. One morning very early, Tarleton came up, and, with an air of haughtiness and contempt, called out, "Well, how do you all do in the bull pen this morning?" "I thank you," said Archer, "a little better than *you* did at the Cowpens!"—It is said that Tarleton had the meanness to make one of his men go in and chastise him for his insolence; and it was perfectly in character for him, or we might hope that this part was an addition to the story.

whenever a favorable opportunity was presented, like a squad of flying Scythians. The services of that man seem never to have been fully known, nor duly appreciated. "He was now in the very element of his talents. Better scope for the exercise of his partisan powers could not be coveted; and we find him every hour meditating or executing some new exploit. On the right, on the left, in the rear of the enemy, wherever service could be performed or intelligence collected, we find him continually occupied, and forever changing his positions to guard against surprise." While in this county he made some narrow escapes; displayed great tact and vigilance as well as bravery;* and often made the enemy feel the power of his sword when it was least expected. According to the tradition of the neighborhood, he attacked the rear of the British army, or some part of it, on the afternoon of the day on which it left Dr. Caldwell's premises, while on its way to Deep river, about a mile south-

* The following account of a small encounter, which is believed to be from good authority, will probably have some interest to the reader, while it serves to illustrate the character of the individual who is the principal subject of it, and furnishes additional evidence of the casualties and hardships attendant on a military life.—The precise date is not recollected; but while the British army was in Dr. Caldwell's congregations, or after it removed to Deep river, Col. Lee with about fifty or sixty of his men, called one day about noon at the house of a Mr. Bruce, who lived in the north side of this county, at the cross-roads which still bear his name, to get their breakfast and their horses fed, as neither of them had eaten any thing that day. Bruce was a good whig and made them welcome to whatever he had. While they were regaled with the smell of frying meat, eggs, &c, and were almost ready to sit down to the much needed repast, a man who lived in the neighborhood, by the name of Isaac Wright, came up at full speed on a little "flex-bitten" pony; and told them that, as he was returning from mill, he saw a party of Tarleton's dragoons only a short distance up the road. Lee immediately said to his men, "Gentlemen you cannot eat until you ascertain the truth of this report;" and a lieutenant was promptly ordered to take 25 or 30 men and see about it.—Wright made a move then to go on home; but Lee told him that he was in custody and could not leave until they ascertained whether he had told the truth or not; and that he must go along as a pilot. He replied that he would have no objections, if he had a good horse; but that he was unwilling to venture on the pony. After a little consultation, it was agreed that he should take the trumpeter's horse, which was very fleet; and, thus mounted, away they went; but the trumpeter concluded he had better go along on the pony to see that Wright did not escape with his horse. After going more than the distance at which Wright supposed he had seen the enemy, they began to conclude that he was deceiving them—a conclusion which was natural for them to draw in their circumstances; and the officer in command, not only refused to go any farther, but proposed taking the pilot back to answer for his conduct. He assured them however that although he might have been mis-

east from New Garden meeting house; and it is said that two of the enemy with a number of horses were killed on the spot. One of Lee's men was mortally wounded and died in the neighborhood a few days after; but how many more were wounded on either side is not known.

From the middle of February until long after the Guilford battle the condition of this country was deplorable; for it was harassed by domestic as well as foreign enemies; and the former probably did more injury than the latter, shewing little or no respect to age or sex, official dignity, literary character or moral worth. Soon after the British army passed through this county in pursuit of Gen. Greene, and about the time that the Tories took Dr. Caldwell a prisoner in his own house,—probably, though no dates are recollected,—they made a similar attempt on the Rev. William Campbell, who had settled in Haw river congregation, in 1776. He escaped himself by not being at

taken in the distance, as he was somewhat frightened, he had made no false report; and that if they would only accompany him a little farther he would convince them of the fact. The trumpeter with two others agreed to go along, leaving the rest behind; but they had not gone over half a mile until they espied the enemy, and were within a short distance before they perceived their danger. Instantly the retreat and the pursuit were commenced. Wright and the other two had nothing to fear; but the poor trumpeter, though plying his spurs with all his might, and using his cap as an auxiliary incentive to the pony, soon found himself in a bad box; for the enemy were gaining on him rapidly at every jump. When he found they were drawing near he began to cry out, "quarters, quarters;" but the reply was, "d—mn you, we'll quarter you." With the next breath they were slashing away on him with their swords; and they literally cut him to pieces there while begging for his life. By this time Wright and the two who were with him had warned the party which they left behind; and they were on the foe before they had quite finished their victim. It was too late to save his life; but a sharp conflict ensued; and seven of the British fell a sacrifice to their resentment. In the American party was a young man by the name of Johnson, afterwards Judge Johnson, of Abingdon in Virginia, who encountered one of the enemy; and escaped with his life, by an occurrence quite remarkable, though not altogether unheard of. While engaged in the sword exercise, cutting and defending, the dragon got his foot under that of Johnson and gave him a tilt, which threw him into a very fair position to receive the sword of his antagonist. He saw that sword drawn at arm's length and gleaming in the air ready to descend, or, as he thought, in the act of descending upon him. At that instant he felt something warm and moist come, like a flush, on the side of his face; and having instantly and instinctively applied his hand to his face, on taking it away, found it covered with blood and brains. The first thought that darted through his mind, with electric quickness, was, could they be his own! but with the next glance of his eye he saw that they were those of his adversary. A comrade, not far off, perceiving his situation, dashed up at the critical moment, and

home ; but they broke open and plundered his house, as I have been informed by a worthy old elder of that church ; destroyed his books and papers ; and he soon after left that part of the country.

It has been seen that, for some days before the British came into his congregations, Dr. Caldwell had been with the American army, or under its protection. On the 14th, when the army left the encampment on the north side of Troublesome creek, near the iron works, and came down to the court house for the purpose of giving the enemy battle, he remained in the neighborhood ; and went for lodging in the evening to the house of a Mr. McBride, with whom he was acquainted. The latter was a decided whig ; but not having as much nerve as some other men, he intimated to the Doctor that he was afraid to let him lodge in his house, lest the tories, who, it was known, had been endeavoring to get him in their power, should come, in the absence of the army, and murder them altogether, or burn up his possessions. Dr. Caldwell, who was not easily alarmed at any time, or under any circumstances, and whose confidence in the care of divine Providence had probably been increased by the deliverances which he had for some time past experienced, felt a little piqued, not at the want of hospitality so much as the want of firmness in his friend ; and told him that he would not stay in his house, but go to the woods. McBride did not ob-

struck the dragoon with his sword just above the ear, nearly severing the upper part of the head from the lower.—The British, finding themselves overpowered, began to retreat ; and the Americans dare not follow them ; for Tarleton with his whole force was not far behind ; but they returned to Bruce's with all expedition, having slain seven of the enemy and lost only one man. As Lee had only a part of his men with him, he could not meet his adversary in full force ; and therefore, without waiting to satisfy the cravings of hunger, they immediately took up the line of march, and accompanied by the family of Bruce, went over Haw river before they halted. Tarleton occupied the house that night ; and, having destroyed every thing he could, left the premises next morning a scene of desolation.

The above facts were communicated to the writer by the Rev. Henry Tatum, an intelligent and respectable minister of the Baptist denomination, who has long resided on the plantation on which they occurred. Some years ago, Judge Johnson, when on his way to meet the Supreme Court in Richmond, having been, by a little accident, detained for a day or two at the house of Mr. Tatum, went out to view the scene of his former perils and conflicts, which was at the end of the lane ; and gave him, with two or three of his neighbors, a minute account of the whole transaction.

ject; but was polite enough to go with him; and they both took their lodgings that night on one side of his plantation in the low grounds of the creek. His anxiety led him down next day to McCuistin's bridge on the Reedy Fork, a distance of 12 or 14 miles, and only one mile and a half from the scene of action.— Before he got to the bridge, however, he met a number of men running for life, who gave him a most doleful account; and, as they run, advised him to fly as fast as he could, or the British would be on him; for all was lost; but he knew too well the character of raw militia, as they were, to put any dependence in what they said, especially in their circumstances; for they were not in a state of mind either to know or tell the truth.— He still went on, though with more anxiety, if possible, than ever; and occasionally meeting with others who were retreating; but the farther he went the more favorable the accounts became.

Having remained about the bridge until he knew the result, he returned in the evening to McBride's; and they both repaired to the place of their former lodgings in the low grounds of Troublesome creek. In the course of the night, McBride, waking up, saw an unusual light, and, on looking towards his house, found that it was not only in that direction, but that it seemed to extend over a considerable space. With much agitation, he waked up his companion, and said to him, Look yonder! The tories are burning up every thing I have. Although the night was cloudy and very dark, the Doctor, without saying much, set off alone; and made his way through the woods until he got near enough to hear the men talking and to satisfy himself that they were not tories, but a portion either of the British or of the American army. He also satisfied himself that they were making no destruction of property; but farther than this he could not go without the risk of being discovered and fired on by some of the sentinels. He returned therefore, and told McBride what he had discovered, adding that they must be Americans; for he heard no German, or different languages spoken, as he would have done, if it were the British army. On going up to the house in the morning they found that it was Col. Washington and his men, who, having arrived there at a late hour of the

night, had pitched their camps and kindled their fires in different places about the premises as they found convenient. This was gratifying, but unexpected; for although they were probably aware of the fact that Greene had previously appointed the place of his former encampment by the iron works as the place of rendezvous after the battle, it was two or three miles distant; and therefore McBride's first conclusion was as natural as any other.

It is believed, though not distinctly recollected, that Dr. Caldwell came down to Martinville the day after the battle, probably at the request of Gen. Greene and under the protection of his flag, for the purpose of assisting to bury the dead, or of attending to the sick and wounded. His family recollect to have heard him frequently state that in Mr. McNairy's house which was one of those used as a hospital, they cut off legs and arms and threw them into a cart at the door until it was pretty well loaded; and then they were taken away and buried. He did not return to his house for two or three days; and he would have run considerable risk in doing so. Besides, Mrs. Caldwell and her seven children, the whole number which she then had living, were not at home, having been obliged to disperse over the congregation and live upon the neighbors; but his attendance at the hospitals, both as a minister and as a physician, was no doubt desirable on many accounts. Gen. Greene was making every effort to have his army in the best possible condition for service; but as it was his purpose to march in pursuit of his adversary before the sick and wounded could recover, and as it was important in his situation and with his prospects to have the physicians of the army along, it became desirable that there should be some one acquainted with their circumstances under whose care they could be left. Moreover, while many of them were his friends or personal acquaintances, and therefore his attendance would be grateful to them, his feelings of friendship, patriotism, and humanity, would have prompted him to do whatever he could to wards alleviating the sufferings, and administering to the consolation of those who had been shedding their blood in the cause of freedom; and to do it without any other recompence than the gratification which the mere rendering of such services would impart.

To those who intelligently and cordially acknowledge an overruling Providence, prayer is both natural and proper; nor will it ever be neglected by such, when engaged in a cause which they believe to be a righteous one, or when great and important interests are at stake. On the day of the battle Mrs. Caldwell and a number of old ladies belonging to the Buffalo congregation met at the house of Robert Rankin and spent the greater part of the day in prayer. A large number of pious females in the Alamance were engaged in the same way at the house of one of the elders; and how far the deliverance of the country from a powerful and implacable foe, as the result of that day's conflict, was in answer to prayer, can be ascertained only in another world.

Many in the Buffalo congregation were at this time down with the small pox, the infection having been caught from the British army by a prisoner a few weeks before; and was thus unintentionally brought into the neighborhood. A young man by the name of Rankin, who had an extensive connexion and was much esteemed, had been taken prisoner at Ramsour's mill; and after a few days made his escape. He was very sick on his way home; but as the eruption had not taken place, he was not aware of his situation. His death was the consequence; but his friends and acquaintances, not knowing what was the matter, flocked to see him; and thus the disease was at once spread over the whole congregation. This was unfortunate on many accounts; but all the men in both these congregations who were fit for duty were either in the battle or employed in some way under the direction of Gen. Greene. Maj. John Donnell, who was then a captain, and a member of the Buffalo church, was a man of great respectability and moral worth, a staunch whig and an enterprising officer. Having embarked in the cause with zeal from the first he had been much employed in the service of his country. He served a six months campaign mostly in Georgia, on the Savannah river; and had been ever prompt to render his country any services in his power. He was not in the battle at Martinville, because he and his company, or such of them as were fit for duty, had been appointed by Gen. Greene on another service. Col. John Paisley, father of the Rev. Will-

iam D. Paisley, was a patriot as well as a christian; and had all along taken an active part in the service of his country. He was present at the battle with the men under his command; and was directed to occupy an eminence to the south, for the purpose of observing the movements of the enemy and communicating intelligence. Capt. John Forbis* who lived on the Alamance, was there with a company of volunteers, the Allison's, the Kerrs, the Paisleys, the Wileys, and others, most of whom were his neighbors and belonged to the company of which he was captain; and a braver band of militia was not on the ground.— They were placed in the front rank, stood firm, and fired the number of times prescribed in the general order. Forbis himself fired the first gun in that division; and killed his man; for he took deliberate aim with his rifle at a British captain who was seen to fall. He was mortally wounded himself, and died a few days after. Several of his men were also wounded, of whom William Paisley, father of the Rev. Samuel Paisley, was one; but none of them mortally.

A number of individuals in the Buffalo congregation volunteered that morning and put themselves under officers of known valor, mostly under Col. Campbell. Dr. B. says, "Many Guilford volunteers were in the battle at the court house; and I have frequently heard the bravery of two very young men on that day spoken of. The men were John Rankin and John Allison. A number were assembled in the morning at the house of Allison's father, mostly females and old men. Allison's house was about two miles to the left of Greene's army; and when the big guns began to fire, these young men sprang to their rifles. The females, divining their intention, laid hold on them; and,

*It is said that a certain colonel who was believed to have no partiality for powder and lead, excused himself that morning on the ground that he must see to the commissary department, or something else than fighting; and put Forbis in his place. His men remonstrated with him at the time, but he cursed them, and told them that Forbis was a brave man and would do well enough. Perhaps there was no more truth in this report than in another of a similar kind respecting a certain other officer of a higher grade, whose horse got a very bad character for always running away with his rider at the beginning of an engagement; but however this may have been, Forbis, in consequence of that appointment, or supposed appointment, has ever since had the title of colonel conferred upon him by his countrymen.

crying and shrieking, begged them not to go; but they freed themselves from the hold of their friends, and ran to join their companions. They fell in with Col. Campbell's mountaineers, and fought with them until they retreated, after which they were fired at by a company of British regulars; but escaped unhurt. Thomas Cummins,* who has been already mentioned, "was also a volunteer on that day. It is said that fighting is hot work; but be that as it may, when the retreat commenced, the said Thomas, being wrapt in his blanket, became very warm; and as he passed the jail stuck it in a crack, not doubting but that he would return again in a few minutes. It is said he became quite wrathful when he found that the retreat would be continued and that he must lose his blanket." This Thomas Cummins was a man of some eccentricity; but was regarded as a very sincere and devout christian; and he fought with composure and fearlessness, because he was engaged, as he believed, in a good cause. On my first visit to the battle ground I was accompanied by Robert Rankin, whose bravery on that occasion is well attested, and who, although just recovering from the small pox, went from his home that morning, and fell in with Campbell's mountaineers. Having taken me to a tree which he had used as a bulwark, and from behind which he fired two or three times, even after most of the division had retreated, he observed that just before the retreat commenced, this same old Cummins passed by him at a "dog trot," sat down on a log a few steps beyond, and, taking out a luncheon of bread, began to craunch it,* when a ball came whizzing by his head, and so close as to brush his hair. He instantly started to his feet, coolly observed that he might as well die fighting as eating, and set off at the same gait to occupy his post again. John Larkin who lived about three miles from the battle ground, went up that morning and put himself under Capt. Kirkwood who has been called the American Diomed. When he went to the Captain and asked him if he might fall in with his company, he told him, certainly. He soon asked again, if he might take a tree; and received the same answer; for, as Kirkwood remarked after-

* In speaking of this afterwards he said "he got very hungry; and he thought it would do him good to eat a bite."

afterwards, he put no confidence in him, and expected to see him run at the first fire, or as soon as the enemy appeared in sight, but was agreeably disappointed. The men were ordered not to fire until the enemy came within 60 steps; and Larkin waited very patiently until they had approached nearly within that distance. Then turning to the captain, asked him if he might fire; and on being answered in the affirmative, he pulled away with his rifle, and a red coat fell. As Kirkwood related afterwards, he fought with as much bravery as any of his men, until the retreat was ordered, when he returned home, and continued to reside in the same neighborhood for a number of years. Other names might be mentioned with nearly equal commendation; but my limits will not permit. It is hoped that the reader will excuse this notice of individuals, or this detail of personal incidents; and for two reasons. In the first place, the battle having been fought in one side of the Buffalo congregation, and within two or three miles of Dr. Caldwell's house, it was almost unavoidable. In the next place, as the great body of the North Carolina militia acted such a cowardly and disgraceful part on that day; all who have any regard for the honor of the State, will feel gratified to know that there were many honorable exceptions—men who voluntarily shed their blood there in the cause of freedom; and whose prowess was severely felt by the enemy.

Every one who has read Johnson's Life of Greene has no doubt felt a little surprised that the loss of the British should be so much greater than that of the American army; and he has perhaps felt at a loss to account for it on the supposition that the North Carolnians did nothing. The enemy admitted a loss, in killed, wounded and missing, of 531; but Gen. Greene, on what he considered as undoubted authority, said it could not be less than 633; while the whole loss of the Americans was not much over 200. Gen. Greene had only 1490 regular soldiers at the beginning of the engagement; and of these the 2nd regiment of Marylanders were struck with a panic and fled without doing any execution. The artillery did little or nothing; and if the North Carolina militia fled, as most of them did, at the first onset, the British soon outnumbered the Americans:

and *their* artillery was used with tremendous effect. The disgrace of North Carolina on this occasion was owing to her wretched policy of "making the defence of the country a punishment for offences, and of forcing the disaffected into service." The militia commanded by Generals Butler and Eaton, or most of them, fled in a most dastardly manner; but the volunteers were of different mettle. It is matter of history that the North Carolina line was placed in front, just behind the fence, having fair sweep at the British as they advanced through the open field in front; and the Virginia militia were drawn up at a distance of three hundred yards behind them, in the woods. In that front line were a good number of volunteers, commanded by the gallant and patriotic Col. Forbis. They had rifles, and were good marksmen. They were posted immediately behind the fence; and took deliberate aim, with their guns pointing through the cracks and resting on the rails. Their first fire is known to have been a deadly one; and probably their second one also; for they stood firm until they had fired twice, according to orders; and then retreated. It has always been said, and I believe was said by Forbis himself, that he was shot by the Virginia militia, who did not wait until he got past them; but fired rashly and in some confusion, at least in that part of the line. It is also known that a great many of the British were buried in that field; and near the place where their front line was when the first fire was given. Of this there is no doubt; for it is well attested by people in the neighborhood who were on the ground next day after the battle, and saw them burying their dead.

But the following extract of a letter from a British officer, which was obtained by the kindness of Dr. John A. Mebane of this place, and the genuineness of which is unquestionable, may possibly throw some light on this matter, though I have not been able to ascertain precisely what part of the American army the writer meant by "the Irish line." Dr. Stewart, to whom the letter was directed, was a native of Scotland, but came to America when a young man; and died in this county some eight or ten years ago. Capt. Stewart who wrote the letter, was his cousin and commanded a company of Scotch Blues in the Guilford bat-

tle. In the old field next to the court house, where the battle terminated, the greater part of both the British and Americans were buried; and about the time that this letter was written the bones of some of them had become exposed. Dr. Stewart, in writing to his cousin, mentioned this fact; and supposed that they were the bones of British soldiers. To this the letter was a reply; and with this explanation it will be intelligible to the reader.

Extract of a letter from Dugald Stewart, a captain in the army of Cornwallis, to his relative Donald Stewart, of Guilford county, N. C., dated:

“BALACHELISH, Argyleshire, Scotland, Oct. 25th, 1825.

“You once in your letters to me mentioned about the battle of Guilford court house, and that you were sorry to see the bones of so many of my countrymen scattered about. I wish to correct you in this error.—The bones which you observed there must be those of your own countrymen, the Americans; for as we kept possession of the field we buried our own dead. The regiment to which I belonged, the 71st, or Frazier’s Highlanders, were drawn up on the left of the British line, along with the 23d, or Welsh Fusiliers, with some other regiments. *In the advance we received a very deadly fire from the Irish line of the American army, composed of their marksmen lying on the ground behind a rail fence. One half of the Highlanders dropt on that spot.* There ought to be a pretty large tumulus where our men were buried.”—This extract was thought to be worthy of preservation, as it may be interesting to those who have any curiosity on the subject; but any farther comment on it here is deemed unnecessary.

To a serious and contemplative mind the conflict of armies is an awful scene; and to engage in such a conflict voluntarily and with cool deliberation requires great heroism or great stupidity; but to walk over the battle field when death and destruction have done their work, while it requires almost as much nerve, gives full play to the feelings of sympathy and humanity. Although Gen. Greene received what he deemed satisfactory intelligence that “the utmost attention which circumstances would admit of, had been shown towards his wounded, by the British

commander ;” and although “his first act after alighting from his horse, was to send surgeons with a flag into the enemy’s camp to attend the American wounded, forwarding along with them, provisions and every article of comfort which the slender resources of the army could furnish,” there were still some cases of suffering and apparent neglect that were painful to any man of humane feelings. The brave and lamented Forbis was overlooked and left to suffer. He lay there on the cold ground, without any thing to shelter him from the driving rain, and without receiving any refreshment, except one drink of water, until the next evening, near 30 hours. After the battle, the tories were swarming over the ground, and appeared to be much elated.— One of those who were call “good tories” came on Forbis soon after the engagement was over ; and at his request, brought his hat full of water, and sat it down beside him. The same evening another found him, it is said, by the name of Shoemaker, an acquaintance, who had hitherto professed to be neutral ; but when Forbis begged him, for mercy’s sake, to get him a drink of water, he cursed him for a rebel, and stuck his bayonet into him. The whigs, according to tradition, in a short time, got hold of him, and attached him by the neck to the limb of a tree. Next evening Forbis was found accidentally by an old lady from his neighborhood, who had come up in search of her brothers, of whom she had been able to get no intelligence. With difficulty she got him on her horse, and started home with him, leading the horse and holding him on ; but his family having in the mean time got information, sent a carriage which met them on the road. He was visited at his own house by a surgeon of the army, in company with Dr. Caldwell ; but they could do nothing for him, and he lived only a few days. On the second day after the battle, a number of old ladies in these congregations, with a promptness and kindness that did them credit, went up with a quantity of clothing and provisions which they had collected for the sick and wounded. When there, their curiosity prompted them to go over the scene of action, or a part of it ; and they had not gone far until they found two or three of the Americans who had been left unburied ; but they had been stripped and plundered of every thing by the British soldiers.

Dr. Caldwell being on the ground, made them a very feeling address ; and had the men decently interred.

While the British remained on the ground, which was only until they buried their dead, they kept themselves in readiness for action at a moment's warning, as they confidently expected that Gen. Greene would renew the attack ; and if he had, it is said, he must have succeeded ; for their ammunition was nearly exhausted. It was as much as they could do to maintain a sufficient force for their own defence, and make something of an imposing appearance, until they could get where they had more friends ; for they were every day increasing the number of their enemies. Many of the Quakers, though they tried to remain neutral, had been with the Americans in feeling from the first ; and if the British had remained much longer among them, it is believed, they would have become whigs to a man, at least in principle. On the evening of the second day after the battle, Cornwallis encamped with his army five miles south-west from the present town of Greensborough ; and before daylight he was on his way to Wilmington ;* but to follow them any farther at present would be transcending my limits.

* It has been the constant tradition of the neighborhood that Gen. Greene sent Cornwallis a kind of banter before he commenced his retreat ; and the following account was recently given me by an old lady of intelligence and great respectability, now living in this place. She was then about 15 years of age ; but her faculties are yet apparently unimpaired, and her recollection perfectly good. Every one knows that on the day of the battle and at an early period of the engagement, the British got possession of the American artillery ; and although the guns were *spiked* before they were abandoned by our men, they fell into the hands of the enemy.

The old lady states that on the second day after the battle the British army encamped within a mile or a little more of her father's house ; and carried away every thing they could find on the premises, in the way of provisions for man and horse. Before night a while, a man from the American army passed by the house, bearing a white flag, and going towards the British camp. On his return, about an hour after, her father hailed him ; and wished to know the purport of his communication. He replied, among other things, that he had been sent by Gen. Greene to present his compliments to Lord Cornwallis, and to make him an offer of four more cannon on the same terms, if he would accept of them. No definite answer was given ; but in the course of the night his lordship "cut stick." By morning he was several miles distant ; and his camp was like that of the Assyrian army before Jerusalem, except that it was not so well supplied with good and desirable things. As to provisions they had none to spare for either man or horse ; and as to other things they were no better off. Cornwallis claimed the victory at Martinville, but he was really vanquished ; and, as he said himself soon after, "another

The British left most of their sick and wounded at New Garden, while those of the American army were at Martinville; and the physicians and surgeons of the two armies were on friendly terms, and frequently had intercourse with each other. In this way Dr. Caldwell became acquainted with the physician who had befriended his family; and was much pleased with him. He went to see him at New Garden; and the other presented him with a handsome walking cane, as a memento of their friendship. His name was Jackson; and he afterwards published a work of some kind which Dr. Caldwell purchased.

Great complaints were made throughout the war of the unfair measures used by the British officers to get their American prisoners enlisted in the service of the king. Threats, maltreatment, and persuasions were alternately used, or all together as occasion seemed to require; and false representations, it is said, were some times made for the purpose, especially when their prospects were most gloomy. In some places they succeeded perhaps, at least with many individuals; but in this region it is not known that they succeeded in a single instance,* though great efforts were made.

When the British army was withdrawn, the country was relieved from the burden of its maintenance, and from much un-

such victory would have been his ruin." They kept the field partly by superior discipline and partly by accident; but they were victors only in name. A part of our militia—those from Virginia and the volunteers from North Carolina, did great execution at the onset; but when they had done it, they fled like Scythians, leaving the enemy in possession of the ground, to boast of a joyless and bootless victory; and then to regret his loss and to weep over his gain.

*Great efforts were made to prevail on their prisoners to enlist in the British service; and as an old gentleman of respectable character, who was a prisoner in the British camp, on the day of the battle, informed me not long since, that in the evening some of the officers told the prisoners they might as well enlist now; for Greene was worse defeated than Gates had been; and they could no longer have any hope of success. The poor fellows were much dejected; but they could not consent to take such a step, or not until they had more certain information. This was all they knew of the results of the battle until next morning, just as the sun rose, while silence and an air of sadness prevailed the British camp, they heard Gen. Greene's morning gun booming in the distance; and they instantly raised the shout—"Huzza! boys; the old cock's crowing again: there's no danger now."—The old gentleman also said that the baggage and prisoners were left, on the day of battle, four miles in the rear, with a small guard; and could have been taken with perfect ease by a few men, if it had been known.

necessary and ruthless destruction of property ; but domestic enemies still remained, who, so far as they had power, were more to be dreaded than the others. The tories, many of whom were unprincipled and reckless, being now without the partial restraints under which they had hitherto been, became more bold and daring than ever. From the time the south became the theatre of war they had been very troublesome ; and seemed to have a peculiar spite at Dr. Caldwell. An incident of the kind occurred a few months before the time of which I am now writing ; and which, as it has just come to my knowledge, and is worth relating, is here given, though a little out of its proper place. Late in the fall of 1780, a man called at his house one evening about dark, with the intention of staying all night.— The Doctor was not at home ; but as he thought himself safer in the house of a clergyman, especially one of his standing, than any where else, he told Mrs. Caldwell that he had been sent as an express from Gen. Washington to Gen. Greene, who was then on the Pee Dee river ; and that, as he was very hungry and fatigued, he wished to get accommodations for the night.— Her solicitude was immediately awakened for the safety of his papers, as well as of himself ; and she promptly told him he had better not remain ; for if the tories should get any intimation of his being there, he would certainly be robbed before morning ; and at all events, she never knew the day nor the hour when they would be attacked. She therefore told him that she would furnish him with something to eat, such as she had, and as speedily as possible ; but that he had better then go somewhere else. Supper was soon on the table, and he sat down ; but just at that moment such an unaccountable apprehension came over him, that he became agitated and could not eat. Presently they heard some one without saying, Surround the house, surround the house ; and they found themselves assailed by a body of tories. Mrs. Caldwell instantly told him that he must do just as she directed him, and do it promptly. Then bidding him follow her, she took him out of the house at the opposite side from that at which the assailants were ; and by a way not commonly used. A large locust tree stood close to the house ; and as it was still hanging pretty full of ripe locusts, and the night

being dark, it furnished a very good place of concealment. She told him that he must ascend that, thorny as it was; and conceal himself among the locusts, until he found that the men were engaged in plundering the house. Then he must descend on the other side; and trust to providence and his heels for safety. He did so, and made his escape; but the house was plundered.

While the British army was about, the tories, though bold and confident of success, were under some restraint, partly by that very confidence, or by the hope of a speedy and complete triumph; and partly by the presence of those whose authority they were obliged in some degree to respect, and Dr. Caldwell often remarked that he never apprehended any danger of his life from the British; but he did from the tories, especially after the retreat of Cornwallis. Their conduct was more insidious and dastardly; and their attacks were generally made in the night, burning houses and other property, and sometimes acts of murder were perpetrated. The men of these congregations were some of them in Greene's army; and the rest were often out on expeditions against the tories, particularly down the Cape Fear river. These troublesome enemies, if let alone, would embody there in such numbers under Fannen, Walker, and others of a similar character, as to become formidable; and therefore continual efforts were necessary to disperse them or keep them in awe. In this county they could not embody to any extent; for they had no leader, nor were they sufficiently numerous; and all they could do was by watching their opportunity when the men were away; or by assailing a lone family in the night and making their escape before any alarm could be given. Sometimes they succeeded in this way and sometimes they were sadly disappointed.*

*The following incident which occurred in the Alamance congregation with a man by the name of John Alexander, may serve as an illustration of the state of things for months after the battle at Martinville; and many such exploits and discomfitures still live in the traditions of the country. Alexander was a warm whig and had been very active in the cause of liberty. He afterwards removed to Tennessee; and had a son who became a respectable minister of the gospel, in the Presbyterian church; and is perhaps still living; but at the time of which we are speaking, this son, if born, was only a child. At this time the old man had three daughters, the oldest of whom was about grown; and each of the others a size less. Like most of his neighbors he kept his pitch forks and other farming utensils in the house to prevent

The house of Dr. Caldwell was plundered two or three times in the course of the summer after the battle; but of these only one or two incidents are recollected. Mrs. Caldwell had a very elegant table cloth, which she received as a present from her mother when she went to house keeping, and which she prized very highly as a memento of departed worth. On one occasion when a body of tories were plundering the house of every thing they could find, one of them, having broke open the chest or drawer in which it was kept, got the table cloth; but she seized it at the same time, and was resolved not to let it go. This occasioned something of a scuffle, which attracted the attention of the others; but when she found he would wrest it from her, unless she could exert some other than muscular power, she paused, and with her eye fixed upon them—still retaining her hold on the article however, and appealing to them with a woman's eloquence—asked them if they were not born of women, or if they had no wives or daughters whom they respected, and for whose sake they would treat others with more civility. This had the desired effect: a small man who stood a few feet off, looking on, stepped up, and, while a tear started in his eye, said, yes; he had a wife, a fine little woman she was too; and Mrs. Caldwell should not be treated so rudely any more.—By some means or other they got Dr. Caldwell's rifle gun which was never recovered, nor did he ever get any compensation for it; but being well satisfied in his own mind who was the depredator, though he

their being stolen; and on this occasion they answered a valuable purpose.—Three or four tories waylaid him one Saturday night as he was returning from a corn shucking; but as he happened to take a different path they missed their aim. He had just got in bed however when they assaulted the house. He started up and seized his gun, bidding his daughters at the same time to get the pitch forks and make good use of them. The door which was barred soon gave way; and as they were entering he presented his gun but it missed fire. The daughters at his command instantly charged upon them with their pitch forks, and with great resolution. The oldest daughter wounded one of the men severely and made him retreat; and among them they prevented the whole posse from advancing any further until their father got his gun primed again, when he put a ball through one of them. His name was Frederick Sherer; and Alexander knew him when he shot. The others bore him off to the house of a Mr. Harding in the neighborhood where the body was found next day and buried; but in their confusion they left his hat at the door; and Alexander wore it to preaching at Alamance the next day as a trophy. The daughter married soon after; and lived many years in the same neighborhood.

had no positive testimony, he took his own way of inflicting punishment. Some years after, when he undertook to build a new house, he employed this man to do the work; treated him very kindly, though in such a way that he felt continually reproved for his own meanness; and would frequently take an opportunity of telling him about a certain tory who stole his gun, describing the thief very minutely—his height, his complexion, the color of his hair, the dimple on his chin, &c.; and then would add, in his peculiar manner, “he was just about such a looking man as you are.” No one who had no personal knowledge of Dr. Caldwell, could form a correct idea of the effect produced by this course; but it was most tormenting, and yet it was all done apparently in perfect good humor.

Owing to the confusion and distress which had prevailed for some time in the country, the exercises of the sanctuary, the operations of civil government, the labors of science, and even the ordinary duties of private and social life were suspended or greatly interrupted. Prayer however is practicable everywhere and at all times; for God is an infinite spirit, and may be approached by the devout heart, not only on Mount Zion or in Jerusalem, but in the closet or in the wilderness. It is natural and right for a religious community at all times, especially when in distress, to seek the Tabernacle of the Lord, if it be accessible, to hear his instructions and to present their united supplications; but if that be impracticable, they may mourn and pray, each one apart, or in groups around the family altar; and such was the practice of christians in these times of gloominess and dismay, of vexation and trouble. While this state of peril and suffering continued, Dr. Caldwell was debarred, not only from the public exercises of the Sabbath, but in a great measure from the comforts of the domestic fireside. His school also had been broken up; and some of his scholars were drafted to recruit the American army, and were in the battle at the court house; but as soon as the country ceased to be the theatre of war, he returned to his pulpit, and to the discharge of his ministerial and pastoral duties. The exercises of his school were also resumed as soon as circumstances permitted, though the number of his scholars

was small until peace, and, with it, incipient prosperity, were restored to the country.

But a work remained to be done which was equally as important as the achievement of independence ; and which required all the talents, learning and piety that could be brought to its performance. The formation of a constitutional government, so regulated and secured, as to answer, by its uniform and wholesome operation, all the purposes for which such a government was needed, in the existing condition of the country, was no easy task, and could not be the work of a day. The people had proved what had been often proved before in a similar way by the people of other countries, that the government to which they had been subject, might be successfully resisted and freedom from its operations obtained ; but it remained for them to do what never had been done, which was, to shew the world that societies of men when thus set at liberty are capable of governing themselves, or of establishing a wise and wholesome government from reflection and choice. The difficulties were apparently insurmountable, as any one may perceive by reading the *Federalist* and other publications of that day ; and the advocates of monarchy in this country, as well as the potentates of the old world, pronounced it an impossibility. Many, too, even of the most patriotic and intelligent, were doubtful, if not incredulous ; but some thing must be done. A government was needed which should be free, yet firm and vigorous ;—so liberal in its provisions as to meet the views and embrace the interests of all sections of the union ; but placed on a basis so firm and so well guarded that it would remain secure from the assaults of foes without, and the conflicts of ambition and party strife within. To abandon the prize which cost them so dear, and to throw away or lose the richest boon, next to religion, which heaven ever conferred upon a people, without making every possible effort for its preservation, would have been criminal and disgraceful in the extreme. The work *was* done, and done to the admiration of the world, though it took nearly as long as the war with Great Britain ; for the whole period from the conclusion of peace, if not from the Declaration of Independence, was a contest with difficulties which would have been

easily overcome with such a government as we now have; and the whole of it was a constant effort too on the part of the wise and patriotic, to get such a government established. When the necessity of the measure became manifest, from the insufficiency of the old Confederation to answer the purposes for which it was formed, the people looked to the same source and employed the same, or many of the same agents, whom they had found worthy of confidence in the bloody strife with a foreign foe. They invoked the aid of heaven; and confided in the integrity and wisdom of the men who had counselled and guided them through all the difficulties and perils of the past.

As might be expected, Dr. Caldwell was chosen by the people of his county to represent them in the Convention which adopted the present Federal Constitution; and although there were many men of the first intelligence and ability in that body, the debates were not as able perhaps as might have been expected on such an occasion; for the ablest men or the best orators were all on one side. According to the Debates of the Convention, as they have been reported, the Doctor seems to have taken about such a stand as might have been expected from his previous habits and circumstances. He had lived remote from the centre of intelligence and of co-operation; and there were no men living in his region who were liberally educated and prominent as politicians. He had therefore been without much intercourse with the master spirits of the day; and consequently without the mental stimulus, at least in that department of human knowledge and human interests, which such intercourse imparts. Of course he had been without the best means of correcting those partial or defective views which a man is apt to form on any practical subject, in a state of seclusion; and which nothing can effectually correct but discussion or collision with other minds of intelligence, experience, and observation. With the general principles of liberty he was well acquainted; but with the details of government he had never had much to do. He had been the principal source of general intelligence as well as of religious knowledge, in his neighborhood; and while all looked up to him for instruction there were none to contradict, or to enlighten and correct. Besides, having been all along oc-

cupied with his school, his medical practice, and the duties of his pastoral office, it was not to be expected that he would appear to so much advantage in a political assembly, or that he would be so well acquainted with the details of a constitution required by the diversified interests, sentiments, and habits of this widely extended country, as those who had been from the first, in circumstances more favorable for observation, and for having their minds excited and their views corrected by continual intercourse with kindred spirits.

From the Reports it appears that Dr. Caldwell was with the majority, of the first convention, in adopting the constitution only on certain conditions, being an advocate for state rights, and afraid of putting too much power in the hands of the President; and the course of events during the last few years have led many to think that the fears which were then entertained were not altogether groundless. There were both intrinsic and circumstantial difficulties in the case. The formation of a government that would have sufficient firmness and vigor, and yet be sufficiently free and guarded against the abuse of power, was then a matter of experiment; but people who are possessed of only a moderate share of prudence and are actuated by pure motives, always approach an experiment with caution, where the interests at stake are so momentous, and the danger, though it may not be very well defined, is manifestly great and near at hand. It was almost impossible in this case to know just what amount of power was necessary in an executive officer, and one too of which the world furnished no example, to enable him to fulfil the intentions of his appointment. Knowing as they did that they could put no reliance on the integrity of the men who might, in process of time, be placed at the head of the nation, it was regarded as a matter of prudence and sound policy to confer on the supreme executive no more power than would barely suffice for the discharge of his duties; but in their circumstances, that was not easily defined or ascertained. Even now, after a trial of more than half a century, there is much diversity of opinion on this point; and although the dangers arising from the abuse of executive patronage are more manifest, or better understood than they were at that early day, when experience

had given no sanction or confirmation to theory, and when truth had not fairly put her seal upon the system which they were forming, it is found extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to form any constitutional checks by which these evils may be certainly averted. The difficulty seems to be inherent; and cannot be removed or overcome by the wisdom and power of man nor by any thing except a moral safeguard implanted and cherished in the bosoms of those who are to be trusted.

There were difficulties also arising out of the feelings or prejudices and circumstances of the people. They had known so much of the oppressions experienced from executive patronage, standing armies, &c., while subject to the British government, and had suffered so much in resisting that government when it became intolerable, that they were morbidly sensitive on every thing connected with popular rights; and the same principle which led them to be jealous of a hereditary monarch was extended in some degree to their own representatives, though chosen by themselves and at such short intervals that they were removable almost at pleasure. It was therefore fortunate that the attempt to form our present government was not made at an earlier day, or until they had much time for reflection and had learned much from experience, otherwise it could not have been formed, or must have been regarded as mere theory,—a Utopian scheme that might serve for amusement, but could never be reduced to practice. Dr. Caldwell, though remarkably judicious when in possession of the facts which would enable him to form a judgment, was equally cautious when those facts were wanting. It is said, though I know not on what authority, that he drafted the article in the State Constitution which excludes all ministers of the gospel, as well as the one which excluded Roman Catholics, from holding certain offices under the government; and if so, it is an evidence, not only of his strong attachment to liberty, but of his vigilance in guarding against every thing which might lead to a union of Church and State, and consequently to a violation of the rights of conscience.

A free government is a government of the people; and unless they have sufficient intelligence and virtue to appreciate its value and to sustain its operation, whatever wisdom may have

been employed in its construction, its duration must be short; but the very struggle by which the people of this country obtained the privilege of governing themselves was calculated to impair their most essential qualifications for self-government. War, under any circumstances, is a prolific source of immorality and vice; but when it is both foreign and domestic, as it was here, every kind of government, except that of martial law, is suspended, and all civil and ecclesiastical restraints are in a good degree removed; the worst passions of human nature are intensely and constantly excited; and the progress of vice soon gains an ascendancy over every thing good. A seven years' war of this description had produced such anarchy and wickedness that society was not easily restored even to its former state of sobriety and good morals. We are rather agreeably surprised, in contemplating this subject, to find as much vital religion as there was amidst the great deterioration of morals which we know existed in a large portion of society; but still there was an imperious necessity for a reformation, in this respect, which should pervade the entire community; and this was a work which belonged peculiarly to the ministers of the gospel; nor did they manifest any despondency; but engaged in it with all the zeal and firmness which the difficulty and importance of the task required. The statesmen of that day also, or such of them as were most prominent and influential, with one at their head, who, for wisdom, integrity, and patriotism, was almost a perfect model, not only admitted the necessity of intelligence and virtue to the support of a free government, but gave their influence to aid in the diffusion of christian principles as the only security for good order, moral rectitude, and due subordination in society.

During the war the increase of ordained ministers and of organized churches, of the Presbyterian order, appears to have been as great as in the same length of time at any period since; for soon after the conclusion of the war the Presbytery of Orange numbered twenty ordained ministers, with six licentiates and one or two in a course of preparation; and these, with two or three exceptions, were all settled or laboring, in some way, within the limits of this State. They were working men;

and they worked with a view to permanent good; for they were men of enlarged views as well as of christian zeal.* They knew well that without intelligence and virtue a free government could not be long maintained; and that there could not be a consistent and permanent state of practical religion without enlightened views of christian doctrine. For the attainment of the great objects before them, almost every one of them taught a classical school; and as a great many men were thus prepared for usefulness in the learned professions, these schools became sources of general information to the people. In fact nearly all the literature and science in the State for many years

* The following statistical report from under the hand of the stated Clerk, may perhaps be acceptable to a portion of my readers, especially as we have no Presbyterial or Synodical records relating to that period. It is here given *verbatim et literatim*.

MEMBERS, PROBATIONERS, &c.

OF THE PRESBYTERY OF ORANGE, APRIL 2D. 1784.

| <i>Ministers.</i> | has the pastoral charge of | <i>Churches.</i> |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Messrs. Alexander, Joseph - - - | has the pastoral charge of | Bullock's Creek, |
| " Archbald, Robert - - - | | Rocky River. |
| " Barr, David - - - - - | | Sandy River. |
| " Caldwell, David - - - - - | | Buffalo. |
| " Cosson, John - - - - - | | Onochugues. |
| " Cummins, Francis - - - - - | | Bethel. |
| " Craighead, Thomas - - - - - | | Holstein. |
| " Edmunds, James - - - - - | | |
| " Fraser, James - - - - - | | <i>Expunged</i> Oct. 5th, 1784.* |
| " Hall, James - - - - - | | Fourth Creek. |
| " Harris, John - - - - - | | |
| " Hill, Thomas - - - - - | | |
| " McCaule, T. H. - - - - - | | Centre. |
| " McCorkle, Samuel E. - - - - - | | Cathey's, (now Thyatira.) |
| " McRee, James - - - - - | | Steel Creek. |
| " Patillo, Henry - - - - - | | |
| " Reese, Thomas - - - - - | | Salem. |
| " Simpson, John - - - - - | | Fishing Creek. |
| " Templeton, James - - - - - | Quaker Meadows. | |
| " Thatcher, Daniel - - - - - | | |

Evangelists not ordained.

| | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| Messrs. Finley, Robert licenced | Oct. 9th, 1783. |
| " Hall, Robert " " | Jan. 29th, 1784. |
| " Mecklin, Robert " " | Oct. 8th, 1783. |
| " Newton, John " " | Oct. 8th, 1783. |
| " Donnell, Thomas " " | April 11th, 1778. |
| " Lake, Jacob " " | |

Not licensed.

Mr. John Springer, began June, 1782.

True return. Testis, T. H. McCAULE, Presb. Clk.

* The word "expunged," &c., was written in another hand.

was obtained or originated there; and the country owes a debt of gratitude to those men which ought not to be forgotten.— They also made it an object to expound and defend the prominent doctrines of the gospel, and to enforce the great principles of moral obligation. Hence there was a combination of the doctrinal and practical in their preaching, which is not generally found to prevail at the present day. Much of their preaching was directed against the predominant vices of the times, such as intemperance, licentiousness, theft, robbery, &c., which were then rife every where, and required the combined efforts of all the wise and good for their suppression. There is in my possession a manuscript sermon preached about the close of the war, by one of the ablest men in the country, entitled, *the crime and curse of plundering*; and others on other subjects which indicate the deplorable state of morals generally at that time. It may be said that it would have been better to preach repentance towards God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ at once; but to do that with effect, at any time, the people must have a conscience, as the history of the christian church fully proves; or they must be prepared for the offers of mercy, by being instructed in regard to the nature of the Divine law, their own character as transgressors of that law, and the necessity of pardon. During the war, and long after it, when the Presbytery appointed its members to supply vacant congregations, it directed them at the same time to *catechise* the people and administer the ordinances. The appointment both for preaching and for catechising was sent on some weeks before hand; and while the Shorter Catechism was used for the children and young people, the older ones were furnished with a series of written questions, doctrinal, experimental, and practical. This was substantially the course pursued by Dr. Caldwell, and by most others, so far as has come to my knowledge, both in their own churches and in those to which they were sent as supplies; and the course was certainly a judicious one; for if we would raise a permanent superstructure of any kind, we must lay a good foundation. If we would form people to steady habits of virtue and religion we must make them intelligent. The foundation which the Presbyterian ministers of that day laid for consistent piety

and good morals was broad and firm—it was the foundation which is laid in the Bible; and without any disposition to disparage the labors or the influence of others, it is believed that North Carolina is more indebted to their enlightened and christian efforts for the character which she has ever since sustained for intelligence, probity and good order, than to any other cause. The ministers of other denominations were zealous and useful in preaching the gospel; but it is a fact, not disputed, that those of the Presbyterian body were then more numerous and better educated than any others. They were the laborious and untiring advocates and promoters of learning; and upon them rested almost the whole burden of education, so far as it was advanced beyond the mere rudiments of English.

There was much scepticism as well as immorality and disorder prevailing in the country at the close of the war; but the former was greatly increased in a few years by foreign influence. The connexion which had existed between this country and France during the revolutionary struggle; the important services rendered by the latter, and the consequent obligations felt and acknowledged by the former; the enthusiasm with which the people of this infant republic were then inspired on the subject of liberty; and the progress which the cause of freedom was supposed to be making among those who had been so long enslaved, gave for a time great currency to their infidel opinions. The writings too of such men as Volney, Hobbs, Paine, Voltaire and others were circulated freely and read with avidity by all classes of the community. The ministers of religion presented a bold front to the torrent of error and iniquity which was thus coming over the land like a flood; and fearlessly met the advocates of infidelity on the field of argument. The result was happy, and such as every enlightened friend of the Bible anticipated. Many who were set to do evil, persisted in their ruinous course, in spite of reason and remonstrance; but many were reclaimed and brought to a saving knowledge of the truth; and of such there are many still living in all parts of the country.—The sermons which were then published; and others which are yet preserved in manuscript, manifest not only great ability and extensive research, but a devotion to the cause of truth and a

confidence in its ultimate triumph which was hardly surpassed by any set of men in this or any other country. Although Dr. Caldwell, for reasons, already alluded to and will be more fully explained presently, wrote but little after the war, and that little was not preserved with any care, one unfinished sermon and some fragments of others have escaped the ravages of time, which furnish proof of his fidelity and zeal in opposing error and in defending the truth as it is in Jesus Christ; but they are in such a state that their publication would be doing great injustice to him, without taking more liberties with them than would be justifiable in an editor.

About the year 1792, though the precise date is not known, owing to the destruction of our Presbyterian records, the Rev. Robert Archibald began to propagate his sentiments on the subject of *universal salvation*; and in two years after he was suspended from the ministry and from the communion of the church. The first and only record we have of this matter is that of the Synod, which has been furnished by the present stated Clerk, the Rev. Colin McIver; and is as follows: "At the 7th session of the Synod of the Carolinas, held at Steel Creek church, the following minute was made, on the 4th of October 1794.—The minutes of yesterday were read. In consequence of which, Synod found that the Rev. Robert Archibald was on the catalogue of the absent members of the Orange Presbytery—who was charged, by public fame, with preaching the doctrine of the universal restoration of mankind. An enquiry took place as to Mr. Archibald's remaining a member. It was then suggested that, the Orange Presbytery designed to advise with Synod, relative to said member. The Presbytery of Orange having given to Synod, a relation of their procedure, as to Mr. Archibald, Synod advised that, the members of the Orange Presbytery resolve themselves into a Presbyterian capacity, and immediately decide on the affair of Mr. Archibald. Accordingly the members of the Presbytery of Orange constituted, and came to the following decision: That the Rev. Robert Archibald be suspended; and he is hereby suspended from the exercise of his ministerial office, and from the communion of our church.—And Synod ordered that each member of their respective Presbyteries

publish, in their own, and in vacant congregations, the decision of Orange Presbytery relative to Mr. Archibald, and warn them against the reception of the above doctrine; and warn them also against countenancing or receiving Mr. Archibald as a minister of the gospel, in his present standing.' ”

The sentence of suspension was intended to be disciplinary, by awakening reflection and giving him space for repentance; but as he grew worse instead of better, he was formally *deposed* at Mount Bethel church, Nov. 24th, 1797. This was done, with the concurrence of the Commission of Synod, by the Presbytery of Concord, which had been formed in the mean time, and into the hands of which he had fallen, as being within their bounds. Mr. McIver, after stating that the above is all the information furnished by the records of our church, says: “From other sources, I have learned a few more facts respecting this singular man, which I must here furnish from memory. These are necessarily unaccompanied by dates; for the facts alone were communicated to me;—my informants not having charged their own memory with the times of their occurrence. The first of these facts is probably connected with what is referred to in one of the above Synodical minutes, in which it is said that, ‘the Presbytery of Orange gave Synod a relation of their procedure, as to Mr. Archibald: The late Rev. Samuel Stanford who has, some years since, gone to his rest, informed me that he was present at a meeting of the Presbytery of Orange at which Mr. Archibald was dealt with, in relation to the pernicious doctrine which he had been propagating. Mr. Archibald he said admitted the fact in relation to the sentiments he had been promulgating; and demanded the privilege of defending these sentiments before the congregation assembled at the place where the Presbytery was convened. The Presbytery readily yielded to this demand; but at the same time made provision for the refutation of such a defence as he should make. The Rev. Hezekiah Balch who was present at the time, and sitting with the Presbytery as a corresponding member, was appointed by the Presbytery to answer Mr. Archibald. Mr. Balch, it was said, performed the task assigned him with considerable ability. Among other things, Mr. Archibald, in his defence, alleged that the *Calvinistic* scheme

was erroneous and illiberal, in making the door of salvation *too narrow*, while *his* scheme, on the contrary, made it *sufficiently wide* to embrace the *whole human race*. In reply, Mr. Balch sarcastically remarked that it was no unusual thing for *great men to differ*; but while he was willing to *admit* that Mr. Archibald *was a great man*, yet the fact must not be overlooked that a *greater* personage, *in the main*, than Mr. Archibald, had declared that, ‘strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.’—Mat. 7, 14.—After a long hearing the Presbytery pointedly condemned Mr. Archibald’s sentiments; and then referred the disposal of the case to Synod. How the Synod disposed of it, the above extracts sufficiently show.

“Two other facts, or anecdotes, I will mention which I obtained from a South Carolina brother, now no more. Some Universalists, you know, *deny all future punishment*,—while others admit that there will be *some* punishment, after death; but contend that it will be of a *limited duration*. It appears to have been *this latter sentiment* which Mr. Archibald embraced and propagated. It is said that, after his deposition, he still continued to preach wherever he could get hearers; and that he travelled considerably in South Carolina, preaching wherever opportunity offered. In one of his rambles through that State he met with a shrewd old Irish lady, between whom and himself some such dialogue as the following is said to have taken place: Lady—‘I’m tauld, sir, you preach that a’ men will be saved. Is that your opinion?’ Mr. A.—‘Yes: I think that, after enduring *some* punishment, all will at last be saved.’ Lady—‘D’ye think that *some* will gae to hell, and stay there a while, and then come oot again?’ Mr. A.—‘Yes: that is my opinion.’ Lady—‘And d’ye expect to gae there *yoursel*?’ Mr. A.—‘Yes: I expect to go there, for a time.’ Lady—‘Ah, man! ye talk strangely: ye’re a guid man, and a minister. I wad think ye couldna gae there. But what will ye gae there *for*?’ Mr. A.—‘I expect to go there for preaching against the truth.’ Lady—‘Ah, man! that’s an unco’ bad case. And hoo lang d’ye expect to stay there?’ Mr. A.—‘Just as long as I preached against the truth.’ Lady—‘And hoo lang was that?’ Mr. A.—‘About

fifteen years.' Lady—'Ye'd be a pretty *singed devil*, to come oot, after being *in sae lang!*'"—The other anecdote I learned respecting him, related to the manner of his death; and it was truly melancholy. It is said he had been employed by some South Carolina planter, as a family tutor. While thus employed, he rode, on some Saturday, it being a leisure time with him, to a neighboring store, for the purpose probably of purchasing some articles which he wanted. On his arrival at the store, he met with a man, who appeared to be a stranger to him, and who surprised him by a recognition, saying, in the usual style of salutation, 'How do you do Mr. Archibald?' He replied, 'Sir, you have the advantage of me.' The man then proceeded to state some circumstances, with the view, it would seem, though unwittingly, of refreshing Mr. Archibald's memory; and thus recalling himself, as it were, to his recollection. Mr. Archibald, then, finding his recollection suddenly return to him, said, from a momentary impulse, 'O, yes! I *now* remember you, sir. You are the man, who, some years ago, in North Carolina, was prosecuted for forgery; and escaped from punishment by making your escape from prison.' This, of course, subjected the man to considerable embarrassment and confusion; and, at the same time, put an end to the conversation. The man, however, was observed to watch Mr. Archibald's motions; and soon after the latter left the store, for the purpose of returning home, the other was seen to follow him. On the next day Mr. Archibald's dead body was found, not far from the path leading to the plantation on which he had resided, in a stream of running water, where, it was supposed, the murderer had thrown it, after the breath had left it; and, it is added, that, so low, at that time, had his reputation been reduced, no coroner's inquest was instituted, nor any further inquiry made, as to the cause of his death."

These accounts are probably correct in the main, but however this may be, it is known that he was graduated at Princeton in 1772; and that he was regarded as a man of handsome talents. He probably studied medicine before he did theology; for he was not licensed to preach until three years or more after he obtained his degree at college; and he practised medicine when he was the pastor of Poplar Tent and Rocky River churches.

He is said to have been a man of a very amiable disposition; but owing to domestic trials of a kind which few men can bear, he became intemperate. His first departure from the faith of the church with which he was in connexion, as I have been informed by the venerable Dr. Robinson, who has been for many years the esteemed pastor of Poplar Tent church, was into Arminianism; but for one in his situation, and destitute as he probably was of vital religion, there was no stopping place, and he soon ran into the doctrine of universal restoration. When he was suspended and the synod directed its members to warn the churches against receiving him or his doctrine, the Presbytery passed a resolution that every member of that body should, not only preach on the subject in his own congregation, but prepare a sermon on it, write it out in full, and have it at the next stated meeting to be submitted to the inspection of a committee which was appointed for the purpose; and it is also said that it was further resolved at the same time that the one which the committee might judge to be most suitable, should be preached before the Presbytery and the congregation—the meeting having been appointed to be held in the church of which Archibald had been pastor. The sermon prepared by Dr. Caldwell was the one which was preached, as I have been informed by those who were present and heard it delivered; and this is the second sermon at the end of this volume. It was prepared under great disadvantages, as we shall see presently; and was left by him in an unfinished state; but it was thought that something of the kind would be desired by the public; and candid readers will make due allowance. I have made a good many *verbal* corrections; and a few sentences have been added in some places to keep up the connexion where the manuscript was mutilated; but I am not conscious of having altered a single sentiment.—So far as has come to my knowledge Robert Archibald was the only member of the Orange Presbytery, during the 18th century, who was suspended for heterodoxy; and Alexander McMillen, the only one for immorality.—Respecting the character of the Rev. John Thompson, who removed to North Carolina about the same time with the Rev. Alexander Craighead, I have been able to obtain no information, nor to learn any thing of his history.

except that he did not live more than a few years; but from the incidental notice of him which I have just seen, it is believed that he was a man of moral worth, and of respectable standing as a minister of the gospel.

Surely no one will accuse me of undue partiality in saying so much about Presbyterian ministers and their doings in this State; for it is nothing more than would be expected of any man in similar circumstances, or when employed in writing the life of a distinguished minister in the church to which he belonged, especially if the records of that church had all been destroyed, so that there was no other way by which the religious public could obtain the information thus communicated. The facts respecting the Orange Presbytery contained in this work have been gathered up—*here a little and there a little*—by much industry and pains-taking over the country; and, it is believed that many of them are not known even to the members of that Presbytery. So far from having manifested, or being conscious of possessing, any undue prejudices against other denominations, I have said, and love to say, every thing in their favor that I know to be true; for there is little enough goodness in the world, when it is all brought out and exhibited in its full proportions.

In some respects Dr. Caldwell was much blessed in his family; but in others he was severely tried. None of them ever acted in a way to dishonor him, or make him ashamed to own that they were his children. Three of his sons became preachers, two of whom were very useful and much respected in their profession. Another has been for many years and is still living in this place, who is one of the most successful and popular physicians in the county; and the rest that are living, though not engaged in any of the public professions, are intelligent men and highly esteemed as citizens; but his trials arose from the *afflictions* with which several of his children were visited.

About the year 1792, though the precise date is not recollected, his only daughter lost the use of her reason, when about nineteen or twenty years of age; and, with one or two short intervals, she continued in a state of derangement until her death, Jan. 27th. 1827. Every thing was done that could be done for

her recovery, but in vain. The proximate cause of this calamity was dropsy of the brain; and this was supposed to have been occasioned by getting wet and taking cold at a time when her health was peculiarly delicate. She had been tenderly raised; and having never been exposed in any way, she was of course more easily affected than she would otherwise have been. Her father took her twice to Philadelphia, and put her under the care of his friend Doct. Rush. Each time she was trepanned; and for weeks or months after the operation, her reason appeared to be completely restored; but the cause had become constitutional; and no permanent relief could be afforded. As might be expected, if not an idol, she was an object of the fondest regard and of the most deep and tender interest to her parents; and she seemed to be all that enlightened and sober-thinking parents could desire—handsome, intelligent, accomplished, and pious. They had done every thing for her education and improvement that was in their power; and her progress had been such as to reward their toils and gratify their wishes. She was a fine classical and belles lettres scholar; and was well versed in all the branches of science that were taught in her father's school. He also employed a tutoress in Wilmington—a Miss Campbell, and the daughter of a Presbyterian clergyman, who had gone to his rest—to come and reside in his family for the purpose of teaching her the ornamental parts of female education. In addition to all this, from the time she was old enough to go from home without her mother, or to be benefitted by intercourse with good society, he was in the habit of taking her with him to the judicatories of the church, and to such other places as might contribute to her improvement. Her piety too was remarkable for one of her age; for she had attained a maturity in religious experience and christian knowledge that was uncommon; and she was a universal favorite in the congregations. Of this the proofs were abundant when the writer came into this region; for he found that the old people who had known her in her youth, loved to dwell on the remembrance of what she had been, but could seldom mention her name, or attempt to speak of her worth, without the tribute of a tear. Moreover, when her derangement commenced she was engaged, and would soon have

been married, to a very popular young clergyman, who has since stood high in the Presbyterian church; and who is perhaps still living. The derangement of such a daughter, just in the full bloom of youth, and in such circumstances, must have been a trial to her parents which none but parents can understand or feel; but they had the consolation to know that she had made her peace with God, and her preparation for eternity, some time before her probation was thus ended; and it was a consolation which *they* were capable of receiving. She never shewed any violence, or very little; but always appeared to be gratified with religious conversation and devotional exercises.

In the course of two or three years after this melancholy event, his second son, the Rev. Alexander Caldwell, went in a similar way. He was considered the most talented one of the family; and had been married and settled for several years as pastor of the church which had been vacated by the deposition of Robert Archibald. His connexion with the church was pleasant, and his prospects of usefulness were very flattering, when he began to shew symptoms of mental alienation. These increased gradually until a separation from his pastoral charge, and even from his family, became necessary. He was taken to his father's, where he remained until his death, which occurred October 2, 1841. With a physiognomy uncommonly fine, a person tall and well proportioned, a portly gait, and engaging manners, he shewed even amid the wreck of his mental powers, what he had been, and what influence he would have exerted, had he been preserved in the full exercise of his faculties; but he was not a maniac; and was never violent or troublesome. His derangement commenced with melancholy; and through life there was in his countenance an air of pensiveness, but mingled with a degree of native or christian cheerfulness, which never failed to awaken in every one who conversed with, or even beheld him, a high degree of interest. The habits of study which were formed in his better days were apparently still retained; and no philosopher was ever more constantly in his study, or more intently engaged in his favorite pursuit. As he read but little however, his time was employed in writing; and he left manuscripts enough to make several folio volumes. His former knowl-

edge appears to have been mostly retained, though in a confused and useless state; and in looking over these manuscripts, any one will have feelings awakened within him, both of interest and of melancholy, to see the incoherent operations of a mind which was originally of a high order, but so unhinged and confused that all its actions were irregular, and none of them in an onward direction. His attendance on preaching was frequent, though not constant or regular; but he never failed to attend the communions in Buffalo church. He always asked a blessing at the table, no matter who was there; usually led the worship in his brother's family, when there was no one else to do it; and was as conscientious and strict in the performance of his private duties as any christian in the land.

But another trial of a similar kind still awaited him; and one which was perhaps more difficult for a christian parent to bear. His seventh son, Edmund, had, when about six or seven years of age, met with an accident which injured the *Medulla oblongata*; and this continued a bleeding sore until he was grown, or nearly grown, when it suddenly healed up or ceased bleeding, and he became so violently deranged that he was obliged to be confined. This continued with only slight abatements until his death, which took place in July, 1836. He was considered very promising, as to talents, scholarship, &c; but he had not given the same evidence of piety with the other two; and to those who regard derangement as the end of probation to the subject of it, as most christians do, this was a most painful reflection. With regard to such, however, no one has cause to murmur; for God has a right to do with his own as he pleases; and then we never know what he may do for one in such circumstances, even in the last moments of life, and when he is too far gone to let others know what is passing or doing in the hidden man of the heart. These trials, coming as they did in such quick succession, were almost too much for a sober-thinking and affectionate parent to bear without the grace of God; but the patience and submission with which they were borne by Dr. Caldwell excited the admiration of all who knew him, and furnished conclusive or very strong evidence, not only that he had a good hope for himself, but that he had unbounded confidence in the goodness and the

rightful sovereignty of him who sits upon the throne of the Universe.

The common remark that "truth is omnipotent and will prevail," has been strikingly verified in this country, though it was *not by might nor by power, but by the spirit of the Lord.*—When the incubus of human authority has been removed; when the influence of time-honored institutions, which owed their existence to that authority, has ceased to be felt; and when the human mind, involved in darkness and enslaved, as it is, by the god of this world, and paralyzed too by the infidelity which it has cherished, as well as by the worldliness in which it has indulged, is exposed to the unadulterated and plain truth of the Bible, intelligently, faithfully, and affectionately presented, the victory will be certain, and the triumph will be glorious. So it has been found in this land of freedom; for although the obstacles appeared to be insurmountable and the discouragements great, the friends of truth knew that *the promises were yea and amen in Christ Jesus, to the glory of God the Father.* On these they relied; and they were not disappointed. Presbyterian ministers, and some others, had believed and argued that all alliance between church and state was unfavorable to the interest of truth and piety; and that, if the ministers of the gospel were now to go forth, like those who were first commissioned, clothed with no authority but that of Jesus Christ and his church, and relying on no power but that of the Divine Spirit, the results would be more like those of primitive times. What they desired and sought was obtained: Independence was achieved; and all denominations were left alike without patronage and without control from the civil government. It remained therefore to be proved whether their principles were sound and their expectations well founded; and the results we all know; for they are before us in such richness and beauty that we have nothing to do but thank the Lord, take courage, and go forward.

The course pursued by Presbyterian ministers, in the disordered and uninformed state of the country, has been stated; but whether it was a judicious one, and how far the rich harvest since gathered in, came from the seed which was then sown,

others must judge. Certain it is, however, that in a few years the Lord poured out his spirit and revived his work in a remarkable manner. There was a considerable revival in Guilford and one or two adjoining counties about the year 1791, which has generally been called "McGrady's revival," because it took place under his labors; but in 1801 a work commenced which was extraordinary in its character, and extended over most of the Southern States—Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Georgia, as well as North Carolina. When the Lord thus revealed his arm, infidelity was overthrown; and truth and righteousness became triumphant. The writings of Paine, Voltaire, and others of the same class, which were more common and had probably more readers than the Bible, were soon banished—many of them being burned and others concealed—and now there is hardly one of them to be found; or if there be, like the viper deprived of his fang, it is quite harmless. This revival commenced in Presbyterian churches, and in different places about the same time. Its first appearance was in the church at the Cross Roads in Orange county; but the spirit of the Lord had evidently been at work in other places for some time. In Dr. Caldwell's congregations, three or four old ladies, of whom Mrs. Caldwell was one, had been for a year or more, associating together, and meeting regularly at each other's houses, expressly to pray for a revival of religion; and some young men in the congregations were under deep concern on the subject of religion; but hardly knew what was the matter, or were ashamed to let their feelings be known. At the first meeting, however, which they attended, after the work commenced, they obtained a hope; and one of them, who became a preacher, and is still living, gave me the above account a few years since. Other facts of a similar kind might be related; but it is unnecessary. Both these revivals, however, extended into Dr. Caldwell's school; and brought many of his students into the church and ultimately into the ministry.

Whatever may be said by the ignorant or the inconsiderate, the practice of the Apostles and the experience of the church shew that a thorough course of instruction in the doctrines of the Bible is indispensable, if people are to become intelligent

and consistent christians, or if the gospel is to have a general and permanent influence in the country; but the same work substantially has to be done for every generation as it comes up to the great trial or preparation for eternity; and therefore *doctrinal preaching*, or such an exposition and defence of the doctrines of grace as will give them a full and abiding influence on the minds of the people, and especially of the young, is after all the great work of the ministry. Sectarian prejudices may be excited which, however effectual in extending a party, are unworthy of intelligent beings, and the appropriate results of which both in time and eternity, can be nothing but evil; or a radical change may even be produced in the principle of action by the divine spirit which will not be followed by consistency of character and deportment in those who are subjects of it, because a sufficient amount of truth has not been presented to control the intellectual and moral powers.—The enemy is ever ready to sow tares among the wheat, when ministers are too intent on pushing forward the work to notice him, as well as when they are asleep; and perhaps he is never more diligent or more successful than in a time of revival. If there are more formalists in ordinary times, there are probably more counterfeits and more stony ground hearers in a season of awakening, especially in such a one as that of which we are speaking. Although the revival of 1801 was a genuine and powerful work, enthusiasm and extravagance soon appeared, and were not only suffered to progress, but were even encouraged by some who ought to have known better. Dr. Caldwell, with some others, especially on the west of the Yadkin, attempted to lift up a warning voice, though in a very mild and cautious way; and for this, insinuations were made by the enthusiastic, or by those who had more zeal than judgment, that he was not a cordial friend to the work; but there is as much difference between a man's being opposed to a revival of religion, or a genuine work of the Holy Spirit, and his being opposed to extravagance and delusion, as there is between the things themselves. He outlived these insinuations, however; and an impartial posterity have done him more justice.

From some facts already mentioned, it may be inferred that Dr. Caldwell's standing in the judicatories of the church, was at

least equal to that of any other; and he was a punctual attendant on the meetings of these judicatories whenever his circumstances permitted. From the organization of the Orange Presbytery, or soon after, he acted as stated Clerk until 1776, when he resigned, and Mr. Criswell was appointed in his place. When the Synod of the Carolinas held its first meeting, which was at Centre church, in November 1788, a committee was appointed, consisting of five ministers and five elders, to address a circular letter to the churches under the care of the Synod; and of this committee Dr. Caldwell was chairman. It seems to have been intended that the committee should prepare and publish it as soon as practicable, without waiting for the inspection and approval of Synod; but having been prevented by various causes from completing the task until near the time for the next stated meeting, they deferred its publication until then, and submitted it to the consideration of that body. It was approved, immediately published, and circulated among the churches; and it is probably one of the ablest and most comprehensive productions of the kind belonging to that period. As Dr. Caldwell was chairman of the committee he has been regarded as the author; and, although it was no doubt in some measure a *joint* production, it may be fairly taken for granted, according to universal custom, that he drew it up in its present form. If so it does him great credit, as any one must admit who will be at the trouble to give it an attentive perusal; and it might be read by christians with much interest and profit even at the present day.

When the University went into operation, as I have been credibly informed, he had the offer of the Presidency; but, owing to his advanced age, and the afflicted condition of his family, he did not consider it his duty to accept the appointment. In a short time however, the trustees of that institution conferred upon him the honorary title of D. D.; and considering the prevalence of infidelity at that time, which, it is said, was openly avowed by a large proportion of the trustees themselves, it may be regarded not only as a tribute due to his merit, but as demanded by public sentiment.

The life of Dr. Caldwell differed from that of most others belonging to his profession, and from that of most men of letters.

in being frequently forced into public notoriety and on a theatre which he did not covet, yet there were periods, of which the one now under consideration is an example, that were spent in seclusion from the world; and it was so little diversified by incidents of an interesting kind, as to furnish hardly any materials for the biographer. From the year 1807 the nation was much excited on the subject of politics; but he does not appear to have meddled with them any farther than to write a piece occasionally for some of the papers, generally for the Raleigh Star, and under a fictitious name. He was opposed to the last war at its commencement; and was therefore by some called a Federalist; but when the country was actually involved in war, and when the honour and the welfare of the nation were at stake, he was ready to go any length in supporting the government. Of his patriotism and fidelity he gave all the proof that could be given by one of his age and in his circumstances; and his services were duly appreciated by the people of this county at the time. When Virginia was threatened with an invasion by the British, and there was a call for men to go from this region to Norfolk, they assembled the people at the court house, and beat up for volunteers; but none seemed disposed to fall into the ranks. It was thought desirable to accomplish the object, if possible, without resorting to a draft; and for this purpose Dr. Caldwell was requested to preach on the subject in the court house. Although between 85 and 90 years of age, he complied with the request; but was so decrepid that he had to be helped up the steps to the Judge's bench. His very appearance on such an occasion and for such a purpose, was enough to inspire the young and vigorous with patriotic ardor and heroic intrepidity. He took for his text Luke xxii. 36, last clause; and when he was done there was no difficulty in getting volunteers. The number required was soon made up; and might have been greatly increased. Among the rest, a young Quaker, by the name of Isaac White, feeling his spirit stirred within him, boldly stepped forth into the ranks along with the foremost; faithfully served his tour at Norfolk; and then returned to this county where he married, settled, and is still living in comfort and respectability. Dr. Caldwell lived to see peace restored, and the country entering anew on a course of

prosperity and happiness; but the infirmities of age increased upon him so much that he soon relinquished the business of teaching and all concern with the world. He continued to preach in his churches however on the Sabbath, unless prevented by inclement weather, until about the year 1820, though when he returned he was often so far exhausted that he had to be carried from his horse into the house.

Amidst all his infirmities and depressing circumstances he retained his natural cheerfulness unimpaired to the last; but he seemed to lament that he was continued here after he had become, as he supposed, useless to others, and longed for the close of day that he might rest from his labors and go to enjoy the rewards which await every faithful servant of the Lord. From one who was never heard to utter a word in his own commendation, or known to seek the applause of the world, we could not expect to hear much about his feelings or prospects in relation to another world, especially in such a decline of his physical and mental powers as he now exhibited.—We approach the closing scene of such a man with no common feelings of veneration; but we do not expect to find in old age, the vivacity of youth, the eager boundings of hope, or the bright and ecstatic visions of one who, in “life’s early prime,” has obtained through faith a victory over death and the grave, and who, in bidding adieu to earth, passes lightly over the boundaries of time, with every power of the soul in full and delightful exercise. We expect in one who has long served his generation by the will of God and who is about to be gathered to his fathers in peace, the more extended views and the more steady movements of one whose buoyancy of spirits has subsided as it ceased to be needed, having borne him along until he was past the agitations of life, and whose long familiarity with heavenly things has rendered the change from a state of sin and imperfection to one of purity and bliss almost imperceptible; and so it was with the subject of this memoir; for all felt that *the end of that man was peace*.—His family often heard him say, in the latter part of life, that he had never once thought of being rich; but that his whole concern had been to be useful in the world. For a few years before his death, when his circumstances here and his prospects hereafter were

mentioned, his common remark was that his *cup was full and running over*. We have no dying expressions of a remarkable kind to record; for as his whole course through life had been characterized more by *doing* than by *talking*, his state of mind towards the close was *exhibited* rather than *expressed*; yet when he did allude to the subject of his death, his language, his countenance, and his whole deportment indicated the most perfect serenity, and the most unshaken and cheerful confidence.

For two or three years he was not off the plantation until he was carried to the place where *the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest*. He had neither sickness nor pain: and was never known to utter a complaint, or give the least indication of fretfulness. The writer was frequently at his house during this period; and never saw more equanimity, patience, and cheerful piety manifested by any one under similar circumstances. Like most aged people, he slept much; but when awake he was always ready to engage with a friend or an acquaintance, in cheerful and profitable conversation. Thus he continued until August 25th, 1824, when he bid adieu to earth. He had been confined to bed only a few days; but, when asked, he always said he was neither sick nor in pain. The family knew he was dying only by his drawing occasionally a longer breath than usual; but there was nothing like a struggle; not a limb was moved, nor a feature distorted; and, being perfectly sensible and able to talk almost till the last breath, he went off like an infant going to sleep. Next day his remains were interred in the burying ground of Buffalo church; and the vast concourse of people that attended, of all classes and denominations, evinced the universal respect entertained for his memory. The Orange Presbytery, at its next stated meeting, which was held at Buffalo church, passed a resolution to have a sermon on his death preached before them as a Presbytery; and the Rev. E. B. Currie, one of his old pupils, having been appointed to discharge this duty, delivered before the Presbytery and the congregation, an appropriate and excellent discourse on Eccles. vii. 1, *A good name is better than precious ointment; and the day of death than the day of one's birth*.

His widow survived him less than a year; for on the 3d of

June, 1825, her spirit left this world to rejoin her former companion in tribulation, and in the faith and patience of the saints. For years she had said that her greatest trial was her impatience to leave this world and get to a better. This impatience she believed to be wrong, and was often grieved to think that she was not completely resinged to the divine will; but it continued until the very moment of her discharge; for almost the last thing she said was, "O, what hinders, that his chariot wheels delay so long." She retained her senses, and all her faculties until the last breath; and a more instructive scene than her death bed is seldom witnessed. Only an hour or two before she died, having perceived that they were preparing to make her burying clothes, she gave, with perfect calmness and pleasantness, directions respecting certain parts of them; and seemed to be as attentive to the comfort and welfare of those about her as if she had been a ministering spirit sent from heaven for the purpose. Supper being announced, while her friends were all around her, some one observed, in a low voice, that they had better not *all* go at once; but she heard it, and told them all to go and come back again as soon as supper was over. When they returned she had her servants all called in, and mentioned by name the old woman who had nursed most of her children. Finding all present as she wished, and feeling that the time of her departure was come, with quite a strong voice, she called upon her son Alexander, to engage in prayer, which he did. While all were thus engaged and on their knees, she asked her youngest son, who sat by her, for some water. Having raised up and taken it when presented, she sunk back into the bed again; put up her hands and closed her own eyes; then folded her arms across her breast; and with the next breath meekly resigned her spirit into the hands of her Redeemer. *Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them.* Next day her remains were interred beside those of her husband; and a marble slab with a simple but appropriate inscription has been placed over their graves by the family and some individuals in the Buffalo church. A small slab, with a suitable inscription, in memory of Dr. Caldwell, was also in-

serted in the grave-yard wall at Alamance church by the people of that congregation; but the services which he rendered to the church and to the country are his best and most enduring monument.

The famous reply of Solon, the lawgiver and philosopher of Athens, to Cræsus, the victorious, proud, and wealthy king of Lydia, that no man should be accounted happy before his death, though partly true—perhaps true to the full extent of his meaning, or of his knowledge of that in which happiness consists,—and though it has been much admired as a check upon the presumptuous hopes, and a safeguard to the reputable conduct of men, in this world,—contained no assurance that the philosopher himself, or any other man, would certainly be happy *after* death; but the gospel does give such assurance, and in a way that leaves no doubt on the minds of those who receive it as a revelation from God. It teaches us that no man is or can be *perfectly* happy before death; but at the same time it affirms most explicitly, and in every variety of form, that those who are reconciled with God through Jesus Christ, shall, when their course on earth is finished, be received into complete and everlasting rest.

The evidence on which we expect the future happiness of any individual must be found in his life; and that evidence we think was furnished abundantly by the subject of this memoir through a long course of piety and usefulness. After the sketch that has been given of his life, the cast of his mind and the leading traits of his character, may be readily perceived. There was perhaps no one quality, mental or moral, which made him conspicuous above every body else, and no one branch of learning or of business in which he excelled all other men—unless it was the business of *teaching*, in which, it is believed, he had few equals, and no superiors; but his excellence and consequently his usefulness consisted in a combination of qualities, physical, intellectual, and moral, which rendered him one of the most useful men of the age and country in which he lived. When in his prime his stature was above the medium size, being a little over six feet; his attitude erect and firm; and his frame muscular and vigorous. His constitution was not only sound and his health

uninterrupted, but his habits of business and of study kept all his powers of body and mind in constant and healthful exercise. His recreation was nothing more than a change of employment, as the study, which he occupied night and morning, was exchanged at the proper hour for the school room; in the evening that was exchanged for the meadow, the garden, or a visit to the sick; and when the day of rest came all were exchanged for the more important exercises of the pulpit. There was not only a habitual cheerfulness in his disposition and intercourse with society, but he had an exhaustless fund of humor. When a young man, the young people of his neighborhood dreaded his wit, though it was always of a pleasant kind; and a similar remark may be made respecting his congregations; but notwithstanding this propensity, it is said that *he never lost a friend*; for if he once gained a man's affections or confidence, if he was a man of principle, no alienation or change took place afterwards.

A physician in a neighboring county who had been one of his pupils, and had a very high regard for his character, used to say in his witty and jocose manner, that, if he were to meet "Old Domine" in heaven he would scare at him; and this was merely a singular way of expressing what was generally felt; for there was that about him which commanded the respect, not only of his scholars, but of all who were well acquainted with him; and the more intimate the acquaintance the more sincere was the respect which it inspired. Whether he had a mind which, under more favorable circumstances, would have made improvements in science or philosophy, and extended the boundaries of human knowledge, cannot now be known; for his time was too much occupied in communicating what he had acquired; but those who knew him well and were good judges, say that he had a capacity for almost every thing; for he could learn with great facility every thing he attempted; and what he once learned he never lost. His thirst for knowledge was great; and to acquire it he spared neither toil nor expense. He was generous almost to a fault; for while his price of tuition was low, \$10 or \$12 per annum, he often made no charge, especially for young men who were preparing for the ministry; and *generally they*

who came either to beg or borrow were not sent empty away. It is said that he was never known to be in a passion, to shew a revengeful spirit, or to lose his self possession ; but the most striking trait in his character, perhaps, was that of *overcoming evil with good* ; and so much was this a habit with him as to give rise and currency to the remark that no man ever did Dr. Caldwell an injury without receiving some expression of kindness in return. Such a man could not live in vain : *and he, being dead, yet speaketh.*

S E R M O N I.

THE CHARACTER AND DOOM OF THE SLUGGARD.

Prov. xii. 24.—BUT THE SLOTHFUL SHALL BE UNDER TRIBUTE.

Paying tribute or tax is an acknowledgement of subjection and dependence; and is opprobrious or not, according to the circumstances under which it is paid. When we pay a tax to the support of a government whose constitution we approve and in whose measures we have a voice, it is paid cheerfully; and then we are more than compensated by the personal security and by the facilities for improvement which it affords; but still it is an acknowledgement of dependence upon, or of subjection to, that government. When it is paid to a foreign government; and especially, if it be paid from compulsion, and not from choice, it is always considered as degrading. Thus the Jews considered the tribute which they paid at different periods of their history to the surrounding nations; and finally, to the Roman government. So all nations in all ages have viewed the payment of tribute by compulsion, whether it was paid to their own rulers, or to those of another nation; and this arises from that innate love of liberty which belongs to all men, as well as to their sense of justice and propriety; for the exaction from a people of a tribute more than they themselves, when properly informed, admit to be necessary to enable the government to give adequate protection to their persons and property, no matter by whom it is done, is felt to be a violation of justice; and the government which will make such exactions from downright avarice, or for ambitious purposes, is not guided by a fair appreciation of the rights of mankind, or by those benign principles which alone can render its operation acceptable and salutary to the governed.

When an individual is said to be under tribute, as in the text, the meaning is that he is in a degraded state of subjection to, and dependence upon, those around him; and such, we are here told, will be the condition of the sluggard. We are so constituted that vigorous and well directed exertion is necessary to the attainment of anything that is valuable; and all the powers we possess, bodily and mental, ought to be employed assiduously in pursuance of the end for which they were given. The powers with which we are endowed are various; but the employments for which they are required are also various; and it is not important in what way we are employed, provided it be at something that is right and useful. If we refuse to exercise these powers in the way in which it was designed we should exercise them, we must remain destitute of that which would be obtained by a proper industry;

and this neglect, and the consequent destitution, may be either partial or total. For example: a certain degree of bodily exercise is necessary to health; but if we neglect that exercise we must want the health and vigor which might otherwise be enjoyed. The acquisition of knowledge depends upon a diligent use of the means and the due exercise of our mental faculties; but if we refuse to take this course, we must remain in ignorance. Industry, as to the things of this world, is necessary to obtain the means of subsistence and the comforts of life; but if we refuse to labor, we must remain in poverty and wretchedness. We are surrounded by enemies and dangers of various kinds; and to avoid being overcome, both vigilance and efforts are necessary; but if we refuse to watch and to take the proper precautions, or to defend ourselves when attacked, captivity or ruin will be the certain consequence.

It has been said that the word which is rendered *slothful*, in the text, ought to be rendered *deceitful*, or *fraudulent*; but we need not detain you with any critical remarks in order to settle that point, as the two characters are very much alike; for we generally find that the deceitful and fraudulent are indolent too; and there are certainly some of the same elements in both. As it stands it answers better also to the antithesis in the first part of the verse. *The hand of the DILIGENT shall BEAR RULE; but the SLOTHFUL shall be under TRIBUTE.* Besides there are many other passages, both in the Old and New Testament, and especially in the book of Proverbs, of the same import, and about which there is no dispute.

A man may be so intent upon gain, or so absorbed in scientific or literary pursuits, or so engaged in something else that is lawful and even important in its nature, as to neglect his health, and, not only become the subject of debility and disease, but go down to a premature grave. The effect in this case is owing, not to indolence, but an imprudent or a too eager pursuit of the object; yet indolence will be followed by the same result; for in both cases the laws of our physical nature are violated in a similar way. We need not enquire whether there is any culpability in the former case; for that depends on circumstances, and is not necessary to our purpose. It is with the *sluggard* we have to do at present; and for him there is no apology. While he is impairing his health and shortening his days by his inactivity and sloth, he is gaining nothing in any other way, and must therefore be chargeable with his own misery and ruin. To say nothing of the injury to his health from inattention to cleanliness and from the want of fresh and wholesome air, which is very great, the laws of our physical existence require frequent and regular exercise; and without it the vitality of the system will languish and its energies become impaired. *As the door turneth upon his hinges, so doth the sluggard upon his bed*—turning from one side to the other, but still remaining in the same place. *The slothful hideth his hand in his bosom: It grieveth him to bring it again to his mouth*—that is, the slightest exertion is irksome to him; and he neglects, not only the muscular exertion necessary to health, but to make suitable provision for his nourishment. Such a man cannot enjoy the health and vigor of other people; nor have the same number of days to

live; for, as a matter of fact, we always find that those who live long upon the earth are people of regular and active habits.

If the sluggard commences in poverty he will remain poor; and if he commences rich he will become poor. He may desire wealth and comfort, but his desire killeth him; for "his hands refuse to labor." He may "covet greedily all the day long;" but, while "the righteous have enough and to spare," he is in want. While many a man, who began life poor, has become rich by honest but persevering industry, many a fine estate has been wasted by sloth and inattention. *The slothful man saith there is a lion in the way: a lion is in the streets,*—that is, in the very places where he ought to be at work, or attending to his business; and the amount of it is that he is ready to make any excuse, and will indulge his sloth upon any terms. The consequence is that, if he has a farm, it is in disorder, and becoming waste. *I went by the field of the slothful, and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding. And lo, it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles had covered the face thereof, and the stone wall thereof was broken down.* To an observing and reflecting man this was a source of instruction. *Then I saw, and considered it well: I looked upon it and received instruction.* The amount of it was, that while the man was saying to himself, *Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep,* his poverty was seen coming as *one that travelleth, and his want as an armed man.* If he is a tradesman, or a merchant, and neglects his business, his customers, his debts, or any thing belonging to his occupation, the same result will follow. Sloth is usually at the bottom of all negligence, disorder, or bad management in business; and there is more sloth among us, and more of the evils resulting from it, probably, than many of you have ever supposed.

But these are not all the evils, nor the worst evils to which the sluggard is subject; for those of a mental and moral kind are much more serious in their nature and their consequences. A certain amount of knowledge is necessary to a man's welfare, here and hereafter; and the more knowledge he has the better, if he makes a right use of it; for then his satisfaction and his usefulness will be in the same proportion. But even that amount of intelligence which will enable him to understand his own interest, and make him acquainted with the duties which he owes to God his Maker, and to his fellow beings, requires a diligent use of the means of knowledge, and much reflection on what he reads or acquires in any way. He may be very positive or dogmatical in his opinions, without being able to tell why he entertains them; and is positive just because he is ignorant. *The sluggard is wiser in his own conceit than seven men that can render a reason.* Seven was considered as the number of perfection among the Jews, and being in common use it was often employed by the inspired writers, as it was by the people to whom they wrote, to express the whole class of persons or objects to which it was applied; and by "seven wise men" was therefore meant all the wise men in the world. The sluggard thinks he is wiser than any body else; and this state of mind, in addition to his aversion to any proper exercise of his mental powers, keeps

him in ignorance. While the due exercise of all our powers, mental and physical, is the only condition on which our present and future welfare can be secured, of which we are expressly informed by the great and good Being who gave us existence, and the proof of which is manifest every where around us; he who will not comply with the laws of his being and fulfil the only condition on which his welfare is attainable, must become a certain prey to "all the ills that flesh is heir to;" for if he is not aware of these evils how can he escape them? If he is ignorant, how can he know in what they consist, or in what direction they will come? or if he does not know the things that make for his peace, how can he seek them, though ever so anxious? Knowledge, like every thing else that is good, is the reward of industry; and if we would obtain it, we must prize it above gold and silver, and seek for it as for hidden treasure. The slothful man cannot know in what his true interest consists; nor become properly acquainted with his duties to God and to his fellow man.— Of course he cannot answer the end of his creation by honoring God and being useful in the world; and as he contributes nothing to the welfare of the community in which he lives, by bearing his portion of its burdens, or by aiding to support those principles and to carry out those plans of improvement on which its good order and prosperity depend, he must be despised by all the wise and good. The sluggard, as a worthless being, destitute of merit, and doing no good to himself or any body else, is as really an object of reprobation as the miser, the spendthrift, or the highway robber; and the blessings which he foregoes and the evils which he brings upon himself, here, are but forerunners of the heavier losses which he will sustain, and the more insufferable woes which he will bring upon himself hereafter; for the unprofitable servant will be bound hand and foot, and cast into outer darkness where no ray of comfort can ever cast even a momentary radiance over the gloom, and where there is weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth forever. The evils which he is bringing upon himself here are those of privation and of suffering: they are physical, intellectual, and moral; and increasing, as they are, from day to day, both in number and degree, they can be regarded only as the beginning of sorrows.

We have seen that while the sluggard is impairing his health and shortening his days, he is wasting his estate, or depriving himself of blessings and privileges which he might otherwise enjoy; and is not only acting in a manner very similar to that of the most prodigal spendthrift, but is pursuing towards himself, and perhaps others also who may be dependent on him, a perfectly suicidal course. God hath declared that "he is brother to him that is a great waster;" and that he "who sleeps in summer shall beg in harvest," exposing himself to poverty, shame, and misery.

As he will not disturb his ease that he may become acquainted with his duty to God, or learn upon what terms the divine favor may be obtained, and what will be the consequence of neglecting to comply with those terms, neither will he take the trouble to ascertain what is due to him from his fellowmen, or what he owes to them. Hence being deficient in his duty to his God, his king

and his country, he not only becomes an easy prey to every bold intruder who is either desirous of gain or greedy of power, but is exposed to all the evils, of whatever kind, that can come upon him from those towards whom he has violated his obligations. While he is spending or losing, by his ignorance and sloth, the inheritance that has been handed down from his predecessors, perhaps through a number of generations, with all the temporal comforts which it might have afforded, or is neglecting to acquire the means of comfort and respectability which a kind Providence has placed within the reach of his industry, the ambitious and the covetous, those tyrants of the human race and pests of society, view him as an object fit for their purposes, and mark him for their prey, believing that his ignorance will screen them from his notice, and that his indolence will make him perfectly submissive, or prevent that vigilance and exertion on his part which are necessary to his safety. Thus they are encouraged to make the experiment; and they too often succeed. Here your own memories may easily suggest examples, both in public and in private life, in which the weak, the ignorant, and the slothful were out-witted and imposed on, defrauded and subjugated, by some unprincipled villain or other, who was destitute alike of honor, humanity, and every thing else that could entitle him to the respect and affections of his fellow men; and of such the world is full.—But as the sluggard is so reckless as to destroy his soul, body, and estate, it is almost a matter of course that he will so undervalue his civil and religious liberties as to lose them in the same way.

Were he careful to examine into the rights of society and to ascertain what each individual parts with, for the sake of the government, the aggregate of which is the royal prerogative, and is committed into the hands of the supreme magistrate to be exercised for the public good, he would easily see when his civil liberties were secure, or when endangered by the attempts of ambitious and designing men; but he does not consider that the king, as such, is created, protected, and supported by the State; and that all his acts should therefore promote the public good. While the sluggard continues ignorant of these leading principles, no wonder if he is easily awed into slavery, stoops his shoulders to the burden, becomes a servant to tribute, and yields to all the unjust demands of usurped prerogative.

In acting thus, however, he is an enemy, not only to himself, but also to his children. Can this be possible! you will say. Can he divest himself of humanity! Can he lay aside the tender feelings of a parent! Can he forget the civil interests of his children! Can he expose his helpless infants to the lawless demands of tyranny, and to all the cruelties of despotism! Can he be so infatuated as to ruin his tender offspring by surrendering their liberty and property into the hands of those who exercise usurped prerogative!—I would say it was impossible, if incontestable facts did not prove the contrary. Who are capable of such blackened crimes! who can deliberately ruin himself and his children at once! the *sluggard*; and whoever else may do the same thing from other principles or in other ways, the sluggard is sure to do

it, in whom ignorance, disregard of moral obligation, and a supreme love of ease are inseparably united.

Should such a monster of human society appear at a time when the royal prerogative is extended beyond the bounds of reason, or the just limits of the constitution, would he act the champion in the cause of liberty, bravely withstand the shocks of an arbitrary and tyrannical government, and bid defiance to all the illicit requirements of despotism? Would he vindicate the cause of political truth, and firmly resolve to transmit to his infant sons the fair inheritance of liberty? The answers to these questions I beseech you to conceal. Let not the friends of the constitution, or the "Sons of Liberty," know that such an enemy to the common interests of mankind anywhere exists, lest their patriotic zeal should raise undue resentment and cause it to burst upon his devoted head—conceal, I pray you, conceal it from his unoffending family:—add not infamy and disgrace to their bondage and oppression. It will be enough, and more than enough, for them to answer the demands of tyranny, and the lawless requisitions of an unprincipled minister, if, for lack of courage and firmness, the chains of slavery should be now fastened upon us. Alas, they must groan out their days in lamentation and wretchedness, suffering whatever a corrupt minister, or ministerial tools, can invent; and tamely surrender all that is most dear and valuable to the demands of avarice and the menaces of power. Let them not know that their bondage and degradation must be ascribed to the ignorance and indolence of their progenitors, who, from cowardice or the love of ease, tamely surrendered all that was their own and all that should have been their children's, into the hands of a popish minister or an infatuated senate. This would sink their sinking spirits still lower, and add infamy and shame to poverty and oppression. Let oblivion spread her dark veil over their ignoble principles and unmanly conduct, who, for a little ease, or the hope of securing a trifling estate, or some mere selfish advantage of comparatively small value and short duration, would resign their own and their children's liberty, overturn the constitution, and expose themselves, with their posterity, born or unborn, to the griping paw of arbitrary power.

When men of this character, ambitious and unprincipled, are a majority in the State, or have the control of public affairs, what unjust prosecutions, what shipwrecks of property, what fines, confiscations, and imprisonments, the black history of some former inauspicious reigns fully manifest. I refer to the time when a set of slothful and unprincipled wretches disgraced the British Senate, suffering the Council Table, Star Chamber, and High Commissioners to engross almost the whole power of making and executing the laws—at which time they enforced their loans, benevolences, and ship-money, by illegal prosecutions, intolerable fines, and long imprisonments, to the ruin or serious injury of the nation; for vast multitudes of the most industrious, upright, and valuable citizens left the country; and with all classes there was a want of confidence in the government;—while the disregard of moral honesty and good faith manifested by the men in power, and the temptations held out to the am-

bitious and covetous to stifle conscience and trample on the rights of justice and humanity, produced a general deterioration of moral principle.

The sin and danger of sloth, in relation to our civil liberty, or of yielding to the unjust demands of arbitrary power, is further evident from the fact that those in high life, or who administer the government, have all the allurements by which to turn the active spirits of the age, and cause them to act in concert with themselves. Some they bring over by promoting them to high stations; some by pains and penalties; some are influenced by the apprehension of not being able to obtain justice and of losing what little they have; some are brought into subjection and held fast through a kind of depravity in their understanding, not distinguishing between reasonable taxation and oppression; while others seem to have so much infidelity in their make that they will not believe what all mankind assert, and will hardly believe the testimony of their own senses.

But the sluggard from mere indolence, or from an aversion to exerting himself in any way, will not observe these matters, nor inquire into what is conducive to his own and his children's safety and happiness. He would rather stoop his shoulders and take on him the whole load of oppression and slavery, with all their train of privations and hardships. Were these evils confined to the persons and families of such indolent wretches it would be more tolerable; but, alas! posterity, in all its extent and in its distant generations, may feel the burden, made more insupportable by repeated additions.—France and Spain, yea, all the enslaved nations of Europe, can bear witness that it was the sluggish disposition of their remote predecessors, and the inactivity of succeeding ages, which introduced, increased, and perfected their present bondage—a bondage which makes them to this day groan under a load that it is not likely they or their children will be able to throw off.

Had our forefathers in England given up the cause of liberty and indulged in sloth, or inglorious ease, when popish recusants, assisted by the French, and headed by an angry and disappointed Prince, attempted our subjugation and ruin, we should have been under the domination of popery, and exposed to all its persecuting tenets;—to slavery, and all its poverty and wo. Attempts have been often made, since the reformation, to introduce popery and slavery into the British nation; but they were always resolutely and successfully withstood. Charles I, prompted and sustained by his alliance with France, the depravity of his understanding, and his uxorious obedience to his popish queen, encouraged popery in his kingdom; and those who professed the protestant religion were both oppressed and persecuted. At this time the British parliament was adorned by men of honesty, zeal and activity, who effected such prodigious revolutions in church and state, as were the surprise and wonder of all Europe. When James II abdicated the throne of England, and raised an army of papists and confederate French, to establish popery and slavery, the British nation did not betray their religion or their liberty by an inglorious submission, nor did they desert the mighty cause of truth and freedom through sloth or cowardice. They valiantly repelled the force and fury of his attacks;

and fearlessly proclaimed the prince and princess of Orange the king and queen of Great Britain. Thus our forefathers, or many of them, sacrificed at Londonderry and Enniskillen, their lives, that they might hand down to us the fair inheritance of liberty and the protestant religion; and in the whole course of their conduct in the support and defence of their rights, they have set us an example which ought not to be disregarded.—But the sluggard gives up his all; all that is his own, and all that should be his children's and their children's after them, into the hands of ambitious, arbitrary, and wicked men,—in consequence of which, he and they, so far as he is at all concerned to prevent it, are exposed to unremitted slavery, poverty, and distress.

If the sluggard be thus an enemy to all above him, to all around him, and to all that will come after him, as well as to himself, in soul, body, and estate, he ought to be well observed in every well regulated community; for he despises and tramples upon the laws of God and the most salutary institutions of men—institutions that have been handed down, as invaluable and sacred, from father to son, through many generations. Among these we may mention that of *trial by juries*, which is a very ancient institution or usage in Great Britain; for it seems to have been known to the first Britons, was practised by the Saxons, and has been confirmed since the invasion of the Normans by *Magna Charta*, and by continual usage. Trial by juries, however, is not only of great antiquity, but is essential to the safety and happiness of every British subject, and, in fact, of all mankind. Juries are England's *Ephori and Tribuni*; and are the living bulwark of the laws and the liberties of the people. If we look at those nations that are destitute of this constitutional or essential safeguard, we find that the condition of the inhabitants is miserable, being either entirely subjected to the arbitrary will of tyrants who plunder, dismember, or slay them from mere caprice, according to their humor, often without any provocation, and merely to gratify a savage cruelty; or at least we find them under such laws as render their lives, liberties, and estates liable to be disposed of at the discretion of men acting as judges, who are perfect strangers, oftener mercenary than otherwise, and the mere creatures of the royal prerogative; sometimes malicious and oppressive; and frequently partial and corrupt. But such has been the patriotism, prudence, and activity of our ancestors, that they have never suffered the most arbitrary prince, or princes, that ever swayed the British sceptre, to destroy this invaluable privilege; nor can it ever be destroyed until the constitution, and the liberties of the people, which are now secured by it, are wrested from them and trampled under foot, which can never be done, except from their own supineness or mismanagement. If Britons, when under the influence of heathen superstition, or in the ignorance and thralldom of popery, were thus jealous of their rights, and maintained the privilege of being tried by their peers, or by a jury of the wisest and best men to be found in the vicinity, as the only means of securing their lives and fortunes against the arbitrary, partial, and corrupt judges, would it not be a blot on the escutcheon of Britons or the descendants of Britons, professing the protestant religion, and enjoying

so much light, now to give up, from sloth or cowardice, a privilege so valuable that every other of merely a civil kind can hardly be brought into the comparison. The sluggard who gives up such an important branch of the constitution is worse than a thief or a robber; for the one takes from you only what he needs, or can take away at present, but the other undermines the constitution; opens the door for tyranny and oppression; and exposes all around him, and all that will come after him, as well as himself, to the paw of arbitrary and despotic power.

The consequences of sloth are therefore most pernicious; and the sluggard, being a perfect nuisance to society, must be under the frowns of his Maker, and despised by all good men; for he will not unite with the people of God and the friends of humanity, either to procure or defend their common rights and privileges.—This seems to have been the case with the inhabitants of the city *Meroz*; and God expressed in the most forcible manner his displeasure at their indolence and cowardice. When Jabin, one of the kings of Canaan, who reigned in Hazor, had subjugated Israel, and mightily oppressed them for the space of twenty years, Deborah, a prophetess, being influenced by the spirit of the Lord, called for Barak out of Kedesh-Naphtali; and ordered him to go to Mount Tabor, and take with him ten thousand men out of the tribes of Naphtali and Zebulon. Accordingly Barak issued a general proclamation for these two tribes to meet him at Kedesh; and they obeyed, except the inhabitants of this city *Meroz*, who, it seems, chose rather to be under the tyranny and oppression of that cruel prince, Jabin, than to join with God and his people in vindicating their rights and maintaining their common privileges. God, that he might shew his indignation against those sluggish or timid wretches who would not join in the common cause of liberty, nor unite in defending those rights which he had originally given them, and which, though lost by their pusillanimity, he was about to restore, provided they shewed themselves worthy of such a favor, inspired the prophetess Deborah, and Barak the chief commander of the expedition, with that celebrated song, recorded by the divine historian, in which there is this remarkable passage. *Curse ye Meroz, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty.*

There seems to be a dreadful similarity between our sluggard and the inhabitants of this devoted city, both in the *measure* and in the *manner* of sinning. They regarded neither the command of God, nor their own or their children's happiness; and preferred their present ease to the good of the community, the cause of truth, and the welfare of posterity. They seemed to despise, or disregard, all that was above them, all that was around them, and all that might come after them, just like the person mentioned in our text, who shall be under tribute. If this be so, may we not say, without any violence to the sacred text, *curse ye the sluggard, saith the angel of the Lord, curse him bitterly, because he will not come up to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against those mighty oppressors who break down the sacred enclosures of the constitution, and make inroads upon the life, liberty;*

and property of the subject; who take away or mutilate our charters that have been solemnly ratified by British sovereigns and guaranteed by the plighted faith of government; who take away or deprive us of the right of trial by juries, which is indeed the Palladium of English liberty; who tax us and take our money, without our consent; and who extend the courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty beyond their ancient and proper limits.—Thus the sluggard is an object of execration every where, and at all times; and the evils of his conduct attend him in all his interests and relations, in public and in private; yea in every circumstance or situation of life, his way is as a hedge of thorns. He is cursed in his relations, as being numbered among the profligate and profane, and nearly connected with the most abandoned spendthrift; for *he is brother to him that is a great waster*. He shall be cursed with *groundless fears and apprehensions*, when called to the discharge of any necessary or important duty: *There is a lion without: I shall be slain in the streets*.—He shall be cursed in his *possessions*; for it is manifest to every one who takes a view of the sluggard's field, and of the vineyard of the man void of understanding, when he sees its whole surface covered with thorns and nettles, and its wall broken down, that poverty shall overtake the owner as one that travelleth, and that famine shall seize him as an armed man. He shall be cursed in his *dwelling*; for, *by much sloth the building decayeth*. He shall be cursed as a *filio-de-se*, a person who is deliberately guilty of suicide, because he neglects the ordinary means of preserving his life and securing his best interest. *The desire of the slothful killeth him; for his hands refuse to labor*. He shall be cursed of God forever: Thou wicked, slothful, and unprofitable servant—you must take up your everlasting abode in the blackness of darkness, where the excruciating pain inflicted upon you by divine vengeance, will be productive of eternal weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth. But why need we attempt to mention in detail the numberless evils—the poverty, shame, and remorse—the contempt, misery, and despair—that he shall suffer in his person and character, here and hereafter? All the curses in the book of God are levelled against him; and they will, ere long, break upon him like a bursting cloud. The united execrations of the present, and of coming ages, will render him truly contemptible; and the gnawing reflections of a guilty conscience, will make him completely and forever miserable.

After this description of the sluggard's character, and of the complicated train of evils which will pursue him, in soul and body, through time and eternity, blasting his name and character here, and involving the ruin of his hopes hereafter, you are perhaps saying, If this picture be just, or if the sluggard's character be so odious and his punishment so terrible, we will not indulge in sloth ourselves, nor connive at it in others. These are good resolutions, and may be a good beginning; but these distempered times call for more than resolutions. You know that some years ago the British Parliament took a notion to be arbitrary; and proceeded to pass acts which were unknown to the constitution, alarming to the wise and prudent in Great Britain, and ruin-

ous or oppressive to their American subjects. They sent out their odious Stamp Act; but it could find no entrance, although it was said there, that *it would execute itself*. It was repealed, but the design of taxing these colonies, without their consent, was not laid aside. Probably they saw that American virtue would not readily yield to such arbitrary measures; and that therefore more time and deliberation were necessary; but in the mean time there was laid up a decree of the Parliament for future use, viz: "That they *can* make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever." They seem to be maliciously zealous to obtain domination over us,—a proof of which was given in the case of New York, whose legislation was suspended by an act of Parliament, for a supposed offence against the crown. Thus they officiously stepped in and stripped his majesty of his prerogative, that they might usurp authority over us. They proceeded to lay a tax on a variety of things, though, with respect to most of them, it was again repealed; but the duty on tea still remaining, they resolved that it should be paid; and sent large quantities of it into various parts of this continent. Some was sent back; some stored up; and some destroyed, as at Boston. But the tea being the property of the East India company, the destruction of it was a trespass; and the perpetrators of the act were liable by the common law. Those concerned in that riot, however, were not apprehended, nor was the town of Boston called upon to deliver up the offenders. The justice of Parliament was invoked in this trifling matter; and it will surprise the less civilized nations to learn that it was granted. Their armies and fleets were sent, in virtue of this inhuman law, bearing date after the trespass at Boston was committed, and exposing the innocent with the guilty, to the most complicated distress that ministerial vengeance could invent, or that a British Parliament, filled with rage and the insatiable thirst of power, could inflict.

The sense of the United Colonies was taken on this important matter.—We set forth our grievances: We petitioned his majesty in a most humble manner to intercede with the Parliament on our behalf. Our petitions were rejected, while our grievances were increased by acts still more oppressive and by schemes still more malicious, till we are reduced to the dreadful alternative either of immediate and unconditional submission, or of resistance by force of arms. We have therefore come to that trying period in our history in which it is manifest that the Americans must either stoop under a load of the vilest slavery, or resist their imperious and haughty oppressors; but what will follow must be of the utmost importance to every individual of these United Colonies; and should be the hearty concern of every honest American.—What will be recorded on the following page of our history must depend very much on our conduct; for if we act like the sluggard, refuse, from the mere love of ease and self indulgence, to make the sacrifices and efforts which the circumstances require, or, from cowardice and pusillanimity, shrink from dangers and hardships, we must continue in our present state of bondage and oppression, while that bondage and oppression may be increased until life itself will become a burden; but if we stand up manfully and unitedly in defence of

our rights, appalled by no dangers and shrinking from no toils or privations, we shall do valiantly. Our foes are powerful and determined on conquest; but our cause is good; and, in the strength of the Lord, who is mightier than all, we shall prevail. If we fail to do our duty in this momentous crisis, bondage and oppression, with all their unnumbered and interminable woes, will be entailed upon us; but if we act our part well, as men and as christians, in defence of truth and righteousness, we may, with the help of the Lord, obtain a complete and final deliverance from the power that has oppressed us, or at least secure our rights, and attain a prosperity and happiness which no other nation has ever enjoyed, or even dared to hope; for then the consciences of men being unawed or unbiassed by human authority, and the truth of God being unadulterated and unfettered, the gospel will have free course; and we may hope that truth and righteousness will prevail until the predictions of the inspired writers, however vivid and glowing, shall be all fulfilled.

If I could portray to you, in any thing like their reality, the results of your conduct in this great crisis in your political destiny; or if I could describe with any tolerable degree of correctness, the feelings which you will have of self approbation, joy, and thankfulness, or, of self reproach, shame and regret, according to the part you act—whether as men and as patriots, or as cowards and traitors—I should have no difficulty in persuading you to shake off your sloth, and stand up manfully in a firm, united, and persevering defence of your liberties; but I would hope that enough has been said—enough in reason—enough for my purpose; and we expect that none of you will be wanting in the discharge of your duty, or prove unworthy of a cause which is so important in itself, and which every patriot and every christian should value more than wealth, and hold as dear as his life.

S E R M O N II.

THE DOCTRINE OF UNIVERSAL SALVATION UNSCRIPTURAL.

Psalm. i. 5.—THE UNGODLY SHALL NOT STAND IN THE JUDGMENT.

The doctrine of universal restoration, lately published, and by some adopted in this country, has been the occasion of the present discourse. The Presbytery of Orange, having taken this matter into consideration, directed its members to prepare, each of them, a discourse on the subject, and write it out in full. In obedience to this injunction, I have, in common with other members, endeavored to devote to it as much time and attention as my circumstances, and my regular avocations would permit; and my views of this pernicious doctrine are now presented in the form which the Presbytery directed.

Some of you may be ready to say, however, that I might have chosen a text more to the purpose; and I admit it; but the reason why I did not was this: a number having been appointed to write on the same subject, and taking it for granted that the greater part would select such passages as were most appropriate, I have on purpose passed them over, and left them for those who were more capable of doing them justice.

This Psalm has generally been considered as a kind of preface or introduction to the whole book; and if a preface is intended to make the reader acquainted, in a few words, with the subject matter of the book to which it belongs, the first Psalm may perhaps be considered in that light; for we are here told very briefly, but very forcibly, in what true happiness consists, and by what course it is to be obtained; and, on the other hand, we have set before us, by way of contrast, and in language equally concise and forcible, the unhappy condition and the miserable end of those who reject the counsels here given and pursue their own course.

But it seems that there is a gradation, or regular progress, in both the characters here described, which is worthy of notice; and which, when properly considered, gives the text a force of meaning that otherwise it would not have. They are first *ungodly*, having no correct views of God and no right feelings towards him. Then they are *sinner*s, *walking* in the ways of transgression, actively engaged in committing iniquity,—and finally they are *scorners*, sitting in their seats, perfectly at ease, and scorning alike the invitations and warnings, the promises and threatenings of heaven. These shall be all driven away, and shall not stand in the judgment; they shall have no place in the congregation of the righteous; and their way shall perish. But let it be remembered that it is the *ungodly*—those who are only in the first stage

of their progress, and who stand fair perhaps before the world, that are represented in the text as not being able to *stand in the judgment*.

The words *stand* and *fall*, when applied to moral subjects, are metaphorical; and, as used in the text, they may refer to the process of winnowing wheat, mentioned in the preceding verse; or they may have an allusion to those contests of muscular strength and agility, termed *wrestling*, in which he who *stands* is conqueror, while he who *falls* is conquered.—*Not to stand in the judgment* is to be condemned to suffer according to the law by which he is judged.

In speaking further on this subject I shall consider,

I. The **RULE** according to which the last or general Judgment will proceed.

II. The **JUDGE** who will act on this solemn occasion.

III. Attempt to shew, by way of inference, that the ungodly, when tried by this rule and before this Judge, cannot stand.

I. According to this method we are to consider the **RULE** according to which the last or general judgment will proceed.—We need not take time to inquire whether there will be, in any respect, a different rule for those who lived before the law and those who lived under the law; or for those who were made acquainted with the gospel, and those who had nothing to guide them but the glimmerings of reason and the dim light of nature; nor whether the condition of the heathen, in reference to this judicial proceeding, will be at all affected by the gospel. Well meaning people differ in opinion on this point; for while some think that, as the gospel was never sent to them, it cannot in any way affect their future condition; others believe that although the offers of pardon were never formally made to them and no messenger was ever sent to make known to them the terms of salvation, yet as it was always within their reach, if they had possessed a sincere love for the truth, it must have some bearing on their final account; but these are things which, not being suggested by the text, would be foreign from my purpose; and we know that the Judge of all the earth will do right.

The scriptures will certainly be the rule for all who have had them; and the moral laws or precepts which they contain, being founded in the nature and relations of man, and the immutable difference between right and wrong, must be to all men the standard of moral rectitude. Besides, Having been originally given for that purpose they must constitute the rule by which the judgment will proceed in relation to the whole human race; for they are the measure of holiness; and without holiness no man can enter the kingdom of heaven. As this is not denied, so far as we know, by the advocates of universal salvation in this country, we may fairly take it for granted on the present occasion; and may therefore proceed to notice the *character* of these laws.

1. They are equitable, and calculated to promote the highest welfare of mankind; or, in the language of the apostle, they are *holy, just, and good*.—They are holy; for they require holy thoughts, holy words, and holy actions. They forbid every thing that is contrary to the perfections of God; and enjoin every thing that is pure and holy, or that has a tendency to promote holiness

in ourselves or others. They are just ; for they require nothing but what is equitable, or what is fairly due from us to God our Maker and to our fellow beings : the precepts are just, and the penalties are just : all the counsels, invitations, and warnings are reasonable and just ; and therefore they not only illustrate the purity and rectitude of the divine character, but are necessary to the good order and safety of God's intelligent kingdom. Moreover : They are *good*—calculated to produce nothing but happiness ; and true happiness never can be enjoyed except in obedience to them.—Every precept and every penalty ;—all the rewards and punishments promised or threatened in the sacred book, are but so many expressions of the divine purity and goodness ; and if they were to have their full and appropriate influence on the hearts and lives of all mankind, they would produce a state of harmony and blessedness in delightful approximation to that of the New Jerusalem.

2. They take notice of the imperfect rights of men, declaring that God will have mercy and not sacrifice.

3. They extend to the motives and ends that influence human actions.

4. They extend to all the relations that men sustain ; and to every department of the social and business intercourse of life.

They are therefore perfect, and vastly more salutary than any that are of human origin ; and in proportion to their excellence, the extent of their operations, and the unhappy consequences of not observing them, must be the guilt of transgression. What is the amount of that guilt, or the desert of the transgressor, is not for us to determine ; for, in the nature of the case, God must be the interpreter of his own laws, and of their penalties too. Now if we understand his language aright, the punishment of the impenitent transgressor will be eternal, or those who cannot stand in the judgment will be doomed to an endless state of wretchedness and despair ; for according to the law itself, in its most obvious or liberal meaning, the sentence will be final, and they must be left without hope ; but as the whole Bible must be regarded as an explanation from God himself, of the meaning of the law, and of the import of its penalty, it may be well for us to take up a few particular passages ; and, as we go along, make such observations on them as the case may seem to require.

The first we shall notice is found in Ezekiel, xviii, 4. *The soul that sinneth, it shall die.* Here we may inquire what kind of a death a soul can die, which, by the determination of its Creator, is to live forever. In answer to this inquiry we observe that the death of any being, or of any thing that has life, always bears a direct proportion to the life which it has received, or to the dignity that God has conferred upon it. For example. A vegetable can lose only the principle of vegetation ; and an animal, the powers of animal nature, in consequence of which it is reduced to the class of unorganized matter. It may be further observed that, in vegetable and animal natures, death does not destroy or annihilate one particle of matter ; but only deprives them of that dignity which God had conferred upon them, and by which they were raised, for a time, above the common earth on which we tread. Now

to understand what is meant by the death of a *spirit*, we must consider the honor and dignity which God has given to its existence.

We find throughout creation, so far as it comes within our observation, a regular and beautiful gradation, in this respect, from the unorganized lump of earth up to the most perfect forms of vegetable and animal life. We see manifested every where a complete unity of design, but an endless variety in the structure, form, and other attributes of the different parts which compose the entire system. From this unity and variety of which we are speaking, and which appears in all the known works of God, we might conclude that a similar variety would be found to exist in the moral world, or in the dignity which God has conferred on spirits; and what we would be led from analogy to expect, the Scriptures inform us is the fact; for they not only assure us of an order of intellectual beings,—to which our race belongs,—altogether above the tribes of irrational animals, and subject to a corresponding destiny of weal or wo, but that, in this order of beings, there are many gradations; and that dominions, principalities, and powers surround the divine throne; but this diversity of power, wisdom, holiness, &c., or in whatever their dignity and happiness consists, is certainly owing to the bounty and goodness of God conferred upon them. Then, by the death of such a creature, or such a spirit, is not meant its ceasing to exist, but its being deprived of that bounty and goodness which the Creator had at first conferred upon it, and not essential to its nature.

Thus far we have considered abstractly what death is; and in this sense death may constitute the punishment of loss; but it must be remembered that the passage before us gives no intimation of a recovery of this loss; and the very term *death*, so far as we understand it, or know any thing about that which it designates, seems to imply that the loss cannot be recovered:—it certainly cannot, unless by the power and goodness of the Almighty; but whether such is his purpose or not will be considered hereafter.

The next passage to which we ask your attention is Mat. xxv. 46.—*And these shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal.* It will be admitted that God deals with his creatures on such principles of fairness and equity as preclude the possibility of their ever having it to say that he deceived them, or told them what was not strictly true. It will also be admitted, we presume, that, as a revelation was given to warn us of our danger, and inform us how we might escape it, the language in which it was communicated would not be equivocal, nor calculated either to lull people into a fatal security, or to torment them with groundless fears; but if this be admitted, it is difficult to conceive by what ingenuity the passage before us can be reconciled with the doctrine of universal restoration, or with the limited duration of the punishment to be inflicted on the finally impenitent.

The Greek word, (*kolasis*,) which is translated *punishment*, is truly emphatical, and expressive of whatever kind or degree of punishment can be inflicted on the children of men. The word, (*aionion*,) rendered EVERLASTING, expresses the *duration* of the punishment, which, we say and believe, will be

absolutely *without end*. Those who have adopted the doctrine of universal restoration say that there will come a period when all shall be delivered from the torments below. This they attempt, not to prove by fair argument, but to maintain by ardent declamation on the infinite love of God and his superlative goodness to the race of man. Granting his love to be infinite, which we are not disposed to controvert, are not all his other attributes also infinite? If so, infinite love must harmonize with infinite justice; for if infinite love could be exercised without infinite justice, it would become infinite injustice. The word which is translated *everlasting* and *eternal*, being the same in the original, is used to express the duration of the saints' happiness as well as the duration of the punishment due to the wicked; and if it has a limited signification in the one case, no reason can be given why it should not in the other. According to all the principles of sound interpretation the word must have the same meaning in both places, because there is nothing in the context nor in the nature of the case to limit or modify that meaning; and therefore, if it expresses a limited duration in the punishment of the wicked, it must teach the same in relation to the happiness of the righteous, which is at war with all our ideas of the goodness and faithfulness of the divine Being, as well as the provisions made for our salvation and held forth in the gospel.

We lay no stress on the *etymology* of the word; for that might give rise to a great deal of critical discussion, and it is not necessary to my purpose; but that the happiness of the righteous will be absolutely eternal there can be no doubt, if it is in the power of language to make it certain; for it is expressed in every variety of form which the Greek language, with all its copiousness and great power of combination, admitted. For example: *It is said, They shall go out no more forever*; and again, *Neither can they die any more*. Every one who is acquainted with the Greek language knows that these expressions, especially when viewed in connexion with others of an indirect kind, though no less forcible, put the matter to rest, in relation to the righteous, if language can do it; but then they make the passage under consideration, keeping its connexion properly in view, equally conclusive respecting the punishment of the wicked.

Again. If it signify a limited duration, as it must do, provided the punishment of the impenitent transgressor is not to be eternal; and if that limited time or duration cannot be ascertained, then it will follow that all the blessings and curses in the volume of inspiration are vague and indetermined; and neither the transgressors of the divine law, nor those who, in obedience to it, walk humbly before God, can know any thing certain or definite, as to the results of redemption, or the final destiny of the moral world. There are other expressions, however, on this subject of similar import, and corroborative of the interpretation which we have given to the one under consideration. In the 41st verse of this chapter the judge is represented as saying to the wicked, *Depart from me ye cursed into EVERLASTING fire*, where the word rendered *everlasting* is the same as in the passage we have been considering; and this everlasting fire is said to have been *prepared for the devil and his angels*. In

the parallel place, Mark ix. 43-48, it is said to be *unquenchable*; and those who are cast into it are represented as ever living to feel its power. *It is better for thee*, said the Saviour, *to enter into life maimed than having two hands to be cast into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.*

But the word which is rendered *everlasting* in reference to the punishment of the wicked is also applied to things which we cannot suppose to be limited in their duration. It is applied to the *heavenly state*. *The things which are not seen are ETERNAL or everlasting.*—2 Cor. iv. 18. *But the God of all grace who hath called us unto his ETERNAL glory*; and, what seems to put the matter beyond dispute, it is applied to the divine Being, in various forms and connexions. Thus it is applied to the Holy Spirit—Heb. ix. 14. *How much more shall the blood of Christ who through the ETERNAL Spirit offered himself to God, &c.* All these expressions we suppose signify continual existence or duration. If not, how are those ages to be measured during which the wicked are to remain in Tophet? Not by the sun, or moon, or stars that now mark the lapse of time; for these will have been burned up in the general conflagration, or will have passed away, before the final sentence is pronounced. Time is measured by equable motion; but we have no account of any such bodies in motion for the measurement of time in the other world.

The next passage we quote is in Rev. xiv. 11. *And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever.* The preceding verses describe the *character* of those who were punished. They worshipped the beast and his image. The *mode* of their punishment is also described: it was with fire and brimstone; but whether this is to be understood literally or figuratively we shall not stop to inquire, as it does not affect the argument. Another circumstance is mentioned: they were punished in *the presence of the angels*, and in *the presence of the Lamb*; and the word which we have quoted express the *duration* of this punishment. The words in the original (*ais aionas aionon*) are the same or nearly the same with the one we have been considering; but in its substantive form and repeated,—a form of expression which is common in the original languages of the Bible, and seems to have been intended to express the meaning of the word in its fullest extent. The *Holy of Holies*, or as it is sometimes expressed in the translation, the *Most Holy place*, is a similar form of expression; and it meant that the part of the temple thus designated was to be regarded as perfectly holy, and that no kind of impurity was to be admitted into, or profanation offered to it. When Paul said he was an *Hebrew of the Hebrews*, which is another expression of the same form, he meant to assert that he was a Hebrew in the fullest sense of the term; and when the Apostle John said of the wicked *that the smoke of their torment ascendeth up FOREVER AND EVER*, he meant to assure us that their punishment will be eternal in the full and absolute sense of the word.

The Saviour said, Mat. xii. 32, *Whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever speaketh against the*

Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the world to come. Here then is one class of sinners that shall never be forgiven; and therefore there cannot be a *universal* restoration of the lapsed race of Adam. But say the advocates of this doctrine, when men have paid the utmost farthing they shall be discharged. True, when they have satisfied the justice of God it would be unjust to detain them longer; but the justice of God, or his *law*, which, in this case, is the same thing, requires that they should suffer through endless existence, or, as the scriptures express it, *forever and ever*. It is said, however, that the word rendered *everlasting*, or *forever*, frequently means a limited period, and that it certainly ought to have this meaning when it relates to the future sufferings of men, especially as the final happiness of all tend so much more to illustrate the divine mercy. If justice and mercy are attributes of equal extent; and if the one cannot be glorified or exalted at the expense of the other, we must admit that the law which threatens every violator of it with eternal misery, is not inconsistent with mercy. Merciful laws and merciful actions are not always of equal extent. Merciful or benign laws have respect to the whole community, and are formed with a view to the general good; and are wise and wholesome in proportion as they are calculated to protect the rights, secure the peace, and advance the comfort and welfare of those who are subject to their operation. But they can be of no avail, or can be productive of no beneficial results, unless they are strictly enforced; yet the *act* of punishing an offender would not be regarded as an act of mercy in itself, or so far as the subject of punishment was concerned, though it might be very beneficial in its results, and even necessary to the safety and welfare of the community at large.

The punishment of offenders according to their deserts is acknowledged and felt by all to be exceedingly desirable; for a state of anarchy is a state of extreme wretchedness; and in civil society it often becomes necessary to inflict the very highest punishment that is in the power of man. But if the violation of human laws exposes the offender to capital punishment, or to such a death as animal nature can die, is it not reasonable to suppose that the man, who, as an intelligent being, and a subject of God's moral government, will violate his laws, reject the Lord and Saviour, and commit the highest or most flagrant crimes that are in his power, even after years of forbearing, warning and remonstrance, must deserve such a death as a spirit can die? Or if a man may justly forfeit all his rights and privileges in civil society, making it absolutely necessary that he should be entirely and forever excluded from its precincts—whether by death or banishment, makes no difference as to the force of our argument—may not a man, as a subject of God's moral government, forfeit all claim to a participation in the beneficial operation of those laws which are holy, just, and good; and even make it right and necessary that he should be entirely and forever excluded from the society of those who are obedient subjects of that government? The fact is, penalties are necessary; for without them there is no such thing as law, in the proper sense of the term; but if the laws are benevolent in their design and wholesome in their operation, the penalties

which are necessary to secure obedience, whatever may be their extent, are of the same character.—That there is such a thing as right and wrong, or moral good and evil; and that the one is virtuous and meritorious, and the other wrong and deserving of punishment, all admit; but the *degree or duration* of punishment which men deserve for their crimes, is the question at issue. All punishment cannot be disciplinary; It is not so in civil government; for the common sense of mankind, in all ages, has determined that there are offences of so aggravated a kind that the offender must and ought to be cut off from the society of which he has proved himself unworthy, and be made to feel the full weight of the authority and power which he has insulted and defied. But may not the same thing take place under the divine government? If the principle is sound in the one case we would like to know why it is not so in the other.

But as we have already remarked this is not a matter for us to decide: It belongs to God alone. Then we must go again to the law and the testimony; and although the passages already cited we consider abundantly sufficient, yet it may not be amiss to adduce another. It is the account of the rich man and Lazarus, Luke xvi, 23–31; and there are several things in it that deserve our attention. 1. The condition of the rich man was one of *unmingled suffering*; for he could not obtain so much as a drop of water to cool his parched tongue. 2. There was no being any where that was at all disposed or had the power to give him relief. 3. The only means of salvation known to him was hearing Moses and the Prophets; and that he knew was confined to his life. 4. There was a great and impassable gulph fixed between him and the abode of the righteous. Therefore his punishment was not disciplinary—neither in its own nature, nor in his estimation. If God had designed it as such, he would have mingled comfort with it, as the kind and judicious parent at least *speaks* in tones of affection even while laying on the rod. If the rich man when lifting up his eyes in torment and begging for a drop of water to cool his parched tongue, could have viewed his sufferings as disciplinary, that itself would have been some consolation; and holy beings who are as benevolent as they are holy, if aware of this fact, would have been disposed to afford him any relief in their power, or to minister in some way or other to his welfare as they do in this world to those who are heirs of salvation. But he could not obtain one drop of comfort from any source; and he speaks of his sufferings by the name of *torment* which can hardly be applied with propriety to that which is calculated to make us better; for it is certainly very different from the language of a suffering child of God in this world.—Besides. He was not only helpless but hopeless of relief, and he made no request of that kind. He evidently viewed his situation as desperate; and therefore according to the laws of the human mind, he could do nothing to effect or procure a change in his condition; for absolute despair paralyzes the soul, and renders all means unavailing, because there is no power to use them. His mind seems to have been occupied exclusively with his sufferings, not with the thoughts and hopes of deliverance, or with the ways and means of obtaining that object; and from

all his requests and expressions as well as from father Abraham's responses it is evident that there was no hope in his case. Now the advocates of universal salvation ought to tell us by what route the wicked, when released, will get round or over that impassable gulph; and by what means and influences the requisite change will be effected in their minds, according to the principles on which God deals with moral agents; but nothing of this kind have they ever attempted; and according to the rule by which we shall all be judged, their prospects must be rather gloomy, even to themselves, and the risk they are running is certainly fearful.

II. We come now to the second thing proposed which was to say something of the Judge who will act on that solemn occasion; and if the law when fairly interpreted gives no hope to the impenitent transgressor, we shall find that there is as little ground to hope from the character of the Judge.

1. He is the *Lawgiver*—the author of this sacred code which takes cognizance of the thoughts, words and actions of every man, in every age, and under all circumstances. The disposition of a lawgiver is no where better made known than in the laws which he enacts; and hence we have the attributes of God exhibited in these sacred records. The intimate knowledge of the human heart which the precepts of the Bible display is proof of the divine omniscience, and consequently of the impossibility of the sinner's escaping detection. Their fitness to promote the happiness of men and the glory of the Creator, which is the great end in view, is evidence of the divine wisdom.—Their perfect purity shows that God is in his very nature opposed to sin and will make it the object of his everlasting vengeance. His hatred to sin does not arise merely from its opposition to his legislative authority, but from its being a violation of what is right and intrinsically excellent. Therefore he has arrayed against it the whole weight of his authority and all his attributes stand pledged for its punishment. All sin is a violation of his law; but an act which is wrong when committed with a knowledge of the written law would be wrong if committed in heathenish ignorance, or under any circumstances. In the former case however it is aggravated by a wilful contempt of his authority with which the law is clothed; and therefore it is deserving of severer punishment.

2. He is *Lord of all*; and this is a doctrine which is taught not only by revelation but by the light of nature; for a heathen declared that while the government of kings extends over their particular subjects the government of Jupiter extends over kings themselves. That the Creator has a perfect right to govern and dispose of men and their affairs as he sees best, no sober thinking man will deny. He has been exercising this right ever since the creation; and, as the absolute sovereign of the universe, he will, in the day of judgment, maintain the authority and the honor of the laws which he has ordained.

3. He is a *God of truth*; and he has therefore given us just such information respecting the principles of his government, and the terms on which alone pardon may be extended to the transgressor, and eternal life obtained,

as will be verified hereafter in the experience of all the human race and before the universe; for since the principles on which he deals with men as moral agents are universal in their nature, they are no doubt universally known. The gospel is unquestionably well known in the heavenly world; for the angels are ministering spirits, sent forth to minister unto those who are heirs of salvation; but if they knew not the law, and the gospel too, they could not be fit for the service, nor could they rejoice at the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom. Devils are opposers of Christ's kingdom—opposers of his servants, of his honor, and of his interests in the world; and therefore we must believe that they are acquainted with the gospel method of salvation. Now if the moral law, and the law of the spirit of life, as exhibited in the Old and New Testaments, are known to angels above and angels below, is it not more than probable that the Lord of all will glorify himself before all these moral agents by conferring the blessings promised to his saints and by inflicting the punishment threatened to the wicked. Again, God made all things for the advancement of his eternal glory—the heavenly world with all its furniture, and this lower world with all that it contains, his decrees with the execution thereof as exhibited in creation, providence, and redemption; and his law and gospel with all their promises and threatenings are the ways and means which he has provided for accomplishing this object; but if the God of the Bible and of the universe is a *God of truth* he can neither exaggerate nor conceal any thing that ought to be known, nor convey his communications to men in language calculated to make a vague or incorrect impression when received in its most obvious meaning; and this is a matter which we suppose will not be disputed by any man of common sense and common honesty. If then he is a God of truth, and if the law is holy, just, and good, the judgment must proceed according to the plain sense or import of the law. We are told that his truth endureth forever; and we have seen that the word *forever*, when applied to that of which such a thing can be predicated, signifies endless existence or duration: therefore the punishment of the wicked will have no end, or it will be co-eval with their existence.

4. He is a God of *faithfulness*. Ps. cxix. 90.—*Thy faithfulness is unto all generations*. If he is faithful, he must fulfil all that he has spoken, without partiality or respect of persons, so that all his creatures may know what to expect;—that none may have encouragement to transgress; and that those who are obedient may rely on his promises with entire confidence.

5. He is a God of *almighty power* and *perfect integrity*. Job xxxiv. 12.—*Neither will the Almighty pervert judgment*. If the law is equitable and immutable in its character; if the sentence, so far as can be gathered from the face of the sacred record, must be final, that is, irreversable, and interminable in its results; and if the Judge is omnipotent, and will not pervert judgment, the impenitent transgressor can have no hope.

6. He is a God of *goodness*. Mat. xix. 17.—*There is none good but one, that is God*; and this seems to express the aggregate of all his attributes; for when Moses desired to see his glory he told him that he would *make all*

His GOODNESS to pass before Him. Goodness and mercy may be understood as signifying essentially the same thing; for mercy is goodness exercised in a particular way, or extended to a particular class of persons, viz: the guilty and the miserable; but while God is essentially good, that is, disposed to communicate happiness to his creatures, it never could have been known, without revelation, whether his goodness could be, consistently with his other attributes, or with the safety and happiness of the universe, extended so far in any case as to pardon the transgressor of his law, turn him away from the error of his ways, and restore him to purity and happiness; and being in its very nature a *sovereign act*, that is, depending on his mere good pleasure, it cannot be universal, or at least it must be suspended on or include certain conditions on the part of the recipient. Of course those who refuse to comply with the terms forfeit the mercy offered; and for such there appears to be no remedy; for if the offers of mercy and the state of probation are to be continued until all are restored, what purpose will be answered by the general judgment? or if the punishment of the wicked subsequent to that event is to be disciplinary why not inflict the necessary amount of suffering here? These are questions which will not be readily answered, because there is nothing in the Bible, in the nature of the case, or in the unbiassed dictates of enlightened conscience, that can furnish a satisfactory answer.

Hence those who advocate the doctrine of universal salvation take different grounds.—Some contending that all will be saved by the *atonement* of Jesus Christ, and that there will be *no* future sufferings; while others, not being able to reconcile this either with the forebodings of conscience, or with the dictates of reason and revelation, take the ground that all will be eventually restored by *expiating their own sins*, or by bearing the penalty of the law in their own persons. Now these two schemes are utterly inconsistent with each other; for, if men can expiate their own sins, an atonement is unnecessary; but if a sufficient atonement has actually been made *for all*, it must, in justice, secure all from torment; and these schemes are both so manifestly inconsistent with the Bible, and with the common sentiments of mankind, that the advocates of neither appear to be satisfied with their own arguments.—The Bible gives no intimation of pardon except through the merits of Jesus Christ; and none are justified on this ground except by faith; but it is not contended, by the advocates of the doctrine in question, that the offers of pardon will be made, or that faith, which has those offers for its object, will be exercised after death. We find no intimation of such a thing in the gospel; and to contend for it would be mere presumption; but the gospel speaks of multitudes who, having rejected the offers of salvation in this world, shall, at the judgment day, be cast into outer darkness, where there is weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth forever; and of course this scheme cannot be maintained with any semblance of truth. On the other hand, if the atonement be rejected, it seems to me, the Bible must be rejected also, so far at least as this matter is concerned; and the advocates of the other scheme are thus left utterly in the dark; for we know nothing satisfactorily of God, or a future state,

or the deserts of sin, or any thing else relating the condition and destiny of man, except from revelation. Then to talk of men expiating their own guilt, or bearing the penalty of the law in their own persons, and paying the uttermost farthing, when they have no idea of the amount, or of how much lies upon this side of that uttermost farthing, is talking at random, if it be not grossly inipious.

The superlative goodness of God cannot consist in pardoning all indiscriminately, or regardless of their character, but in providing a ransom which is sufficient for all; and which all may accept on terms that will effectually secure their future obedience; but if that is scornfully rejected they must be left to perish, and that without remedy; for the nature and design of the atonement, as set forth in the Scriptures; the tone in which the offers of pardon are made: and the language in which the results are described, as well as all analogy, so far as we can trace it, teach us that the plan of salvation by Jesus Christ includes all the provision that God in his boundless love and mercy ever will make for the recovery of our fallen race; and consequently the condition of those who reject this salvation must be hopeless. Then we may rest assured that, as it is in human governments, when traitors have refused the only terms on which pardon could be safely or honorably offered, the good of the country, the honor of the executive, and the stability of the government require that they should be cut off, or banished to a returnless distance, so the goodness of God requires that he should inflict on the despisers of his grace the punishment which they deserve, and banish them forever from the glory of his power, for the good of his moral kingdom, and for his own eternal honor.

7. The Judge is *immutable*. Job xxiii, 13, *He is of one mind; and who can turn Him?* This perfection of Deity is that by which he has been and will continue to be just what he is; but if he is unchangeable, he is now and will forever be the same that he was when he gave the moral law, or the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. It was his will then that the wicked should go, (*eis kolasin aionion*.) into everlasting punishment; and therefore it is now and will forever be his pleasure.

Finally. He is *just!* This expresses his disposition to give unto all their due—blessings to whom blessings, and curses to whom curses are due. If, as the advocates of universal restoration affirm, the sufferings of the wicked after death are altogether disciplinary and intended to result in their final happiness, how great a blessing was the deluge to the old world! what a singular mercy to the Sodomites was the destruction of their city by fire and brimstone! What a distinguished favor to Korah and his company that the earth opened and swallowed them up alive! and how ought impenitent sinners in hell to rejoice that although they are surrounded by the flames which the Saviour said shall never be quenched, and although they feel every moment the gnawings of the worm which he said shall never die, they are nevertheless enduring only a disciplinary punishment which shall result in their everlasting good! But perhaps the subject is too serious to be treated in this way; and therefore I would ask the advocates of the doctrine which we believe to be so

false and dangerous, how do they know that eternal punishment is inconsistent with justice? They admit that *the Judge of all the earth will do right*: what is the criterion by which they judge of right and wrong in this case? If it is the Bible, and if that any where teaches that eternal punishment is unjust, we would thank them to refer us to chapter and verse. If they rely upon their own notions of justice, we would ask them if they feel perfectly competent to decide the matter? Can they survey the whole empire of Jehovah, so as to comprehend at a glance all the bearings of sin upon the peace and welfare of the moral universe, and to say, with entire certainty, what degree or duration of punishment it deserves? or would they, if disinterested, allow a criminal in any case to decide as to the punishment which he should receive? *He that believeth not is condemned already, and the wrath of God abideth on him.* This is a sentence of death; for *the soul that sinneth, it shall die.* We would consider a man as wanting in good sense, if not absolutely deranged, who had been condemned in a court of justice for treason, murder, or any other crime, the punishment for which, according to the laws of the country, was death, if we heard him speculating about his own case, and asserting that it would be unjust to put him to death for that or any other crime, and therefore the sentence could not mean death, after all, but a mere disciplinary punishment that would result in his restoration to favor. Such is the conduct of those who advocate the doctrine of universal restoration; and, as pardon is now offered, it would surely be more consistent in them to repent and believe for themselves, and occupy their time and talents in persuading others to take the same course.

But if they still persist in the same way of thinking I would like to ask them where this disciplinary operation is to be performed. Not on *earth*; for according to their own admission it is not to take place until after the general judgment. It must not be in *heaven*; for nothing is to be found or admitted there but purity, peace, and joy. It cannot be in *hell*; for if the punishment is disciplinary, and therefore salutary, it can have nothing in it of the nature of a curse; but the curse of God rests on all who are sent there. The sentence is, *Depart ye accursed into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels*; but we would feel much obliged to the advocates of disciplinary punishment and universal restoration for an explanation of this matter; and perhaps it might be no disadvantage to their cause.

III. The third thing proposed was to shew that the ungodly when tried by such a law and before such a Judge, cannot stand; but so much has been already said that more seems to be unnecessary. If my hearers recollect what has been said on the law, which will be the rule of the judgment, and on the character of God who will be the Judge, they are no doubt satisfied that the sinner cannot be acquitted, and that he cannot escape. He must either obtain an interest in the atonement after he has been sent into outer darkness,—penitent or impenitent,—and be saved on that ground, which as we have seen is contrary to the text and to the whole tenor of the Bible; or he must be condemned to suffer until he makes expiation for his own sins, by satisfying the

penalty of the divine law, which we have shewn to be impossible; or he must suffer forever; and this we think has been proved to be the obvious import of scripture denunciations on this subject, and is in full accordance with the dictates of reason and of enlightened conscience.

There is no man of candor and sober reflection who will deny that he has violated the law of God. The very term *restoration* implies that all are now in a lapsed and sinful condition; and before they can enjoy the divine favor two things must be done: justice must be satisfied; and their moral character must be changed. Both are indispensable; and the atonement of Jesus Christ is never applied to a sinner here for his pardon without the renewing influences of the Holy Spirit; but for a sinner to do either himself seems to be, in the nature of the case, impossible. The law will forever demand unceasing and perfect obedience; and God as the great ruler of the universe will certainly enforce his own law; but it is difficult to conceive how a sinner can discharge the active duties required of him while in a state of intense suffering. He cannot do it here; and how he can do it in another state of existence where his sufferings will be inconceivably greater than any he endures in this life, it belongs to the advocates of this doctrine to explain; but if he cannot, while suffering for his past sins, comply with all the requirements of the law, his guilt must be increasing. The notion therefore that men can expiate their own sins by suffering the penalty of the law and thus be restored to the divine favor is a most infatuated one—a fatal presumption; for although the law produces unmingled happiness if obeyed, it condemns the sinner when violated, and leaves him under condemnation, without containing any provision for pardon, or giving any intimation of future restoration. Of course it must spend its whole force on the impenitent offender; or he must meet the whole amount of its claims both for service and for suffering; for he is chargeable with numberless transgressions and he is still under an undiminished obligation to obedience. Now if the sufferings of men here, though the circumstances are so much more favorable, have no tendency to produce a spirit of obedience, or the love of God and holiness in the sufferer, without the pardoning mercy and the renewing grace of God, how can their sufferings produce such an effect, where no mercy will be offered, not a drop of comfort be mingled with their torments, no hallowing or restraining influence be excited, and no sympathy manifested on the part of holy beings? With these facts in view, whether this scheme is a wise and a safe one, or a dire infatuation—a silly refuge of those who are unwilling to forsake their sins, judge ye: and we ask nothing more of you than an honest examination in the fear of God and by the light of revealed truth.

We have seen that by the law, so far as can be gathered from the face of the record, there is no hope; for by the law is the knowledge of sin: By it too is condemnation; and according to no law, human or divine, can a man live, when he is condemned by it to *die*. If he lives it must be through the mercy of the supreme executive, or from the want of power on his part to ex-

ecute the sentence. It will not be pretended that there is a want of power in God; for he is acknowledged to be omnipotent. Then the only remaining scheme is the mercy of God in and by the atonement of Jesus Christ; or rather the universal *design* of the atonement as a remedy for the whole race of man; but since all we know about the atonement, either as to its nature or design, is from the Bible, we must recollect that, according to the representations there made. In the first place, it is available to those only who *now* repent and believe with the heart unto righteousness. *Behold now is the accepted time: behold now is the day of salvation.* In the next place, it is invariably connected with regeneration by the spirit of God. Such a renovation however is not admitted by the advocates of universal salvation who take this ground; for, so far as their views are understood, they do not appear to believe in any renewing influence of the divine spirit, nor to give any evidence of evangelical repentance, or of having their consciences sprinkled from dead works, by the peace-speaking blood of the cross. If the whole race of man is to be saved simply by virtue of the atonement, irrespective of moral character, why are there so many and such strong declarations respecting the necessity of present conversion and of the agency of the Holy Spirit to effect it? *Except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish*; and, *except ye be born again ye cannot see the kingdom of God.* Why has such a system of means and influences been provided, and why is so much importance attached to the use of them. Why are such solemn injunctions laid on ministers of the gospel, to be faithful, on pain of losing their own souls, in declaring the whole council of God and in warning sinners to flee from the wrath to come? Why all this, if the future sufferings of the impenitent are to be disciplinary and limited in their duration, or if the atonement is to be available after death? It is said, *without holiness no man shall see the Lord*; but, according to the doctrine of universal restoration, how is that holiness to be produced? What means and influences are to be used? any thing but *suffering*? It has no such tendency here, nor is it according to the laws of the human mind that it should have such a tendency, apart from means and influences of an entirely different kind. Will the *atonement* alone be sufficient, even supposing it to be offered in all the freeness of divine compassion, to subdue the sinner's heart and reconcile him to God? It is not sufficient here, although aided by the combined influence of goodness and severity; and it behooves the advocates of the doctrine we are opposing to show in what respect the circumstances in a future state will be more favorable, or on what principles, according to either of these schemes, a salutary change will be effected there which cannot be produced in this world.—It is said too of some that *it would have been better for them if they had never been born*; but could this be said with truth if they will be saved by the atonement of Jesus Christ, or even if they are to be released from the dark prison of hell in any definite period; for the longest period of time of which we can conceive bears no proportion to eternity. These are things which demand explanation from those who advocate the doctrine of universal restoration; yet no rational explanation has been given or even attempted; and we apprehend

that none will be given, because the subject does not admit of it, and we must be met by bare assertions or worse than idle declamation.

But if God has made all the provision that he ever intends to make, and if he is doing every thing in this world that he intends to do for the purpose of effecting a radical change in the moral character and condition of men as subjects of his government, which, according to our understanding of the Bible, is the fact, then all is consistent; and the decisions of the judgment day,—the everlasting joys of heaven, and the endless pains of hell, will be only the appropriate results of the present system. The instructions which we have received are plain, and they are ample: sufficient warning has been given; the path of duty has been made plain both by precept and by the example of the Saviour; none need remain in doubt or uncertainty; and none can have any excuse for refusing to comply with the terms of salvation, or for delaying to keep the commandments of God. We fear not to meet the enemies of truth and righteousness on the field of argument, nor to abide by *the law and the testimony*; but the miserable shifts which they are obliged to make in order to avoid this testimony, and their manifest perversions, or strained interpretations of a few detached passages of Scripture, betrays a want of conscious rectitude, and is a strong *presumptive* proof, at least, that their cause cannot be maintained.

In conclusion then, we would affectionately appeal to this large and attentive congregation whether they will risk their everlasting welfare on either of the schemes of universal restoration which we have presented, as fairly as we knew how, though doubtless with much imperfection, and which we have endeavored to prove false and dangerous; or whether they will embrace the present salvation which is offered to them, and in doing which they run no risk. We need not ask you which would be the course of wisdom, for we feel confident that every sober thinking man would say at once that the latter is the most prudent course. Besides, if you need salvation at all you need it now. If sin is an evil you need to be delivered from it now; if holiness is necessary at any period of your existence it is necessary now; if the hopes and consolations of the gospel are ever desirable they are desirable now, while you are beset by the perplexities, tribulations, and sorrows of life; and to continue in the practice of sin when deliverance is offered to you on the most easy and honorable terms, is not only hazardous, but ungrateful and wicked. If there are pleasures in religion inconceivably greater than any this world can afford, of which you cannot doubt, we expect you as intelligent men and women to give up the latter, so far as they are sinful or worthless, in exchange for the former, and to do it without delay. If there is hope in Christ, not of a restoration to the divine favor at some distant period of eternity, when millions of years or of ages shall have been spent by you in torment, but of entering, as soon as you quit this mortal stage, into perfect and everlasting rest, we beseech you now to be reconciled with God; for you need it while passing through the temptations, and the dark and perplexing scenes of this

world; and especially will you need it when called to pass through the dark valley of the shadow of death.

You may have to part with some pleasures, or with some things that you have been accustomed to regard as pleasures; but they are sinful gratifications or mere illusions. They are at least unsubstantial and transitory. They will be followed by a sting, or elude your grasp like a phantom, leaving you mortified by disappointment, or tortured by remorse. The pleasures of religion are pure, substantial and abiding—not subject to change or fluctuation, except from the workings of your own wicked and deceitful hearts; and proceeding from the throne of God, though they may commence in rills here, as springs issue from the mountains, they will flow on, augmenting as you advance, until they will be lost in the boundless ocean of God's eternal love. At all events we wish you to make sure work for eternity, because, without present justification by faith in Christ, no man can be certain that he may not be mistaken, or go down to the grave with a lie in his right hand; and a mistake here may be fatal; for you cannot return to earth from the world of spirits that you may enjoy another season of the means of grace, or that you may repent and do the works which appropriately belong to this stage of your existence. Those who preach to you the expiation of sin by your own sufferings in eternity, and a consequent restoration to the divine favor, dare not *assure* you that such will be the fact; for that they cannot do without a *Thus saith the Lord*, and they cannot refer you to any such declaration within the lids of the Bible; but *we* do assure you, on the authority of Him who cannot lie, that the blood of Jesus Christ, his son, cleanseth from all sin; and that if you repent and believe the gospel, you shall escape the *second death*.

We appeal therefore to your own good sense on this subject. There is no necessity for your suffering at all after you leave this world nor of running any risk of obtaining the divine favor by suffering the punishment due to your crimes, or by any other means, after you shall have passed the boundaries of time. The blood of Jesus Christ will now free you from condemnation, if applied to by faith, and the spirit of God will sanctify and lead you to glory; but you do not know that the fires of hell, or the torments of the future world, will produce any such effect. Which then do you consider the safest and best plan—that of being restored to purity and happiness at some distant period of eternity by your own sufferings, which, to say the least of it, is extremely uncertain; or that which we propose to you on the express authority of God himself, of a full and free pardon with the joys of redemption here, a complete deliverance from all evil at death, and an immediate entrance on perfect and everlasting bliss. The retributions of eternity are serious matters; and no wise man will approach them rashly, or unnecessarily jeopardize his soul.—*The way of life is above to the wise, that he may depart from hell beneath.*—Can those be sincere friends to you, or to the cause of truth, who would send you to expiate your own sins by suffering the wrath of God in eternity, you know not, nor can they tell you how, much or how long, instead of directing you at once to the atonement of Jesus Christ for your present justification be-

fore God, and to the abounding grace of God in Christ for sanctification, comfort, and every thing you need. But to dwell longer on this subject, would be trespassing on your patience; and I hope it is not necessary. The light of eternity will soon dispel all the errors and delusions of time, as the mists and phantoms of night vanish before the rising sun; and therefore we wish you to attend at once to the warning voice, and flee from the wrath to come, while it is yet to come. Betake yourselves to the hiding place which God in his infinite mercy has provided. *Make haste and delay not to keep his commandments. Hearken and your soul shall live. To day, if you will hear his voice, harden not your hearts, lest he swear in his wrath that you shall never enter into his rest.*

INDEX.

- Academy, Liberty Hall, p. 193. Alamance, church of, organized, 24; Archdale, John, Governor of N. C., 59; Alamance, battle of, 149.
- Berkley, Sir William, 54, 81; Baptists, 90.
- Caldwell, David,—birth and parentage, 10—education, 18—licensure, 21—ordination, 22—installation, 23; Caldwells, Andrew, John, Alexander, 11; Charter of North Carolina, 52; Craighhead, Rev. Alexander, 27; Craighhead, Thomas, 28; Culpepper, John, rebellion of, 56; Constitution, State, 190; Federal, 245.
- De Graffenreid, Christopher, 84.
- Ecclesiastical condition of North Carolina before the Revolution, 47; Edmundson, William, 56.
- Family of Dr. Caldwell, afflictions of, 258; Fannen, Col. 242; Fox, George, 56; French Huguenots, 84.
- Germans, 84, 89; Guilford volunteers, 224.
- Huguenots, 84; Husband, Harmon, his character, 167.
- Infidelity, 167, 252.
- Jackson, Doct., 240; Johnson, Sir Nathaniel, becomes governor of N. C., 61.
- Lee, Col., his services in Guilford, 227; Locke's Constitutions, 55; London, bishop of, 80.
- Marriage, laws respecting, 72; Martinville, battle of, 230; Moravians, 88; Methodists, 90.
- North Carolina settled, 51.
- Orange—Presbytery of Orange, 96.
- Palatines, 84; Piles, Col. defeat of, 212; Presbyterian Ministers, licensure, &c., 92, 95; Printing press first brought into N. C., 78.
- Queen's College, 77; Quakers, 54, 56, 64, 83.
- Raleigh, Sir Walter, attempts to settle N. C., 48; Regulation, 102; Regulators, their character, 163; Revivals of religion, 263.
- Scotch-Irish 86; Scotch 87; Statistical Report of Orange Presbytery in 1784, 250.
- Tyrone and Tyrconnel, Earls of, 86.
- Williams, Lewis, 36.
- Yeamans, Sir John, 54.

ERRATA.

- Page 21—bottom line, for “nun,” read *num*.
“ 28—19th line from top, for “1776,” read 1766.
“ 46—11th line from bottom, for “is but,” read *but is*.
“ 79—13th line from bottom, for “then at,” read *then and at*.
“ 89—18th line from top, for “Tinzendorf,” (in some copies,) read *Zinzendorf*.
“ 89—10th line from top, for “Greenville” read *Granville*.
“ 92—8th line from bottom, for “Poythuss,” read *Poythress*.
“ 96—6th line from bottom, for “1771,” read 1770.
“ 97—16th line from top, for “troublesome,” (in some copies) read *troublous*.
“ 106—13th line from bottom, for “institutions,” read *instructions*.
“ 107—7th line from top, for “indictment,” read *indictments*.
“ 116—12th line from bottom, for “manner,” read *manners*.
“ 125—18th line from top, for “branches” read *breaches*.
“ 129—15th line from top, for “opposed” read *oppressed*.
“ 137—7th line from bottom, for “oration,” read *ovation*.
“ 140—2nd line from bottom, for “Storh,” read *Storch*.
“ 144— 6th line from top, for “Paygee,” read *Payne*.
“ 173—17th line from top, for “Parish,” (in a few copies) read *Popish*.
“ 278—8th line from bottom, for “High Commissioners,” read *High Commissions*.



