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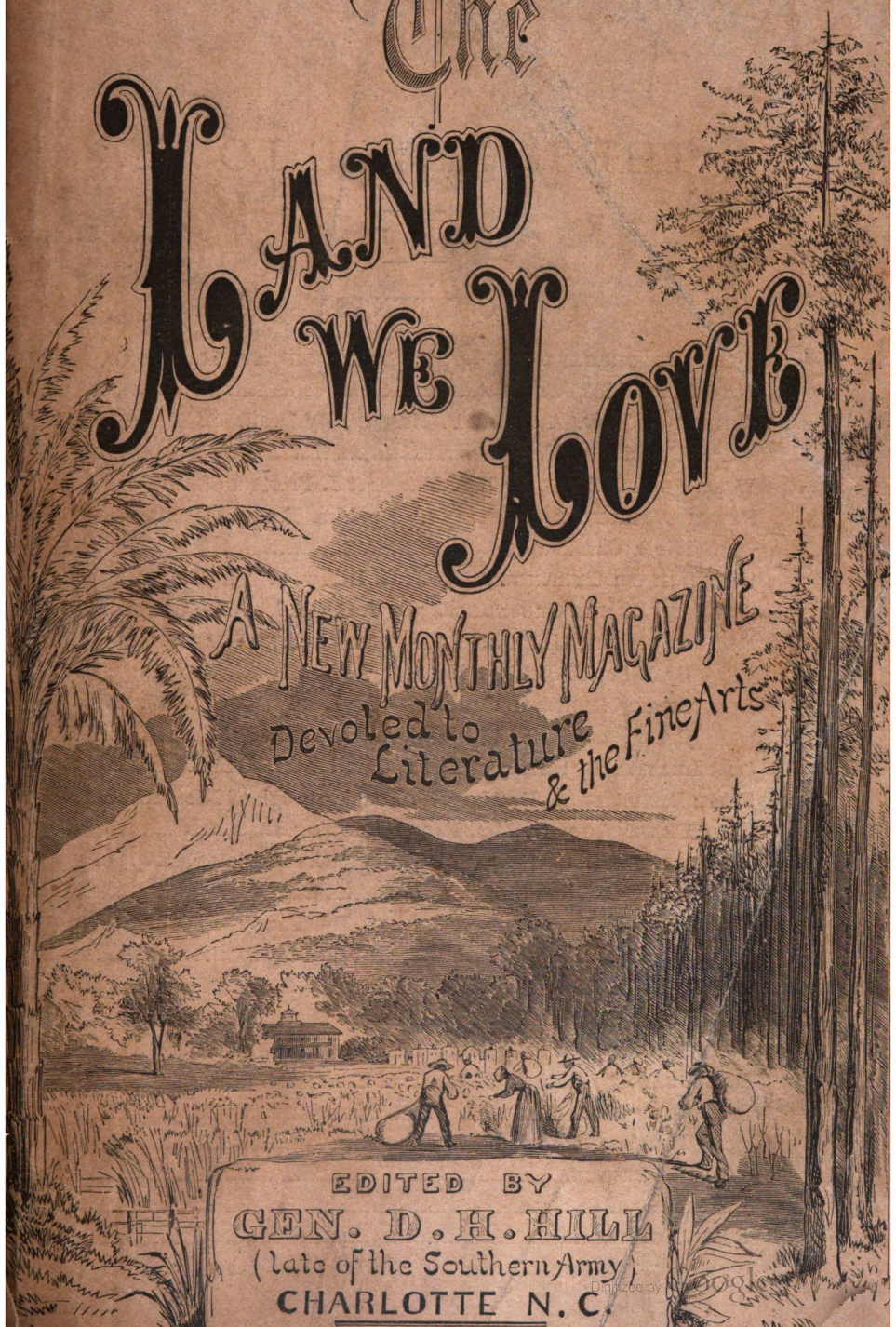
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Vol. II.—No. VI.

APRIL, 1867.

# The LAND WE LOVE

A NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE  
Devoted to  
Literature  
& the Fine Arts



EDITED BY  
**GEN. D. H. HILL**  
(late of the Southern Army)  
CHARLOTTE N. C.

# THE LAND WE LOVE.

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NO. VI.

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VOL. II.

GEN. BEAUREGARD ON THE SITUATION AT RICHMOND, MAY, 1864.

Hd. Qr's. Dep't. N. C. and S. Va.,  
Drury's Bluff, May 14th, 1864.

General Braxton Bragg,  
*Commanding General.*

GENERAL :—Considering the vital importance of the issue involved and resting upon the success of the plan suggested to you this morning, I have deemed it desirable and appropriate, that its substance should be briefly communicated in writing as follows :

General Lee's army at Guinea Station and my command at this place are on nearly a right line passing through Richmond, Grant's army being on the left flank and Butler's on the right; our lines are thus interior.

Butler's aim is unquestionably to invest and turn Drury's Bluff, threatening and holding the Petersburg and Danville Rail Roads, opening the obstructions in the river at Fort Drury for the passage of war vessels, necessitating then the retreat of General Lee to the lines about Richmond. With the railroads held by the enemy, Grant in front and Butler in rear of the works around Richmond, the capital would be practically invested and the issue may well be dreaded.

The plan suggested is, that General Lee should fall back to

the defensive lines of the Chickahominy, even to the intermediate lines of Richmond, sending temporarily to this place 15,000 men of his troops ; immediately upon that accession to my present force, I would take the offensive and attack Butler vigorously. Such a move properly made would throw me directly upon Butler's communications, and (as he now stands) on his right flank, well towards the rear ; General Whiting should also move simultaneously. Butler must then be necessarily crushed or captured and all the stores of that army would fall in our hands; an amount probably that would make an interruption in our communications, for a period of a few days, a matter of no serious inconvenience.

The proposed attack should be accomplished in two days, at furthest, after receiving my reinforcements : This done, I would move with 10,000 more men to the assistance of General Lee than I received from him, and Grant's fate would not long remain doubtful.

The destruction of Grant's forces would open the way for the recovery of most of our lost territory, as already submitted to you in general terms. Respectfully, &c.

(Signed)

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

## JOHN MILTON.

AMONG the Protestants of the English races, the figure of Milton fills the highest niche in the temple of literary fame. But to the popular reader, he is known almost exclusively by his poems, and especially, by his *Paradise Lost*. Many who read with awe and delight this majestic and unearthly epic, are little aware that its author was not only a literary recluse and dreamer of poetic visions, but an active controversialist, a keen reformer, and a great statesman, in the most decisive period of modern history. The true estimate of his genius is greatly enhanced by observing with what transcendent ability he acted in these diverse, and usually incompatible characters. We venture with diffidence, another discussion of his career, which has already been treated by so many able hands, from the conviction that it illustrates historical facts and principles, which still remain of prime importance; and that the author's life and acts reflect so much light upon the sentiments of his poems.

*John Milton* was born in 1608, in Bread Street, London; and was the son of a scrivener, or conveyancer of the same name. His father was of a Catholic family in Oxfordshire; but having been persecuted by his father for religion, he became a decided Protestant and Puritan. He was a man of respectable character and fortunes; and his wife, the poet's mother, is reported to have been a woman of admirable sense and piety. The son was early entered at St. Paul's school, where he pursued the study of the classics and modern languages, even from early childhood, with peculiar ardor. At the age of seventeen, he entered the University of Cambridge; where he contin-

ued seven years. He took the degree of Bachelor in 1628, and of Master of Arts, in 1632. He became remarkable in the University for the same zeal in classical studies, for elegant scholarship, and skill in Latin and Italian versification, and for the feminine beauty of his Grecian face. His friends designed him for holy orders; but the independent and revolutionary spirit of Milton had probably taught him already so unfavorable an estimate of the structure of the church Establishment, and the great Universities, that he firmly resisted these proposals. His morals were strict, and his piety unquestioned: his temper self-reliant, lofty, and exclusive; his manners reserved, and his friendships jealously restricted to a small circle of intimates, whom he cherished with an ardent affection. It may be easily surmised, that such a character was never destined to be popular; and it appears that while his character was stainless, he was regarded by his teachers and comrades with little favor, outside his own chosen circle.

At twenty-four then, Milton retired to his father's home, which was now fixed at Horton in Buckinghamshire; and devoted himself to study and authorship, for about six years. He extended his knowledge of the sciences then cultivated, and of ancient and modern literature, until there was nothing adapted to enrich or adorn the mind, which he had not gathered into his treasury. During this happy retirement, he produced, besides several minor works, of which his *Lycidas* has been most noted, the *Mask of Comus*. This was composed for the noble family of the Earl of Bridgewater, and acted as a private entertainment

at Ludlow Castle in 1634. This exquisite poem, the most beautiful and pleasing of all his works, was suggested by a trivial incident, the temporary separation of the lady Alice Egerton, daughter of the Earl, from her brothers, during a journey through the woods near the Castle. Such was the modesty, or else the indifference of the author to popular favor, this *Mask* was not published until 1637, and then without his name.

Upon the death of Milton's mother, in 1638, he determined to gratify his desire to visit the chief seats of elegant learning in the south of Europe. He therefore spent a year and three months in Paris, Florence, Rome, Naples, Venice, and Geneva, forming many new literary associations, and perfecting himself in poetry and music, of which art he was, like his father, a skilful *amateur*. On this journey, having the advantage of influential introductions, in addition to his own merits, he was received wherever he went, with great favor by men of letters, and formed acquaintance with the first scholars of the Tuscan Academy *Della Crusca*, the celebrated Galileo, G. Diodati of Geneva, and others. No Englishman had ever displayed to the continentals so polished and universal a knowledge of their own, as well as of the classic languages and literature. Consequently none had been received with such honor.

Milton himself states that he was recalled from these delightful haunts of the muses, by the reports of an approaching collision between the party of absolutism and his friends in England. Deeming it dishonorable to be absent from a contest, in which those principles of constitutional government which he held so dear, were all at stake, he returned to his father's house in 1639. But his taste for literary society, together with his eagerness for the defence of liberal principles in church and

state, determined him to reside in London, which was at once, the *emporium* of learned commerce, and the centre of the political agitations. Here, therefore, he became, first a lodger, and a little after, a householder, living as a bachelor in a commodious house in Aldersgate Street. On Nov. 3d, 1640, met the famous Long Parliament. Charles the I., disgusted by the firmness of previous legislatures in asserting the liberties of the kingdom, had governed for twelve years, without parliaments. In this interval, he had raised his revenues by illegal methods, and Laud and Earl Strafford had visited the Puritan party with frightful oppressions, through the High Commission Courts and Star Chamber. It was in this interval that John Hampden had submitted to arrest and imprisonment, in order to test before the courts the illegality of the king's levies of ship-money. But now, the straits to which Charles was reduced by the war with the Scotch, whom he had already driven into revolution by his invasions of their constitution, compelled him to appeal to his people for supplies. The consequence was, that the Parliament assembled with an almost unanimous resolve to redress the grievances of the country, and to build effectual barriers against the tyranny and treachery of the king. It is not necessary to do more than remind the well informed reader how, after ten months of fruitless demands and recriminations, both parties simultaneously resorted to arms; and the king, on the 25th of August, 1641, erected his royal standard at Nottingham, and summoned all his friends to aid him, against those whom he was pleased to call his insurgent subjects.

Milton at first adhered with all his soul, to the party of the Parliament: as did nearly the whole of his native city. He never seems to have imagined himself suited to

the field ; and in this he was undoubtedly wise. His recluse and studious habits, his feeble eyesight, his uncertain health, and his frequent turns of agonizing head-ache, evidently showed that his part in the struggle was not in camps and battles. But the great cause needed the pen as well as the sword ; and he embarked with all his powers in the career of the controversialist. The distribution of his father's moderate fortune, between himself and his brother and sisters, probably gave him but a scanty income. As he was of no profession, he supplemented his means by the income of a private school. This employment began by his receiving into his bachelor home, first, one, and then both of the sons of his elder sister, Mrs. Phillips ; and to these were soon added several others, the sons of his intimate friends. Thus, until he became an officer of the government of Cromwell, he pursued with diligence the modest labors of a private teacher, in his own house. But all his leisure hours were devoted to polemic authorship, and he postponed his offerings to the shrine of the muses, for the harsher sacrifices of controversy. His first work was a treatise of Reformation in England in two books, published in 1641. The same year, he published, first, a piece against "Prelatical Episcopacy," directed against the learned Archbishop Usher, Primate of the Irish Establishment : and soon after he followed this by "The Reason of Church Government, urged against Prelacy." The labours of this year were closed by his "Animadversions" against Bishop Hall. In 1642, he continued the same controversy, by his "Apology for Smectymnus."

But the event was now at hand, which was to give a new direction to his studies. In the spring vacation of his school, 1643, Milton went into Oxfordshire for recrea-

tion, and at the end of a month returned with a blooming wife, Mary Powell, the daughter of a gentleman of that country, who was an ardent royalist. The bridegroom was now thirty-five years old, and the bride was in her 'teens. He was a Puritan ; the family of the Powells belonged to the Cavalier party. The tastes of the husband were grave, intellectual and quiet ; the wife was accustomed to, and delighted in, the gallantry, gaiety, levity and profusion of the court party. Milton lived, and found his happiness, amidst the highest walks of science, literature, and art : his wife was one of those pretty specimens of vacuity, whose sole charms are in a fresh color, a graceful shape, and a sparkling animal vivacity. When Sir Egeron Brydges saw her as Mrs. Milton in her matronly prime, he describes her as "a dull, unintellectual, insensate woman, though possessed of outward personal beauty." So ill-assorted a union requires some explanation. This is to be found on the part of the bride's parents, in the fact that Powell Senior was indebted to Milton's father for a loan of five hundred pounds ; which the reckless and profuse habits of the Cavalier disabled him from repaying, and by the advantages of a connexion with a man of the rival, and possibly the conquering party in the state, so important as Mr. Milton. For the young lady, the explanation is probably to be found partly in the gratification of her vanity, when she found herself courted by so eminent a scholar and man of genius, endowed withal, with a countenance of classic beauty, and a person accomplished in all gentlemanly arts, and partly in the habits of compliance with the parental will, to which the young women of England were then educated. On Milton's side, the solution is undoubtedly to be found in his poetic temperament, and the power of a profound pas-

sion. None live so completely amidst the ideals of their own imaginations, as men of genius. Our author's soul had doubtless cherished a vision of female loveliness, to which he delighted to impute all the refined graces and excellences, which his classic fancy could conceive ; and to this he had long paid a secret and rapturous homage in the chambers of his heart. As the very existence of human society depends upon the relations between the sexes, so our Creator has made the sentiments which unite them, the most profound and tender of all. Hence, in every man of genius, it is around the idea of woman, (as in every ardent female soul, it is around the idea of man) that his deepest imaginings and affections gather. Milton has revealed, in his works, that this was true of him at least. It is not hard to understand therefore, how, as he found himself released from the dun fog of London and the toils of the school room, in the sweet season of May ; and wandering some rosy morn through green lanes of blooming hawthorn, with a soul suffused with all the melting harmonies of nature, to which he has given expression so matchless in *L'Allegro*, the vision of the blooming English girl, coy and graceful, burst upon his eyes as the very impersonation of all the hidden graces, towards which his heart had yearned so long. Thenceforward he saw her only through the vision of romance and passion. It was but necessary that he should once accept her image as the realization of his ideal, for his genius to employ itself in garnishing her with the imperial wealth of its imagery. And until the spell was broken, Mary Powell was to him all that his creative fancy and lofty sentiment chose to paint her. It is difficult to doubt that the picture which he has drawn of the emotions of Adam at first beholding his Eve, was copied from his own

raptures : and that it was the delicious reverence of his first love for Mary Powell, which taught him those lines of the 8th book of the *Paradise Lost* :

"Yet when I approach,  
Her loveliness, so absolute she seems  
And in herself complete, so well to  
know  
Her own, that what she wills to do or  
say  
Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest,  
best.  
All higher knowledge in her presence  
falls  
Degraded; wisdom in discourse with  
her,  
Loses discountenanced, and like folly  
shows."

Many other instances, besides that of Milton, have shown that when once the sweet infatuation is established, the tide of passion sweeps over the caution and wisdom of the man of years, as easily as over the inexperience of youth ; and so long as man is not too old to love (after which he is certainly to old to marry,) his experience gives him no guarantee against the delusion of which Milton was a victim. His is therefore a striking case in point, sustaining the argument of Bishop Hopkins in his "American Citizen" for early marriages ; in which he pleads that the mature bachelor has less safeguard against mistake, than the ingenuous youth. Certain it is, that Milton found, when he took his blooming bride to his home after a month's wooing, that he had committed the proverbial folly of "wedding in haste, to repent at leisure." At the end of the honeymoon, the lady, weary of her new life, sought leave, which it appears, was gracefully granted, to revisit her paternal home for a month. But the month passed by, and she did not return. Autumn arrived, and Milton's letters found no answer. After Michaelmas, he despatched a special messenger, with still another letter, to ensure her reception of it ; but she refused all answer, and dismissed his messenger with contempt. This reprehensible conduct was contin-

ued nearly two years ; when, as will be related, the lady found it to her interest to seek a reconciliation, and was restored to her husband's favor.

The causes of her separation were probably complex. Our own times have seen a most skilful instance of those innocent literary impostures, in which Chatterton is said to have indulged his ingenuity, entitled the "Maiden and married life of Mary Powell." It is the work of a British lady, authoress of a similar fiction, the journal of Lady Willoughby. In this portrait of Milton's wife, the fair author exhausts her skill, to cast a pleasing veil over her erring sister's sins. With a mind richly imbued with the history and literature of the 17th century, and a style steeped in the very spirit of its antique and sober romance, she has painted a loving, timid, wayward, and fluttering heart, tremblingly anxious to please her revered, stranger-husband, awed by his majesty, then wearied by the pious austerity of his pursuits, then chilled by his indiscreet exertions of authority, and at last, angered and despairing at the misapprehensions of her artless efforts to please. Now we beg the reader to remember that all this masterly picture is a fiction, and to rid his mind of the pleasing illusion. Our purpose is to substitute for it the facts of sober history, with such reasonable inferences as are obvious. The testimony of Milton's blameless life and of his friends, shows that he was then a man who might well have satisfied the heart of any woman worthy of him, uniting in his person a refined and spiritual beauty of face, with every attribute of manly vigor and grace, grave and self-reliant in temper, without austerity, pious and diligent in his life, yet knowing how to unbend in innocent gayety, and possessing a flow of brilliant and witty conversation. Of his passionate attachment to his lovely

wife, there can be no doubt. But she was simply unworthy of him, and incapable of true appreciation of him, a weak and foolish woman, without intellectual resource, and worst of all, evidently inspired by the most malignant influences from her former home. Her parents had sacrificed her at first to interest. But now that the campaign of 1643, was bringing a tide of successes to the Cavalier party, that Waller was defeated, Exeter taken, and Plymouth closely besieged in the West, and all North of York was submissive to the king's forces under the Duke of Newcastle, the Powells senior regretted their Roundhead connexion, and if they did not suggest, evidently encouraged and sanctioned the separation. The next year, when the genius of Cromwell had turned the scales unmistakably against the king, a prospective vision of conquest and confiscations made them conclude, that the connexion was worth preserving ; and with a meanness equal to their former injustice, they again urged the unwilling captive back to her matrimonial bondage. When, soon after, the crash of the Cavaliers' fortunes came, they were not too proud to accept the hospitality offered magnanimously by the man they had injured : The whole Powell family removed to his house, and thenceforward lived upon his kindness, parents, sisters, roystering brothers, ten in all, until the death of the father, in 1647. Nothing is known of their fortunes afterwards : except that Mrs. Powell in 1651, sued her late husband's estate for dower ; and her petition contained this statement.

"By the law Mrs. Powell might recover her thirds without doubt ; but she is so extremely poor, she hath not wherewithal to prosecute ; and, besides, Mr. Milton is a harsh and choleric man, and married Mr. Powell's daughter, who would be undone if any such course were



taken against him by Mrs. Powell: he having turned away his wife heretofore for a long space upon some occasion."

So malignant a falsehood, as that contained in the last lines of this charge, reveals sufficiently the character of the mother. She could thus falsify the fact, in order to make her plea against the generous man, to whose kindness, extended to her after the most cruel injury, she had been indebted for rescue from destitution! It is not surprising, that the weak daughter of such a mother should misbehave.

The households of cultivated Puritans, like Milton, were by no means the abodes of that conventional austerity imputed to them by the opposite party. In truth their style of manners, instead of being made up of rigid cant and mortification of the flesh, was just what now distinguishes that christian gentry, which is the glory of modern England; a union of rational cheerfulness with evangelical sobriety and purity of morals. The house of Milton was, indeed, a stranger to that dissipated revel, which the cavaliers loved to maintain, as their protest against the sobriety of their enemies. Its master was comparatively a poor, and a diligent man, maintaining his family by the humble labors of a school, and much occupied by his studies. But his home was brightened by elegant society of lettered men, by music, and by occasional holidays, in which he resigned himself with *abandon* to innocent mirth and frolic. His nephew, Philips, relates that once in three weeks or a month, he was accustomed to devote a day to thorough relaxation, when his house was enlivened by the gayest young men of his literary acquaintance.

It is evident from her voluntary separation, and contemptuous conduct, that Milton's wife then had no true love for him: and after the novelty of the wedding feast,

she found her heart vacant. The hours of solitude, while her husband was toiling in those labors which were winning bread, raiment, and honorable estate for her, were neither lightened by any intellectual resources, nor sweetened by that motive which renders delightful even the humblest cares for a beloved object.—She sighed for the gallantry, the flattery, the amusements of her former home: she disliked her husband's principles, which she had been taught to regard as treasonable: she resolved, at all hazard, to return to her former license.—Unfortunately, the method she used to effect this purpose, compounded of deceit and disobedience, was the most unfortunate that could have been chosen for a man of Milton's temperament.

Every reader of sensibility will appreciate the combined mortification, anger, and anguish which Milton felt, when he ascertained this wilful purpose. Conceive of the soul which was capable of those matchless visions of feminine excellence, which he has embodied in his Eve unfallen; a soul which had been, through fifteen years of manhood, worshiping in secret, with a burning adoration, at the shrine of this ideal. Conceive of the wealth of love which such a soul would pour out, when it imagined its divinity was found, impersonated in a consenting, loving woman. Conceive the gigantic power of emotion in that nature, which was capable of describing the despair of Satan, and the remorse of the fallen pair in the *Paradise Lost*, when his heart was pierced through its master passion. Even the desire to protract her absence from him causelessly, exhibited in his wife's request for the return to Oxfordshire, was a sting to his heart, whose keenness only a passionate love can understand. While both gallantry, and pride, would prompt him to grant it, and to conceal

the pain of granting it; the mere fact that his bride so eagerly sought her preferred gratification in absence from him, would be a rankling wound to his heart: For, was it not a revelation to him of the fact which is most damning to the lover, that the treasure of love he is lavishing is not requited? Did it not teach him that she was incapable of appreciating, or else did not value, his devotion? He would ask himself; "Could I spring so joyously towards that temporary separation, which was to leave her solitary and widowed in our common home, to bear all its working-day cares unaided, and to pine for my return? Could I much enjoy any delights of other joys, or scenes, or friends, when thus dashed by the absence of her, whose participation and communion is the prime element of all my happiness?" And the generous emphasis with which his heart answered: 'No, never,' was but the more deadly revelation to him of the fact, that his love was not prized by her. To this was added the sting of passion deprived of its object, and of desire unfulfilled, continued so long, and so cruelly, that his soul grew morbid under it. And when the whole was crowned by a contemptuous rejection and high act of conjugal disobedience, it was not unnatural that he should yield to a tide of indignation. He was reminded moreover, that during this year, 1643, Oxford was the headquarters of the Royalist army, and the seat of the King's military court; whence it was very obvious, that the country house of a jovial cavalier like Mr. Powell, adorned with sundry blooming daughters, could not fail to be the resort of the young officers of that party.— So that the anguish of disappointed love in Milton was enhanced by this picture: That his wife had deserted him and her own duties for the flatteries and coquetries of a relaxed military society; and

that, the society of his mortal enemies. His self-respect combined to convince him that he owed it to himself to teach the culprit that she could not thus stab his heart and his credit, at once, with impunity. He resolved to repudiate her finally.

Mary Powell is far from being either the first or the last bride, who has thoughtlessly made shipwreck of her own and her husband's happiness, by measures such as those with which her separation began. Many other men who, at marriage, had dedicated themselves with ardent faith to the happiness of their wives, have been cruelly awakened from their dreams of mutual and blissful devotion by similar acts of heedlessness, excused under the plea of a girlish home-sickness. Some have sought refuge, at such times, from the sting of neglect and unfulfilled desire, in the pursuits of ambition or mammon: some in other friendships; and not a few in sensuality. Either way, the annihilation of true conjugal union is equally complete; for the wayward bride finds, by the time the cares and burdens of married life begin to close upon her shoulders in good earnest, that her causeless absences have taught her husband that most unfortunate lesson, so bitter to him in the learning, but so surely retained by him when once learned; to seek and find his interests and sufficient enjoyments, apart from her. Thenceforward, amidst the wearying round of toils and sorrows which entangle the mistress and another, she will often sigh in vain for that priceless, but sensitive union of soul, which was once hers, and was so lightly lost.

But Milton's soul was too virtuous to seek solace for its anguish in drunkenness or debauchery, and too lofty to find it in the pursuits of wealth. His reverence for the law of God was too profound to allow him to think of the so-

lace of domestic love, save in conformity with the divine legislation. Hence, the resort to which he turned was characteristic at once of his principles and his determined temper. Instead of turning aside to indemnify himself for his disappointment of connubial bliss, in sensuality, or covetousness; he set himself to study anew the conditions under which God has placed the marriage tie. The result was his four essays upon Divorce, the first of which, entitled "Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," was dedicated to the Parliament and the Westminster Assembly, and published in 1644. This being universally reprobated, he followed it with three other treatises, his "Judgment of Martin Bucer," touching Divorce, "Tetrachordon," and "Colasterion," the latter two published in 1645. In these works, he stoutly, and doubtless, honestly, maintained that the scriptural rules authorize divorce not only for criminal infidelity, but also for such incurable incompatibility, as permanently and wholly prevented the ends of marriage. Such, and no other, was the departure of Milton from the belief of other christians, in these famous treatises. His views were rejected by the parliament, and solemnly condemned by the Westminster Assembly of Divines; in both of which bodies Presbyterian opinions were then omnipotent.

But while we concur with them in reprobating Milton's proposed amendment, as unscriptural, and of most dangerous tendency; it would be gross injustice to him to represent it as a taint upon his own personal character. Both God's law, and social experience concur in teaching us to guard the permanence and sacredness of the marriage tie, with most jealous care; as being at the very foundation of all public and private virtue. And the wisdom of inspiration plainly appears, in omitting

the deceitful plea of "incompatibility;" under which every license of guilty caprice would claim to rank. But it must be said, in excuse of Milton, that his provocation was as violent as his guilty wife could have made it, short of the actual crime of unchastity; that he was evidently impelled to his erroneous doctrine by no impulse towards vagrant license, but by honest indignation; that throughout the misery and denunciations of the period, he continued to live irreproachably; and that he everywhere condemns illicit and loose connexions, as sternly as other moralists; while the theoretical sincerity of his views is evinced by his continuing the defence of his opinion, as keenly as ever, after his own grievance was removed by his voluntary reception of his wife to his bosom.

But this distressing topic did not so exclude public interests from his mind, as to prevent his publishing in 1644 his "Letter of Education," in which he detailed his own method; and his unrivalled plea for liberty of thought, entitled by him "Areopagitica," or "A Speech for Unlicensed Printing." In 1645, he published a collection of his minor poems, containing, with others, his *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, these peerless gems of descriptive verse.

Meantime the ruin of the king's affairs, with the rumor that Milton was contemplating a second marriage, brought the delinquent spouse, and her parents, to see the difficulty with him in another light. They sought a reconciliation, by the aid of Milton's friends; who appeared to have been anxious to heal his domestic breach. Mrs. Milton came to London, and resorting to the house of one of his relatives, where he frequently visited, awaited her opportunity, and cast herself unexpectedly at his feet. Astonishment and resentment soon gave place to reviving affection. The result was

a hearty and permanent re-union, which lasted till Mrs. Milton's death in 1652. She bore Milton three daughters, his only surviving children. He had now been overtaken by total blindness ; but this rather prompted, than prevented a second marriage. After a proper interval, he took Catharine Woodcock, daughter of a Puritan family, and every way suited, by talents and character, to her noble husband. She died within a year, in giving birth to a daughter ; and her husband paid a touching tribute to her memory in a stately sonnet. It was only during her short married life that the poet realized his ideal of domestic bliss. After many years of widowhood, he was induced by his helpless condition to marry his third wife, Elizabeth Minshul. This was rather a marriage of convenience, than of affection ; and the most that can be said of the lady, is that she was an attentive nurse, to the old man, and a severe mistress to his motherless children.

We now return to his literary history. Many things occurred during the civil war to alienate Milton from the Presbyterians. The Westminster Assembly of Divines had strongly condemned his "Doctrine of Divorce," and had procured his reprimand therefor, at the bar of the House of Lords. Their preachers had denounced his opinions from the pulpit, and Rev. Joseph Caryl, one of their divines, had replied to them in a learned book. They also disclosed as thorough an opposition as the Episcopalians themselves, to republicanism and independency, when they gained the chief power ; and showed that they were not likely to grant to the sectaries or the democrats, that absolute liberty of printing and worship, which Milton claimed alike for all. He therefore transferred his allegiance to the rising fortunes of the independent party, headed by Crom-

well. This faction having gained the Army, having expelled the Presbyterian members of the Commons, and having abolished the House of Lords, proceeded to try and execute the King. This act Milton defended in a publication, which he entitled the "Tenure of Kings and Magistrates," in which he argued against the Presbyterians, from the extreme premises of the English Republicans. When the government of the Protector was established, he was rewarded for his revolutionary zeal, by the post of Latin Secretary, with a handsome salary. Cromwell, disdainingly to use the languages of his neighbors, in diplomatic intercourse, resolved to employ the Latin tongue ; and selected Milton, the most accomplished Latinist in Europe, to conduct his foreign correspondence. In this capacity, he was the author of numerous State-papers. But it was not only in foreign despatches that the Government employed his pen. Upon the appearance of the *Eikon Basilike*, ascribed to the late King, he was employed to write a reply, which he entitled *Eikonoklastes*. His most famous productions were his *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, and the replications which grew out of it. Charles the Second, then a fugitive in Holland, had hired Salmasius to attack the Government of Cromwell for the death of the King, in a learned book, which was thought of sufficient moment to require a formal and able answer. The reply of Milton, with the pieces in which he continued the controversy, were marked by his elegant Latinity, lofty eloquence, and caustic satire. The Government repaid this labor, with the gift of a thousand pounds, but it cost the author his eye-sight. Physicians warned him that his vision, already much impaired, would not endure the task ; but he replied, that blindness itself should not deter him from the performance of his duty. In 1655, he pub-

lished in Latin "Reasons for the war with Spain." The death of Oliver Cromwell foreshadowed the early fall of the Commonwealth. This prospect rekindled Milton's controversial zeal; and he wrote a number of pieces in favor of the faction whose fall was now inevitable. Just before the Restoration, he was dismissed from his office, and went into retirement. Upon the King's return, his friends judged it necessary for him to secrete himself from his revenge: but among the few virtues which Charles the Second could claim, was placability; and the prosecutions for treason were limited to the regicides. Milton's reply to Salmasius, was, by order of Parliament, burned by the common hangman, but the author was allowed quietly to evade pursuit.

Milton was now fifty-two years old; he was entirely blind; his health was infirm; his estate nearly all gone; and his party hopelessly ruined. The principles, to whose advocacy he had devoted his prime, were subjects of universal reprobation. His soul was too lofty to change its professions to suit the times, and there was no party, in church or state, which he approved. He seems therefore to have withdrawn within himself, with a species of haughty disgust, and henceforth he had no relations with mankind, except in the common domain of literature. We are told that after the Restoration, he never entered a church for worship, never participated in any of the public ceremonies of christianity, observed no family worship in his own house, and, so far as others could perceive, had no stated season of secret prayer. His christianity was maintained only by secret exercises. He now returned to the Muses, his first loves; and in circumstances which would have consigned a less heroic soul to apathy or despair; he addressed himself afresh to what he had before proposed as his life's work,

the composition of his great poems. The general reader is doubtless more familiar with the figure of the author, during this period of his life; as he appeared in his humble house in Bunhill Row, blind, pale, gouty, listening to the reading of the great masters at such time as he could procure a reader from among his visitors or his daughters, playing some sacred melody upon his organ, conversing placidly with his literary friends: and dictating a few lines of some immortal poem to his wife or friend, when he arose from his bed at morning. Thus were produced the *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Sampson Agonistes*. His other literary enterprizes were the editing of two unpublished works of Sir Walter Raleigh, and of some of his own minor pieces, with a Latin Grammar and Dictionary, or *Thesaurus*. The last, a work of vast labor and learning, was left at his death too imperfect for publication; and the MS is lost to view. One more occupied his leisure, a *Body of Divinity*, in Latin; which he committed to his friend, Cyriac Skinner. This work was probably swept unnoticed into the State Paper Office, along with the confiscated papers of Mr. Skinner: and after lying there unknown almost two centuries, was unearthed and printed in our own age, as a literary curiosity. The life of Milton thus passed quietly away, in a decent and dignified poverty, until 1674; when he died of gout, and was buried, without monument, in St. Giles' Church.

In his intellectual character, Milton was essentially an *antique*. Although more learned than any man in England, in all the polite languages and literature of modern Europe, it was by the models of classic antiquity that he chiefly formed his taste and style, and from their light his genius chiefly delighted to refresh its beams. His industry had mastered the whole stores of ancient learning

and imagery. The numbers of his verse were attuned, as nearly as one might, who sang in a Teutonic tongue, to the melody of the Greek; and his grand imagination was so imbued with the graceful and imposing images of the ancient mythology and tradition, that he has clothed his thoughts in profuse draperies of classic figure and allusion. As none could have written his greater works, except a profound classic; so none can truly appreciate or enjoy them, but a well trained student of antiquity. At every instant, the author either introduces an antique simile, or metaphor, or illustration; or else sprinkles his style with elegant and refined allusions, which betray the wealth of his literary treasures.

This strong classic bent, with the peculiarities of Milton's native temper, also explains many of his ecclesiastical and political opinions. His mind was as manifestly self-reliant, impatient of dictation, and passionately devoted to liberty of thought, as his powers were great. When he selected the word "Iconoclast," as the title of his reply to the *Eikon Basilike*, he unconsciously characterized with perfect accuracy, his intellectual nature. He was by constitution of soul, an *Idol-breaker*, delighting with a grand scorn in demolishing every principle which had improperly usurped a place in the reverence of the unthinking. He felt a native scorn of the bondage of prescription and authority, with an overweening confidence in the ability of the enlightened human reason as a guide to truth. And then, the phase of his opinions was that of an ancient Greek or Roman Republican. His theory of human right was formed rather upon the philosophic speculations of the academy and the scholastics, than upon the practical lessons of British history. His politics were rather those of a Christianized Plato or Plutarch, than of a Som-

ers or Halifax: instead of striving for the inherited franchises of the Briton, which had been proved by the actual history of the people to be practicable and valuable, he was ever dreaming of an Utopian republic, in which absolute human right should be fully realized. His reverence for the inspiration and authority of the holy Scriptures ever remained a broad mark of distinction between himself and the French Revolutionists of the next, and of our centuries; and he was, to that extent, a safer and wiser statesman; but the pursuit of classic models had produced in him the same unpractical and dangerous principles, which afterwards were fully expanded by them. The influence of the classic spirit was also seen in Milton's religious history. We believe that where this spirit becomes exclusive and dominant, it exerts a subtle influence against christianity. Its atmosphere is, like the classic writers themselves, either latitudinarian or infidel. Glorifying in the refinements of a culture merely human, it fosters an overweening confidence in human capacity and perfectibility. The mere fact that, while enriched with all the beauty and wealth of human genius, it is totally devoid of the "one thing needful," the light and spirit of Revelation, renders it as dangerous as it is seductive to the soul of its exclusive devotee. Belief in the christian Scriptures was indeed too deeply rooted in Milton's understanding, to be unsettled; and his taste was too true and noble ever to cease to avow and feel the transcendent grandeur of the poetic elements of the Hebrew literature, above the classic. Hence, he did not become infidel. And his latest tasks, and the most loved, were to employ the vast stores of his classic lore, to adorn the more majestic images of the oriental traditions. But the malign influence of a goddess and pagan atmosphere were seen in the

overclouding of his faith and grace, in the hour of trial. His christianity did not endure the stern test of adversity like that of his great contemporary, Richard Baxter. Instead of being ennobled and sublimated by persecution and disappointment, it became morose; he separated himself from all outward communion with the people of God; and refused to them, and to his country, that imperative tribute, most obligatory upon the greatest, of a hearty support to the visible institutions of christianity.

One of the purposes announced by us at the beginning of this article, was to show in some instances how much light and interest the personal history of an author may be made to throw upon his literary productions.— It is only when we have been permitted to lift the veil of his own private life, and to know what were the passions, and the joys, and the sorrows, which constituted the realities of his own existence, that we are prepared to comprehend the creations of his art. For, we may be assured that the poet is only enabled to clothe his creations in the flaming drapery of true genius, by having lived his own drama or epic, in his own soul. Thus it is said that Luther explained the power of his commentary on Galatians, by declaring that he wrote it out of his own heart. The Pilgrim's Progress presents, in its ghostly allegory, the spiritual warfare and triumphs of Bunyan's own soul.— And the gloomy passion which is the true element of greatness in Childe Harold, is but the bitter record of Lord Byron's own remorse and misanthropy.

Space only permits one instance from Milton, in illustration of these remarks; and we take it from his estimates and descriptions of woman. It has been already remarked that, as the relation of the sexes is rudimental to

man's social existence, the sentiments which govern in that relation, are the most profound in man's soul. Now, he is most truly the man of genius, in whom the generic life of his species is most thoroughly developed, in all its parts. In other words, the man of genius is the specimen-man: he presents each of the native forces which characterize humanity, in its fullest exercise. We should therefore be prepared to see this rudimental sentiment, the profound appreciation of the true woman, most powerfully developed in the most gifted men. And if one is found, like Milton, of sensitive, reserved, recluse temperament, this trait will be found, for that reason, only the more deeply inwrought in him. If he is more chary of his sacrifices at the shrine of any actual mistress, it is only because his heart is paying a higher and more constant homage to its own ideal. Our poet's unmatched creations of feminine character show that this is a correct estimate of his own secret sentiments. If it has been his task to paint the folly and fall of our first mother, it has also been his honor to embody in inimitable numbers, the purest, sweetest and noblest conceptions of woman, which adorn any literature outside of the Scriptures. His earliest great work, the "Mask of Comus," written while the visions of his fancy were as yet uncontradicted by experience, is peculiar for its pictures of the mild majesty of feminine virtue. The Lady of the Mask first appears, amidst the trepidation of her wandering from the brothers, reissuing herself thus:

"These thoughts may startle well, but  
not astound,  
The virtuous mind: that ever walks  
attended  
By a strong siding champion, Conscience.  
O welcome pure-eyed Faith, white-  
handed Hope,

Thou hovering angel, girt with golden wings,  
And thou, unblemished form of chastity."

When the younger brother is tortured with fears for her safety, the elder composes them, by reminding him of the power of chastity:

"She who has that, is clad in complete steel;  
And like a quivered Nymph with arrows keen,  
May trace huge forests and unharbored heaths,  
Infamous hills, and sandy, perilous wilds;  
Where through the sacred rays of chastity,  
No savage fierce, bandit, or mountain-  
eer,  
Will dare to soil her virgin purity."

\* \* \* \* \*  
"Hence had the huntress, Dian, her dread bow,  
Fair, silver shafted queen, forever chaste,  
Wherewith she tamed the brinded lioness,  
And spotted mountain pard, but set at nought  
The frivolous bolt of Cupid."

And when the Lady is entrapped by Comus, unsupported by every friend, bewildered by the seductive and terrifying *chimeras* which the foul wizard conjured around her, enticed by his Circean cup, threatened by his lust and malice, assailed by his sophistical persuasions, she sits, although a captive, impregnable in her purity of soul; until the potent enchanter is discomfited and overwhelmed, in the midst of his hosts, by the simple power of meek, maidenly virtue. The poet, with a philosophy as true as beautiful, makes the wisdom of her pure heart an overmatch for all the subtleties of his fiendish wit.—And the guardian Spirit concludes the story of her deliverance, with this moral:

"Mortals, that would follow me,  
Love virtue: She alone is free.

She can teach you how to climb  
Higher than the sphery chime;  
Or, if virtue feeble were,  
Heaven itself would stoop to her."

Let us pass next to that matchless creation of the perfect ideal woman, the Eve of the *Paradise Lost*. The passages in which she is painted are too well known to need recital. After the narrative given of Milton's life, it requires no violence of inference to believe that when, an old, disappointed, and blind man, he composed those familiar lines of the 8th Book, in which Adam describes to Raphael his first vision of his future spouse,

—adorned  
With what all earth or heaven could bestow  
To make her amiable: on she came,  
Led by her heavenly Maker though unseen,  
And guided by his voice; nor uninformed  
Of nuptial sanctity and marriage rites;  
Grace was in all her steps, heaven in her eye,  
In every gesture dignity and love."

he was but recalling from his own memory, the ineffaceable image of Mary Powell, as she looked upon him on that May morning in Oxfordshire, radiant with the glories which his own regal imagination projected upon her figure. The picture which he then draws of conjugal bliss, the most glowing at once, and the purest which has ever been delineated, is doubtless but the reproduction of his own joys during his short possession of his only true partner, his Catharine, enhanced by the power of his own fancy. We need not suppose her person endowed with that material beauty, which so deceitfully decked the body of his first mistaken choice. Blindness had ere this, hidden all this from his eye; but only to cause it to glow more serenely before the vision of his soul. As he so tenderly and gracefully suggests this fact, in the sonnet by which she is commemorated:



"*Her face was veiled; yet to my fancied sight,  
Love, sweetness, goodness, in her person shined.*"

It is well known that blind men, by a beautiful law of association, establish for themselves an undoubting conception of the features and countenances of those they love, from the gentleness and melody of their voices, and the softness of their steps, and from that indefinable but most real *aura* of sweetness and grace, palpable to no one bodily sense, but felt by the heart, which floats around the true loving woman.—What though this conception is, in the judgment of the mere material sense, erroneous? To the blind lover it is most real and truthful. Immaterial though it be, and visionary in the judgment of gross fools, this beauty will be found actual and imperishable, in that heavenly reünion, where the vain charms of the sinful flesh are dust and ashes.

Once more, the reader can scarcely fail to see, in the picture of Eve prostrate at Adam's feet after her fall, Mary Powell, suddenly appearing in her husband's presence in London, and embracing his knees, while she besought to be taken back to his heart.

"Soon his heart relented  
Towards her, his life so late, and sole  
delight,  
Now at his feet submissive in distress;  
Creature so fair his reconciliation  
seeking,  
His counsel, whom she had displeased,  
his aid;  
As one disarmed, his anger all he lost,  
And thus, with peaceful words, up-  
raised her soon."

It has been very preposterously inferred that the language of contemptuous suspicion and detestation, in which Milton makes his Adam spurn Eve in the first moment of his phrensy, and in which Sampson Agonistes repels Dalila, when assured of her bottomless treachery, gives us the author's

true estimate of woman. It is forgotten that he here, as a true artist, makes his heroes feel and speak in character. It would be just as reasonable to conclude that because he puts into Adam's mouth, at another place, expressions of engrossing and almost idolatrous admiration for his spouse, which provoke the mild reproof of Raphael, therefore these give us Milton's settled and deliberate estimate of female excellence. This would be preposterous; for it would represent him as claiming perfection for imperfect creatures; and the answer again is, that the author here makes his hero speak in character. If we may venture any surmise as to the place in which Milton intends to express his own deliberate sentiment, it is obviously the close, where Adam, recovering himself from his despair and rage, and penitently recognizing his own equal share in the guilt, leads forth his weeping wife, with a tenderness, no longer blind and idolatrous, but more deep and self-denying than the rapture of the days of Eden.

Some again have supposed that Milton betrays his depreciation of woman, in those allusions to the inferiority of her powers and position, beside man's, which find place even in Adam's most passionate praises. But it is forgotten, that the author's undertaking was to write a Scriptural Epic. All was to be conformed to biblical ideas. In these expressions he is but adopting the uniform representations of prophets and apostles. And it must be remembered that in his day, the perverse and monstrous fantasies of "women's rights," had not been heard of.—All speakers and writers, females as much as men, recognized the woman, without question, as "the weaker vessel." Had Milton written otherwise, he would have been, in his age, unintelligible and absurd.



THE PATRIOT.

# The Land we Love.

Edited by  
**GEN. D. H. HILL.**



THE JURIST.



THE SOLDIER.



THE STATESMEN.



MAY, 1867.



CHARLOTTE N.C.

KINNERSLEY, ENGR. JOHN B. MA

# THE LAND WE LOVE.

No. I.

MAY, 1867.

VOL. III.

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## GEN. BEAUREGARD'S REPORT OF THE BATTLE OF DRURY'S BLUFF.

HEAD QUARTERS IN THE FIELD,  
SWIFT CREEK, VA., JUNE 10TH, 1864.

GEN. SAM'L. COOPER,

A. & I. G., C. S. A.,  
Richmond, Va.

### GENERAL:

While we were hurriedly assembling by fragments, an army, weak in numbers and wanting the cohesive force of previous organization and association, the enemy operating from his fortified base at Bermuda Hundreds' Neck, had destroyed much of the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad, and occupied the main line of communication Southward, and menaced its river gate (Drury's Bluff) and South-side land defences, with a formidable army and fleet.

In these conditions, the possession of our line of communication Southward, became the main point of contest.

To wrest it from the enemy, I selected a course which promised the most fertile results, that of capturing or destroying his army, in its actual position, after cut-

ting him off from his base of operations; or failing in this, of depriving him of future power to control or obstruct our communications, by driving him before our front and locking him up in his fortified camp at Bermuda Hundreds' Neck.

Our army was organized into three Divisions, right, left and reserve, under Major Generals Hoke and Ransom, and Brigadier General Colquitt.

The general direction of the roads and adjacent river, was North and South, the general alignment of the armies, East and West.

Our left wing (Ransom) lay behind the trenches on Kings'-land creek, which runs an Easterly course. not far in front of Drury's Bluff.

Our right wing (Hoke) occupied the intermediate line of fortifications from Fort Stevens, crossing the turnpike to the railroad.

## JOHN MILTON.\*

THE reader must now follow us away from the bowers of the Muses, to the dusty arena of British politics in the 17th century, and to the thorny paths of history. But we may venture to encourage him with the promise of smoothing these rough ways for him, so that if any feet are lacerated by them, they shall be those of his pioneers, and not his own.

The career of Milton as a public man exactly explains the true nature of that great party in Church and State, known as the Puritan, and of the wide differences which existed within it. It was stated that when the Long Parliament met, November 3rd, 1640, it was almost unanimous in its demand for the redress of grievances proceeding from the abuse of the royal prerogative.— But it then contained three avowed parties. The smallest was that of the King, of Laud, and of Strafford, the party of the high prelatists. They were, in the State, the advocates of pure, unlimited monarchy, and in religion the assertors of the divine right and necessity of a hierarchy of prelates, for the very being of a church. They were shrewdly suspected by the moderate party, of a secret design to bring in despotism and Catholicism: a charge which the extreme liberals fully believed; and which, in the light of history, appears manifestly true. Next, there was the party of the moderate Episcopalians, embracing at that time,

the great majority of both houses. These were sincere advocates at once of constitutional right, and of monarchical government; and while they did not regard prelacy as of the essence of a scriptural church-order, and were not so principled against Presbyterianism, as to be incapable of sincerely adopting it, if it appeared necessary for the country's welfare, they preferred a mild Episcopacy, as an advantageous and suitable institution for England as she then was. This party was well represented in the great Hampden. The third party, larger in numbers than the first, but far smaller than the second, was that of the Presbyterians. These looked to the established Church of their sister kingdom of Scotland, where Presbytery was regularly and legally established by the constitution, as presenting their preferred model. Hence, as Scotland was then almost unanimously in arms against Charles, for his despotic encroachments: it was inevitable that this party in England, when their own quarrel with the king became pressing, as well as the moderate party, should look to the Scots as their natural allies. The English Presbyterians were avowed, and unquestionably sincere monarchists, but determined to preserve and increase the constitutional limits on the royal power. In church affairs, they avowed no design of banishing Episcopacy from the English Establishment, but loudly demanded, first, that the hierarchy should not be represented in the upper

\* Continued from page 458.

house, second, that the religion of the State should be purged from Catholic tendencies, then so plainly manifest; and third, that their people should enjoy full toleration in England. But in the bosom of this Presbyterian party, latent and unavowed, lurked the little element of Independency, which was destined so wonderfully to emerge, and although always a minority in the nation, to overpower both its rivals. To this element Milton belonged, perhaps at first semi-consciously.\*

But something more is needed, to the understanding of the term *Puritan*. In the mouth of an English Episcopalian of 1640, it meant a vast aggregate of most different parties in Church and State, including the National Church of Scotland, all the Episcopalians of distinct and fixed Evangelical or Protestant opinions, all the English Presbyterians, all those politicians who were sticklers for constitutional right, and, of course, the obscure sectaries afterwards called Independents. But these last, as they were least numerous, were then probably least in the minds of the royalist party, when they called their opponents Puritans. Among many testimonies confirming this statement, too familiar to the well-informed reader to need repetition, we only cite one, less known, though exceedingly appropriate. It is from the speech of Sir Benjamin Rudyard, in support of the celebrated Mr. Pym's

motion for redress of grievances, (Nov. 1640.)

"They have so brought it to pass, that under the name of *Puritans*, all our religion is branded; and under a few hard words against *Jesuits*, all Popery is countenanced. Whosoever squares his action by any Rule, either Divine or Humane, he is a *Puritan*: whosoever would be governed by the King's Laws, he is a *Puritan*: he that will not do whatsoever other Men would have him do, he is a *Puritan*: Their great Work, their Master-piece, now is to make all those of the Religion, to be the suspected Party of the kingdom."

The meaning which the epithet *Puritan* bore in the mouth of the Royalist, may be best explained by the historical usage of other terms of reproach. Thus, in the 18th century the word *Methodist*, applied to the evangelical party in the English Establishment, meant not a Wesleyan, but a man who conscientiously regulated his morals by a *methodus*. It was the taunt of a relaxed and unprincipled party against those who tacitly shamed their lack of principle, by professing to live strictly by their principles. So, in the United States the time was, when those who asserted the fundamental principles of the constitution as the practical rules for administering the government, were branded as "Abstractionists."—The Puritans were simply the *Methodistæ* and *Abstractionists* of 1640. Says Rapin Thoyras, (Vol. xi. p. 518.) "They" (Charles I. and his party) "believed not only that all the Puritans were enemies

\* See Rapin Thoyras, Bk. xx. 15. Charles I. (Ed. Lond, 1731, pp. 24, 25, 61-65. Vol. XI.

to monarchy; but also that all those who were against a despotic Power were Puritans. This made Charles I. resolve to ruin all such as were not submissive enough to his Will, by confounding them all under the name of *Puritans*."

It can be easily understood why the Independent party, at the beginning of the great struggle, should act with the Presbyterians; because the latter, although monarchists, were striving against a despotic monarchy and hierarchy. Thus they were going, for the present, in the direction the Independents designed to go: only, the latter intended to go a great deal farther. And hence, this temporary coöperation did not prove that their principles were not radically different. The Independent sect, originating with the little colony of *Brownists* in Holland, were disorganizers in Church and State. In politics they were radical democrats; by which one word, they are described sufficiently. In Church order, they discarded the great doctrines of "vocation" and rule on which all the Reformed Churches had built their systems, as on a corner stone. That doctrine is, that the limited Church power which Jesus Christ, the Head of the Church, has deposited in human hands, is in the clergy whom he has called, through the voice of his people and Spirit, to this function. And this vocation is recognized only where the candidate for office feels himself moved by godly and Scriptural desires for the work, and both the orders in the Church endorse and approve his pretensions: the laity by vol-

untarily calling him to teach or rule, and the clergy by voluntarily raising him by ordination, to their class. This doctrine of vocation the Independents fatally marred, by discarding the concurrence of the church, and clergy, and teaching that every believer who professed to feel the motion of the Holy Ghost, was duly qualified to teach. They also threw off all ecclesiastical subordination, declaring that there was no such thing as clerical or ecclesiastical power, in any form, regulative of the whole Christian body. With them, any company of worshippers who chose to associate together, were independent and supreme; and they rejected the legitimate control of a representative Presbytery or Synod, as being as verily Antichrist, as a Prelate. It is true, that the monstrous results of such a system of anarchy made a part of the sect recoil, as to a part of their dogmas. The little cluster of Independents who had found their way into the Westminster Assembly, headed by Godwyn and Burroughs, presented to the Parliament in 1644, a statement of their opinions, in which they protest that they admit the ordination of ministers by ministers, the use of ruling elders, the sacraments, and a congregational church discipline by censure or exclusion. It is also true that Independents, both in England, and in New England, have usually found themselves practically impelled, by the very absurdity of their own first principles, to borrow so much of Presbyterianism, in order to exist at all. For, the proper tendency of

their own premises is utterly to disintegrate civil and ecclesiastical society, and bring everything to chaos. And in both countries, and in the 17th and 19th centuries, a large number of those who have adopted these opinions have been continually drifting into one or another absurdity, disorganizing every foundation of order.— In short, the most moderate Independents, represented by Godwyn and Burroughs, retain the principle of their church-radicalism, by repudiating all general church control, and making any number of sectaries who associate together, no matter how few, or how schismatical, or how extravagant, a legitimate and supreme church power, with an inherent claim to all the powers of ordination, sacraments, and discipline, and irresponsible to everything beneath the skies. It is no wonder that such a system displayed its innate tendency to revert perpetually to anarchy, in the instances of the Levellers, and Fifth Monarchists of the Commonwealth, and the Women's Rights, Free Love and Abolitionist parties of New England. It is obvious that the only political creed which could affiliate with such a religion, was the most radical form of democracy. In their 'so-called' churches, the people were a spiritual democracy, and the pastor a spiritual demagogue. So, in civil affairs, these high religionists were found adopting precisely the atheistic and impious principles of the Mountain in the French Assembly: which ignore the very idea of legitimate authority, discard all

ethical foundation for allegiance in the sovereignty of God's will and providence, make each man a god to himself; and assign no other force to law, than the caprice of that aggregate mob of lawless integers, which happens to possess the physical power.

We repeat, that the Presbyterians, although temporarily having the political adhesion of the Independents, held principles essentially different. They were a recognized branch of that great communion known as the "Reformed," to which the Anglican church belonged. From the latter they only differed in one essential; the prelatical headship for their church order. But while they did not recognize the Apostolic succession through prelatical Bishops, they held firmly to the necessity of a clerical succession, and of a Scriptural authority regulative of the whole church, residing in the clergy. While the Episcopalians sought this general regulative power in a hierarchy of Bishops and Archbishops, the Presbyterians placed it in representative courts of more general, or of universal jurisdiction, called Synods and General Assemblies. And they taught in common with the whole Protestant world, that the foundation of allegiance in both Church and State, is the supreme will of God: of which will regular expression is to be obtained, first in the Holy Scriptures, and then in the combined voice of the constituted human authorities, and of the people, uttered through the appointed channels. Thus they aimed to find the golden mean between the principles



of despotism, and those of anarchy. It is manifest that their system was as truly one of subordination, of order, and of legitimate authority, as that of the moderate Episcopalians. And this is not only inference, but a historical fact. Just so soon as the Independent party found it their interest to withdraw from them, they uniformly assailed them with the same charges of tyranny, which they uttered against the Episcopalians and Catholics.

It is obvious also, that the genius of Presbyterianism was such as might properly affiliate either with a constitutional monarchy, or with a regular aristocratical republic; while it had no affinity with a literal democracy. The British Presbyterians were undoubtedly sincere and steadfast mon-

archists. We know that the opposite is often asserted; that King James I. embodied his opinion of the incompatibility of their system with monarchy, in the apophthegm "No Bishop, no King." The Presbyterians would willingly have avowed this maxim, if modified so as to read: "No Bishop, no Despot." It is true that the Stuart Dynasty held this opinion as their inheritance, to their latest hour. It is true that the Presbyterians in the Long Parliament were persistently charged by Charles I. with a secret purpose of establishing a commonwealth. But we shall present irrefragable evidence of the opposite, at the cost of some anticipation of the order of facts.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

#### LOVE'S LAW.

The classical people were certainly queer,  
 And did many a comical thing;  
 Yet their doings, if sifted entirely clear,  
 Will some moral undoubtedly bring.

A fanciful fancy of their's I relate,  
 And the truth, which it covers, display;  
 Endeavoring its innermost meaning to state  
 To whoever may list to the lay.

These Ancients created a beautiful God,  
 And crowned him with myrtle and rose,  
 Then placed in his soft, snowy fingers a rod  
 With the which he did just as he chose.

He reigned on the mountains, he ruled o'er the sea,  
 And he governed the heavens above;  
 And naught might presume to dispute the decree  
 Of the powerful deity Love!



THE PATRIOT.

# The Land we Love.

Edited by

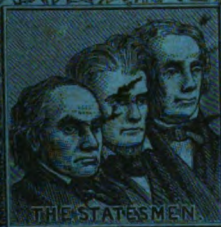
GEN. D. H. HILL.



THE SOLDIER.



THE JURIST.



THE STATESMEN.



JUNE, 1867.



CHARLOTTE N.C.

KINNERSLEY, ENG. 52, JOHN ST.

# THE LAND WE LOVE.

No. II.

JUNE, 1867.

VOL. III.

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# THE LAND WE LOVE.

NO. II.

JUNE, 1867.

VOL. III.

## GEN. GEORGE BURGWYN ANDERSON.

AN unsullied honor, a record that shall be immortal, and a grateful and affectionate remembrance of her martyred sons, are all that are left to the South from the wreck of the great civil war. That honor, no prejudice or malignity can successfully assail or even tarnish. That record of heroism and devotion shall grow in lustre as the years advance, and be the theme of song and story in ages yet to come. And that love and veneration for the noble dead will live and intensify until the present generation sleeps in dust; and then our children and our children's children

ings, North Carolina has rarely made a richer contribution to fame and history, than when George Burgwyn Anderson left them the legacy of his bright young name and example. It shall be the object of this imperfect sketch to tell his services and to commemorate a life that was as admirable while it lasted, as it was glorious in its conclusion.

George Burgwyn Anderson was born in Orange county, within one mile of Hillsboro', on the 12th day of April, 1831. His father was William E. Anderson, a brother of Chief-Justice Walker Anderson, of Florida, and best known as the faithful and intelligent Cashier, for many years, of the Branch Bank of the State, at Wilmington. His mother, Eliza, was the daughter of George Bur-

"Shall revive their names, and in fond memories  
Preserve and still keep fresh, like flowers in water,  
Their glorious deeds!"

Lavish as have been her offer-

Each link of the chain that enslaves,  
Shall bind us the closer to thee.

Land where the sign of the cross,  
Its shadow of sorrow hath shed,  
We measure our Love by thy Loss,  
Thy Loss—by the graves of our Dead.

MOINA.

## JOHN MILTON.\*

It is said that the Presbyterians, Westminster Assembly was called, through the Long Parliament levied their ambition was fired with the war against their king! We injudicious and unjust project of reply, first, that no advocate of making their's the established religion of England, as it was of good government will deny, at Scotland; and the war was pressed our day, that this war was inevitable, save at the cost of submission with determination, to establish to a hopeless despotism.—effectually the constitutional limitations upon the King's prerogative. But the Presbyterian party, determined on war, it was still which then directed affairs, never under the control of the Episcopalian party, by an overwhelming dreamed of any other government majority. The Presbyterians, although limited monarchy, nor of any other influential by their ability, other dynasty than that of the were the minority. It was only Stuarts. The evidences are, that when the king, at the opening of the Independent faction, whose strength had been nurtured in the autumn of 1641, required his adherents mainly in the army, desired to leave the Parliament, thus withdrawing the more decided Episcopalian revolutionize the government, that the Presbyterians began to make themselves to be felt. As the struggle waxed, the "Colonel Pride's Purge" was necessary; by which one hundred Presbyterian\* members were violently expelled at once; before the factious fragment could have leave to abolish the House of Anglicans, who saw that they could not proceed without the most hearty coöperation of the Lords, murder the King, and proclaim the Commonwealth. When Presbyterians, and their powerful these ruthless ends were established, the Rump Parliament endeavored in vain, for weeks, to allies, the Scots, speedily gave them strength. Then indeed, the

\* Continued from page 42.

\* Rapin Thoyras, Vol. xii. p. 561.

procure the bare proclamation of the Commonwealth in the city of London, which was the stronghold of Presbyterianism; and they did not succeed in procuring a compliance with this formality, until the Mayor, Reynoldson, and the leading Aldermen, had been fined and expelled from office, the city threatened with martial law, and the municipal government violently abrogated.† This was in 1649. A stronger evidence is, that when the Rump demanded of the various public bodies, a pledge of simple acquiescence in the Commonwealth, even as late as 1650, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, met in London, joined with the two Universities in openly voting to refuse such pledge.‡ During the usurpation of Cromwell, the Presbyterian leaders, like the Royalists, remained in retirement, in stubborn, but silent opposition.— Another proof of our position is found in the action of Scotland, where Presbyterianism in its purity was prevalent in all counsels. Just so soon as the Independents had murdered Charles I. the Scotch transferred their allegiance, without a moment's hesitation, to Charles II., sent their commissioners to him at The Hague, brought him to Scotland, crowned him at Scone; and although he was personally, intensely unpopular, with a noble fidelity to the maxim, "Principles, rather than men," poured out their best blood in defence of his throne, at Dunbar and Wor-

cester. And thenceforward, the usurper was constrained to hold them down, during his whole reign, by martial law, to prevent their loyalty from asserting itself. Rapin Thoyras,\* while giving a luminous account of the party interests, which, as he supposes, prompted the stubborn enmity of the English Presbyterians to the Independents, exhausts his judicial acumen, and professes himself unable to assign a satisfactory solution for that of the Scots. He might have found it easily, in this simple view: they were determined and honest monarchists. Once more: the Parliament which réassembled after the death of Cromwell, under the auspices of Monck, was the Long Parliament; and in this the Presbyterians were again predominant.† They proceeded at once to exercise their power for assembling of a new one, which, as they intended, voted the unconditional restoration of the king. Now, in the face of all these facts, the charge that the Presbyterians were secret enemies of limited monarchy, and only resisted the Commonwealth because its powers were not in their own hands, must appear to every reflecting person most absurd and unjust.

In 1643, the Presbyterians had risen to a legitimate predominance in the Parliament. This power they held until 1648, when it was forcibly wrested from them by the Independents, through means of

\* Vol. xii. p. 430.

† M. Guizot, République D'Angleterre, Vol. i. p. 9-11.

‡ Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, P. i. p. 64.

† Hume, Ch. 62. "The kingdom was almost entirely in the hands of the former party," the Presbyterians.

the army. These five years, therefore, form the season, during which they may be justly held responsible for the direction of affairs; and by its events they should be tried. That they employed force to resist the aggressions of violence upon the liberties of the kingdom: that, taught by a bitter experience of royal treacheries and persecutions, they demanded of Charles special guarantees for those liberties, every friend of free government will concur with us in regarding, as justifiable. But the broader errors and crimes of their party, if we pass by minuter transactions, may be said to be the following. They knew perfectly well that the great mass of Englishmen were unalterably attached to the legitimate government of the country, by Kings, Lords, and Commons; and that the majority of them were equally attached to the Anglican Establishment. But having skillfully used their party strength, to bring the King to concede constitutional guarantees, they committed these grave errors. They delayed the legitimate repose which the country so much needed, in order to manœuvre and manage it into an adoption of Presbytery: which was not the religion of the majority of Englishmen. To gain this darling and unjust end, all their great faults were committed. For this, they violated the constitution for which they professed to be fighting, by inordinately prolonging the existence of the Parliament. For, they knew that a general election would not place them in the majority. In issuing special

writs of election to fill vacancies, they acted with partial injustice. Thus, they stamped their movement with the character of faction. It became an illegitimate attempt, to make a minority dominate at once over the majority and the prescriptive forms of the constitution. And last, instead of closing definitively with the Royalist party on a compromise of limited monarchy, they continued, coquetting with, and endeavoring to use the Independents, whom they knew to be thorough disorganizers, and factionists.

But, to do justice to the English Presbyterians, we must remember the great extenuations presented by the errors and faults of the times. They had long been horribly oppressed: they now had power to protect their rights.—The King offered concessions: they had good evidence to convince them that he would not feel his conscience bound by a single pledge, when once he resumed his sceptre. The King and the Anglican party had hitherto, maliciously persisted in confounding them with the sectaries, and under the name of punishing faction, had used the powers of the government only to crush down their legitimate assertion of their rights, by star-chamber sentences. They had good reason to consider a hierarchy as an inevitable engine of despotism. Hence they naturally felt, that should they voluntarily yield to the majority of the nation that power which chance had given them, without securing the final overthrow of the prelacy, it would be nothing better than

the folly of a voluntary laying of their heads in the pillories, and embracing the whipping posts, where they had long suffered such intolerable wrongs. They knew the temper of that majority and of that King and hierarchy, so as to foresee only too well, that the magnanimity of such a surrender of power, and the splendid evidence of their true loyalty to the constitution, which it would present, would all be in vain to gain them the toleration as Presbyterians, to which they were entitled. Is it strange then, that they shrunk from laying down the power which was their only shield? To do so would have required a height of disinterested virtue, to which no political party has ever risen: and to which only the Timoleons and Washingtons among individuals have been competent. These errors of the party were, then, rather the inevitable result of the diseases of the times, than of their own criminality: and the most valuable lesson which the student can learn from them is, that the issues of great national movements are not within the control of the wisdom or virtue of individuals. The English Presbyterians found themselves inexorably shut up, as it were, to their inconsistencies, by the cruelty of the circumstances under which they were compelled to act. And these circumstances were the necessary fruits of theoretical errors and malignant passions, sown in a previous age, and by other hands than theirs. The glory and success of great parties, and the prosperity of nations, are not determined by their own

merits, but by the dispensation of that Divine Providence, which rules over the water-floods of popular errors and emotions.— And the practical lesson for us to learn is, the fear of His Name, and the practice towards our fellow-citizens of justice and moderation, in times of peace as well as of disturbance and danger.

It was when the Presbyterian party became dominant, that Milton left them, as has been related. Their condemnation of his treatises of Divorce began the alienation: and it was completed by perceiving that they had no more notion than the Episcopalians, of that wider liberty which he demanded. They never dreamed of dispensing with an established religion; only, it was their religion, which they desired to see established, in place of the Episcopal. They discountenanced “sectaries,” although they were far from using the inhuman penalties of Laud against them. They refused full liberty to the press, still requiring the *imprimateur* of the Licenser for the publication of books. But the modern Liberal who would judge the Presbyterians of that age equitably, for these errors, must remember that herein they were but sharing the universal convictions of all leading parties, and of all great and good men of their times. The doctrines of full religious equality and “voluntaryism” for all churches and sects, were not yet invented.— The utmost of which the most liberal dreamed, was, ‘toleration,’ for such churches, other than the established, as were not judged criminally anti-scriptural. He



who had proposed the full liberty and equality, now guaranteed in the United States, would have been regarded by all parties as extravagant. And certainly the Independents, when they had supreme power, did not surrender the doctrine, either of church-establishments, or of persecution, in old England, nor in New England.

They steadily opposed the vain vision of an English Republic.— But the Independents now found it to their interest to emerge from their latent attitude; and they held out the hopes of these privileges. Milton therefore transferred the allegiance of his whole soul to them; and undoubtedly, he was thoroughly honest in his advocacy of their cause. But his was just the error of those great and visionary minds, (the more dangerous by reason of their greatness,) who desire practically to apportion human rights according to an *a priori* theory, instead of the lights of the history and precedents of their own people.— “This sublime and severe genius who, in youth, had resisted his parents and teachers to devote himself wholly to poesy and letters, was smitten with an ardent passion for liberty; not for that true and practical liberty, which results from the respecting of all rights, and of the rights of all: but for liberty absolute and ideal, religious, political, domestic; and on this subject his powerful mind fed itself with vigorous ideas, lofty sentiments, grand images, and eloquent verbiage, without troubling itself to learn whether the positive facts around him, or

even his own actions, corresponded to his principles and his hopes.”\*

These words of a great practical statesman suggest the chief truth to be learned from Milton's public career. Man's true political wisdom is only learned from experience. This is the only source from which any safe light is projected forward upon the future working of untried institutions. A good government cannot be the invention of original sagacity in any man; but must be the growth of events, under the hand of Divine Providence. The workings of the human heart, and the relations of human society, are infinitely diversified.— To foresee and meet, by original speculation, all the results which will be evolved by the contact of any set of institutions or principles with these diversified relations, is the attribute of omniscience, and not of human wisdom. There is still much of this folly among our would-be wise men: who seem to think that institutions can be invented, which will run of themselves, like some improved locomotive carriage; forgetting that their machine must meet, in its course, diversities of positions, obstacles, and relations, of which they can foresee nothing. We have no respect for your constitution-makers, who, like the Abbé Sieyès, keep a shop full of constitutions, which they can furnish to customers at order. The only safe and successful progress made in human institutions, has been under the guidance of history. The spirit of English re-

\*M. Guizot, République D'Angleterre, vol. i. p. 29.

form has been eminently historical. The same character marked the measures of the wise fathers of our nation. They took their lessons from the past, and from facts. The liberty and rights for which they contended, were the prescriptive rights of British freemen. Even in passing from monarchy to republicanism, the Washingtons and Masons, Rutledges and Pinckneys removed nothing which was not incompatible, and built their new commonwealths upon the historical foundations furnished them by the growth of the colonies, and established in the national associations and habits of their people. But we have an illustration of the other, and more ambitious wisdom, and its hateful results, in the policy of the fantastical theorists to whom Milton gave his adhesion. It was nothing to them, that Britons had been governed for six hundred years under Kings, Lords and Commons: that every arrangement and distribution of the body politic was firmly accommodated to this order: that the tenure of property, the administration of justice, the national worship, were all based upon it: that every association familiar and dear to the national heart was intertwined with it: that every established interest was concerned in it: and above all, that nine-tenths of living Englishmen, right or wrong, were naturally persuaded that their old government was best for them, and determined to have no other. To these enthusiasts, a republic was the *beau-ideal*: and therefore, a republic England must be. But in justice to Mil-

ton, it must be said, that his support of the republic was doubtless honest. While he held office under it, his hands were pure from the plunder with which those of his party were so foul. He was magnanimous and forbearing towards adversaries, except as he excoriated them with the lash of sarcasm. His writings contained advice addressed to the Lord Protector, in favor of equity and moderation, couched in the noblest terms. But he was implicated neither in the confidence nor in the crimes of the government.— Another Latin Secretary from the Council of State was placed beside him: and he was entrusted with no secrets. His functions were, in fact, little more than those of a translating Clerk.— When one of his literary friends in Holland, Peter Heimbach, wrote, asking him to secure him a favorable introduction to the English Envoy about to proceed to that country, Milton replied, that he was not in the way of procuring official favors, that he had no relations with the dispensers of them, and that he was not sorry for it.\* And when his party fell, he shared its fate with a grand consistency and courage, worthy of an ancient philosopher.

The success of the Independent party, in wresting the supreme power from both its stronger rivals, has usually been represented as a surprising proof of the genius of Cromwell. But it is also an instance of a fact which has recurred so uniformly in revolutionary movements, that it suggests a regular law of causa-

\* M. Guizot, Vol. ii. p. 164.

tion. This is, that in violent revolutions, the most extreme party becomes supreme over all the more prudent and rational. Thus, in the later Roman commonwealth, it was the most popular party, espoused by *C. Julius Cæsar*, which finally triumphed over the old aristocracy headed by *M. Cato*, and the more moderate senatorial party of *Cicero* and *Pompey*. And then the faction of the populace ripened, under Octavius Cæsar, into that despotism which seems to be the natural development of radical democracy. In the French revolution, it was the Mountain, or extreme left, which overpowered first, the court party, then the limited monarchists represented by *M. Mirabeau*, then the Girondists; and having installed Jacobinism in power, at once proceeded to transmute it into the frightful tyranny of the Committee of Public Safety, and the Directory. So in England: the party of absolutism first sunk before the advocates of limited monarchy, and then, they in turn, before the Independents. Some of the causes of this uniform result are obvious: others of them may be difficult to divine. At such times, popular passions become embittered, and naturally find extreme measures most congenial. The spirit of innovation is contagious, and men who have departed in important respects from the established order, grow impatient for farther experiment. That hardy, daring, and determined temper, which is often found associated with extreme theory, finds, in the revolutionary scene, its appropriate *stimulus* and

*arena*. Above all, the accursed lust for revenge, power, and plunder, in the hearts of able and wicked men, now scents its opportunity; and naturally finds its tools in the fanatical extremists: because the farther the work of demolition and social disorder proceeds, the better field it has for pursuing its prey. It would seem then, that it is the fate of revolutionary movements to be usurped by the ultraists of the time; to witness the perversion by them of every wholesome reform; to see them reënact all the crimes which had been charged upon the governments which were overthrown; and at last to have, in their mischievous career, a demonstration of their incompetency for rule, and of madness of their dogmas so bitterly convincing, as to cure the nation for a season of its follies, and reconcile it to moderate and rational principles. Such was certainly the career of the Independent party in England. When they were themselves persecuted, they loudly proclaimed the doctrine of religious liberty: when they obtained power, they continued the laws against the Romanists, in their sternest forms, and extended their intolerance to the Episcopalians; thus denying the much lauded right to more than half the English nation. Cromwell has been praised for his tolerance, of which he doubtless possessed more than his party. In June, 1654, a poor Catholic priest named Southwold, who, thirty-seven years before, had been proscribed and banished as such, ventured to return to England. He was ar-

rested in his bed, sent to London, tried, condemned, and hung, notwithstanding the intercession of the foreign envoys.\* After persistently hunting the most of the Episcopal clergy from their benefices, Cromwell published an edict (thus it might be justly called) forbidding their employment as chaplains and teachers in the private families of gentlemen.† By this act, not only was the last resource against starvation closed against these clergymen; but an interference with parental right and domestic liberty was attempted, almost incredible in that country, whose proud boast it had been that each citizen's dwelling was his castle. When the truly venerable Archbishop Usher remonstrated against it, Cromwell replied that his party insisted on it: but it must be said that the Lord Protector, less vindictive than his faction, did not trouble himself much about its execution.

The Independents had loudly demanded the liberty of the press; and Milton, in his lofty discourse, the *Areopagitica* had declared, that the suppression of an author's book was the murder of the noblest essence of his being. Well: no sooner were they installed in power, than the rumored appearance of the *Eikon Basilike* presented a splendid opportunity to show

their faith by their works. But so far from willingly tolerating its circulation, they did their utmost to suppress it;\* and it was by a surreptitious publication, that forty-eight thousand copies were sold in England in one year: an astonishing proof, at that day, of the power and prevalence of royalist sentiments. The Rump Parliament proceeded also to suppress with rigid severity, the publication of their own debates, and of the proceedings of their High Courts for the trial of State offenders: They prosecuted the erratic Lilburn, chief of the Levellers, under the charge of high treason, for printing his pamphlets, in which he only carried their own doctrines to their legitimate corollaries; and they endeavored to frighten the jury into his judicial murder, by arts of intimidation worthy of a Jeffreys.† An act was passed exalting the utterance in print of mere words into a capital treason: another act made not only the authors, printers, and sellers of books which they were pleased to regard as seditious, but the readers, liable to penalty: all printing was positively prohibited save at four places, London, York, and the two Universities: and, the street venders of ballads even, were suppressed, under pain of public whipping.‡

\* M. Guizot, République D'Angleterre. Vol. II. p. 149.

† Thurrloe, State Papers, Vol. II. p. 406.

\* M. Guizot, Rep. D'Angl. Vol. I. p. 28.

† M. Guizot. Vol. I. p. 64.

‡ M. Guizot. Vol. I. p. 64.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)



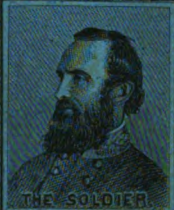
THE PATRIOT

# The Land we Love.

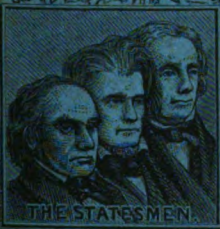
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THE JURIST



THE SOLDIER



THE STATESMEN



JULY, 1867



CHARLOTTE N.C.

# THE LAND WE LOVE.

No. III.

JULY, 1867.

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# THE LAND WE LOVE.

NO. III.

JULY, 1867.

VOL. III.

## SKETCH OF GENERAL T. R. R. COBB.

It is impossible in the limits of a magazine article to say all that can, or ought to be said of any one of the noble men, whether officer or private, who had a living hand in the great struggle through which we have so recently passed. Nor is this the time to write the full history of the whole stupendous matter, or the connection of certain individuals with it.— Many of the facts connected with, and belonging to, this great movement cannot now be told; and so of some of the parts of actors in this gigantic struggle, not “played,” but acted, a solemn tragedy of real life. Yet we may, and ought, from time to time, to put on record, so much as is fit of both actors and tragedy. Especially is it due to those high-hearted ones, call them mistaken if you please, who lived not to see the cloud and darkness of

these latter days, but whose sun went down while it was yet day, amid the glories of well-fought fields, who counted not their lives too dear for a cause in which they saw bound up so much. How insignificant soever such contributions may be, they go to make up the material out of which some coming man, in the far distant future, will write what will then appear not only the most important period in the life of his own land, but, possibly, in that of the world.

Limited then by the space allowed, and by the proprieties of the times, what we shall say of General T. R. R. Cobb, seems wholly insignificant, compared with what we could, and what we are prompted to say—

“Tu vero felix Agricola non vitæ tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis.”—

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Arms invisibly entwining,  
 Round her swan-like neck were thrown—  
 Round her neck whose veinéd opal  
 Seemed to mock the Thasian stone.  
 But the lovely maiden, quivering  
 Like a timid mountain roe,  
 When it sees the feather'd arrow  
 From Diana's silver bow—

Snatching up her dripping ringlets, from the unseen fingers' play,—  
 Sprang with strange, mysterious terror, and with wingéd haste away.

Breathlessly along the valley,—  
 Through the tangled myrtle glade,—  
 Underneath the clustering citrons,  
 And the lime-tree's spicy shade,  
 Fled she,—and her footsteps quickened,—  
 Skimming like the morning wind,  
 As she saw her fond pursuer  
 Roll his gathering tide behind.

Then she prayed for aid celestial, and beneath her sandal'd feet,  
 Gushed a fountain; and her being passed into its waters sweet.

But she could not thus elude him;  
 And within one pearly chain,  
 Sought he now to bind their currents,  
 That they should not part again.  
 When through subterranean sources,  
 Oft the Naiad's steps would glide,—  
 He, by love's divining essence,  
 Evermore was near her side:

Till, through long pursuit, triumphant, under far Sicilia's sun,  
 Alpheus and Arethusa met and mingled into one.

LExINGTON, VIRGINIA.

JOHN MILTON.\*

ANOTHER flagrant grievance of The Independents, upon establishing their Commonwealth, hastened to signalize their consistency, by trying and condemning to death the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Cappel, and two other noblemen, before a special commission, and without a jury. These ju-

\* Continued from page 108.



dicial murders were followed up by the arrest and imprisonment of a number of gentlemen and clergymen, upon political charges, many of whom lay for years in prison without indictment or hearing, and one of whom, Sir John Howell, was only released twelve years after, by the Restoration!\*

It was charged justly upon Charles I. that for twelve years, he had governed without Parliaments; thus trampling upon the representative department of the government. The Rump had been acting more than eight years already, without recurring to their constituents for their sanction. When the Long Parliament first met, the House of Commons contained five hundred and six members. When the Commonwealth was declared, it did not contain a hundred: for the largest count reported in their journals, upon divisions of the House, was seventy-seven.†— Having condemned the king for ruling without Parliaments, they were thus attempting to exercise the powers of the national legislature, with six-sevenths of the counties and boroughs unrepresented. They were, however, soon expelled in turn, by their chief accomplice; and he thenceforward governed without a legislature. For, the three Parliaments he assembled were all dispersed by him, before they enacted anything. That summoned in 1654, had most pretension to be called a fair representation of the popular will. But even in its

election all were excluded who had not an estate of £200.st. and all Romanists, and all who had supported the king.\* Still, this body, though representing half the nation only, was so far from giving its approval to Cromwell's usurpation, that it refused to proceed to its business until it had inquired into the legal foundations of his power. For this, he dispersed them: upon "the tyrant's plea, necessity," saying that the interests of public order in the country would not permit the questioning of his power. If, by public order, could be properly meant, his own quiet possession of an illegal authority, held at once against the established constitution of the country, and against the will of three-fourths of his fellow-citizens; and if his forcible expulsion from this authority, so violently seized, could be properly called anarchy, he was doubtless correct.

Another complaint urged against Charles I. was, that he had quartered soldiers illegally upon the people, and had employed the military, in some cases, to control civilians. Cromwell placed all Scotland, Ireland, and England itself under martial law, for the last six years of his reign, dividing the latter kingdom into military districts, with a major-general over each. The world has rung with the illegal exactions of money made by Charles upon his subjects, through his ship money, tonnage and poundage, and monopolies. Cromwell, by his simple edict, without a shadow of

\* M. Guizot. Vol. i. p. 27.

† M. Guizot. Vol. i. p. 2.

\* M. Guizot. Vol. ii. p. 85.

law, levied a tax, to be collected at the point of the bayonet, of one-tenth, *per annum*, of the income of all the royalists who had a hundred pounds a year. But this iniquitous exaction was but as a scourge of whips, when compared with the scorpion lash of the compositions in money exacted for pretended political offences, and the sweeping confiscations of royalists' estates. The Long Parliament, when under the lead of the Presbyterian party, had set the evil example of these fines and compositions. The saintly Independents were apt scholars, and carried the art to the greatest height. Many of the noblest royalist houses were utterly impoverished for the time. The pages of Thurloe, Cromwell's minister, show that scarcely a letter passed between him and the major-generals commanding the districts, which did not detail some job of royalist plunder, the attempt to arrest the person of some 'malignant' in order to compel him, by illegal imprisonment, to disclose his revenues, or the punishment of some unfortunate, for attempting to reserve a pittance for the maintenance for a helpless family from the all-deavouring man of confiscation.\*—A very little knowledge of human nature suffices to convince us, that the majority of Cromwell's military and civic instruments would not fail to imitate the crimes of their government.—When plunder was thus made respectable by the supreme power, personal avarice was not slow to

seize the license of wholesale theft. Thus the peculations of the persons connected with the government were infinite in number and infamy, and enormous in amount. There is but too much evidence, that the picture given by Sir W. Scott, in the Introduction to Woodstock, of the thefts, oppressions and lies of the *Rota*, is far more of history than romance. Doubtless, the Lord Protector's treasury suffered as much by the light fingers of his friends, as did the pockets of Cavaliers. One notable instance, illustrating the morals of the party, is presented by the fate of the coin and bullion captured by the fleet of Drake, off Cadiz, in the famous Galleons from the West Indies. Thurloe states, that while the rumors as to the amount actually captured, varied exceedingly, it could not have been less than about a million sterling. Of this, only about two hundred and fifty, or three hundred thousand, sterling, ever reached the treasury,\* the remainder was stolen by the saints.

The mention of Spain suggests the only remaining fact needed to substantiate our charge: Cromwell's attack upon this power showed that his foreign administration was as unprincipled as his domestic. Having equipped a great fleet under Admiral Penn, and General Venables, he sent it clandestinely to attack the Spanish West Indies, without declaration of war, or demand of redress for supposed grievances, or intimation of his purpose; while the Spanish Court was in peaceful re-

\* M. Guizot. Vol. II. p. 145.

\* Thurloe. Correspondence, Nov. 4. 1659.

lations with his government, and the Spanish ambassador quietly residing in London. No purer act of piracy was ever committed by a Buccaneer in the Spanish Main.

It thus appears that the "Extreme Left" of the English Revolution, like that of France, hastened to practise every oppression for which they had assailed the constituted authorities: and that, in more aggravated forms. Their guilt was greatly darker than that of the deposed rulers: because it was more inconsistent. They professed to attack abuses, in the interest of popular right. When they, in turn, violated popular rights, by forcing the government of a factious minority over an unwilling majority, they are condemned out of their own mouths. The established rules had at least possessed the established forms of precedent: the ultraists trampled on those prescriptive forms, and on popular right at once. The *rationale* of this crime is not difficult to read. The true conception of liberty, upon which all equitable and beneficent government rests, is, that liberty, for the several orders in the state, means *the privilege of each one's doing what he has a moral right to do*.—Its principle is in that noble apophthegm of the Scotch divine, *Rex Lex*. But the liberty intended by the Independents in Church and State, is far different: it is *privilege to do what he pleases*. In the noble words of Milton's sonnet:

"License they mean, when they cry  
liberty:  
For who loves that, must first be wise  
and good."

With the ultraists constitutional right is simply the will of the faction he prefers, when clothed with physical power. Now, this theory of freedom is simply a theory of self-will: and self-will is selfishness; and selfishness is unrighteousness. It may be easily seen from this point of view, that the natural affinities of this school of partizans are with despotism.—Here we have one solution of the historical fact, that their domination always ends in a Cromwell or Napoleon. Another may be found in their radical incompetency for the duties of impartial government, and the obvious tendency of their system of power to anarchy. Not only are their foundation dogmas disorganizing; their method of rule is intrinsically a warfare. They establish the mere will of the dominant faction as supreme law: the consequence is that their government, instead of making itself felt, in the general, as an equitable and impartial protection to the recognized rights of the several orders in the State, is known and felt perpetually as a hostile assault of a part of the citizens, (usually a minor part) on the privileges of another part.—Thus, the very functions of government become a series of aggressions and resistances, a virtual civil war. The passions of moral indignation at conscious wrong, fear, resentment, revenge are perpetually awakened by the acts of the ruling faction, in one and another segment of the community, until the whole becomes a thundercloud, overcharged with electricity, and breaks out again, despite the sternest repression,

into tumult and tempest. Thus, the government of the extreme left, after usurping the revolutionary forces, shows itself powerful and energetic to depress its domestic rivals, to pull down and destroy, to harass its enemies with excess of miseries, and to aggravate confusions: It is impotent to restore any form of order. It is destined, in its turn, to give place to some other form of power, strong enough to crush down and punish its excesses, and which probably finishes, by establishing some stable order more onerous and less beneficent than the old. That true liberty may be enjoyed, it is as essential that this popular self-will be curbed, as that the individual despot be excluded.—Some practical distribution of political privileges must have been agreed upon, which, although not believed to be perfect, (what is perfect among sinning men?) shall have commended itself to the ap-

probation of the great bulk of the several classes, as, on the whole, fair, and possible, and beneficent. This distribution must have been embodied, in some form, in the sacred enactments of a recognized constitution. And this constitution must be upheld by the virtue and good sense of the people, as supreme ruler and king, [under God] before whose venerated voice, the personal will of legislators and rulers, and the desires of both majorities and minorities, shall alike bow. Then, the exercise of government is felt by the general heart to be, in the main, protective, and not aggressive; it gathers around it the strong ramparts of popular approbation and affection; it is received as the expression of the recognized ethical right, and not as the expression of the caprice or lust of a rival and hostile faction.

(CONCLUDED.)

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EXTRACT FROM BLUE LAWS OF CONNECTICUT.

*It is also ordered,* That when any servants shall runn from their masters, or any other inhabitants shall privately goe away with suspicious of ill intentions, it shall bee lawfull for the next magistrate, or the constable and two of the cheifest inhabitants, where no magistrate is, to press men and boates or pinnaces, at the publique charge, to pursue such persons by sea or land, and bring them back, by force of armes.

And whereas many stubborne, refractory and discontented ser-

vants and apprentices, withdraw themselves from their masters services, to improve their time to their owne advantage, for the preventing whereof,

*It is ordered,* That whatsoever servant or apprentice shall hereafter offend in that kinde, before their covenants or terme of service are expired, shall serve their said masters, as they shall be apprehended or retained, the treble term, or three fold time of their absence in such kinde.—Page 66, *Hartford Edition.*