

THE
EARLY PRESBYTERIAN IMMIGRATION

INTO

SOUTH CAROLINA:

A DISCOURSE DELIVERED BEFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN
NEW ORLEANS, MAY 7TH, 1858, BY APPOINTMENT OF
THE PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1802-1883
BY GEORGE HOWE, D.D.,

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

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legislation, but by her holy and divine vocation into the fellowship of Jesus, as the body of Christ, as his chosen bride. History is her memory. Let her explore its treasures, revive the scenes through which she has passed, and adore that Angel of the Covenant who has been her cloudy and fiery pillar, through the sea and the desert, to every land of rest she has ever occupied.

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

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

And we propose to consider now those streams of Presbyterian emigration which flowed into one of these States, that of South Carolina, within whose bounds our lot is cast.

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

South Carolina has been called "the Home of the Huguenots," and this leads us to speak of them first in the land of their origin. France was the first to embrace the Gospel at the period of the Reformation. Zuingle, in Switzerland, began to preach the truth in 1516. Luther had discovered the way of peace, and preached it, earlier than this; but his first public act, the nailing of his theses against indulgences to the door of the Church at Wittenberg, was on the 31st of October, 1517. But before 1512, says D'Aubigne, Lefevre had proclaimed the doctrine of justification by faith—Luther's "doctrine of a standing or falling church"—in the midst of the very Sorbonne itself. Farel and Olivetan had already embraced it before

Zuingle commenced his first study of the Bible, and while Luther was on his journey to Rome, on the business of his monastic order: so that, as Beza claims, if there was priority among the nations embracing the doctrines of the Reformation, this priority is due to France.* Its doctrines took possession of many minds in the higher walks of life. They found adherents in the court of Francis the First: they won the gentle, truth-loving heart of Margaret of Valois, sister of the king, and subsequently Queen of Navarre, who exerted all her influence to promote their progress and protect their professors. Berquin, "the most learned of the nobles," Bricconnet, Bishop of Meaux, who, however, recanted; Calvin, a young student of theology, even then exhibiting, in all he did, the superiority of his genius; Beza, who had devoted himself to the law, but became an eminent Minister of Christ, were among those who embraced them.

Even thus early did this portion of the church of our fathers receive her dreadful baptism of blood. There were many martyrdoms; and in the Canton de Vaud, two and twenty villages were levelled to the ground, 4,000 of the inhabitants massacred,† and many, whose lives were spared, condemned to the galleys. Calvin, Beza, and others fled to Geneva for refuge. Still the doctrines of the Reformation spread. These persecutions themselves gave occasion to the noble Institutes of Calvin, written to make known the doctrines of his persecuted brethren,‡ which, for its intrinsic excellence and its historic importance, we have restored again to its place as a text-book in theology. Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France, a noble of illustrious name, of exalted character and great abilities, became the active promoter of the Protestant cause, while Anthony, duke of Vendome and titular king of Navarre, and Louis, Prince of Condé, both of

* D'Aubigne, History of the Reformation, Vol. III., Book XII. Théodore DeBèze, Histoire Ecclésiastique des Eglises Reformées au Royaume de France, Tome I, pp. 1-42.

† † 3,000, Maimbourg, Histoire du Calvinisme, Livre 2. Vide Gerdesius IV, p. 160, et seq. Bèze, Livre I, p. 28-42.

‡ See his dedication to Francis I, Anno 1536.

the royal house of France, lent their influence, the first with that wavering purpose which ever characterised him, and the other with that boldness, and daring, adventurous courage, which made him one of the most influential men in France, to this same holy cause. And thus did the Presbyterian faith rise and spread itself in France, so that from the year 1555, when the first Protestant Church was founded at Paris, in seven years' time, they had increased to 2,140 congregations. So great were their numbers in Paris, that 30,000 or 40,000 would assemble for worship in the meadows without that city,* returning within the walls in open day. At the VIIth National Synod at Rochelle, in 1671, at which Beza presided as moderator, they numbered 2,150 churches, some of them formed in the castles of the nobles, but others with 10,000 members, most having two ministers, and some of the largest five collegiate pastors.† Their polity was, in all respects, the same as our own. The Anciens or Elders, and Deacons, (Diacres,) formed the Consistory or Session, or the Senate of the Church at which the pastor was to preside; and their duties were ordered as in our own book of discipline. The Colloquy answered to our Presbytery, the Provincial Synod to our Synod, the National Synod to our General Assembly; and the trials for proposants for the ministry, and the efforts to establish and maintain schools and colleges were much the same as have ever characterised the churches of our faith in all lands.‡ But Presbytery slept on no bed of roses in the kingdom of France. She was then bearing her testimony against Papal corruptions and wrestling for the truth. "I returned, and behold the tears of the oppressed, and on the side of the oppressor was power, and they had no comforter." Calvin had inculcated on them the doctrine of non-resistance to the powers that be, since they were ordained of God; even, says he in his Institutes, "if they were inhumanly harassed by

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

† Smedley 1, 183. Quick's Synodicon, Vol. I, p. lix.

‡ Quick's Synodicon I, p. vi.—lviii. Aymon, Synodes Nationaux, Tome I. Beza, I, p. 109.

a cruel prince; if they were rapaciously plundered by an avaricious or luxurious one.”* But the tide of persecution was so cruelly turned against them in the last part of the reign of Francis I, and still more systematically under Henry II, that men accustomed to arms, and bold and unshrinking in danger, sought to wrest from the hands of power that liberty to worship God which had been so tyrannically denied them. Frequent were the conflicts in arms with their cruel oppressors, and scanty the privileges they gained, even under the guidance of the brave Coligny and the Prince Condé.

As they were the first to embrace the truths of the Reformation, so were they the first of all the Protestants to turn their eyes to this American Continent to find an asylum from oppression; first to conceive the idea of planting here the institutions of the Gospel, and adding a New World to Protestant Christendom. De Coligny, with an anxious eye, saw the increasing troubles of the Huguenots of France, and turned to the project of planting colonies in America as places of refuge. Nicholas Durand de Villegagnon, a Knight of Malta and Vice-Admiral of Brittany, moved rather by avarice and ambition than by any virtuous impulse, offered, in 1555, to plant a Protestant colony on the coast of South America, to people the country and convert the heathen nations. He represented it to the king as an enterprise which would greatly promote the commerce of France, and, by these representations, obtained the Royal assent and the means necessary. Care was taken by Coligny, whose confidence Durand had gained, that the colony should consist of a large majority of Protestants. Durand wrote back for a larger number of colonists, and, above all, for “two discreet and active Ministers of the Gospel;” and gave a glowing account of his success. Calvin and the Synod of Geneva manifested great interest in the enterprise, and sent out two clergymen, Richer and Chartier, as missionaries. But Durand threw off the disguise he had assumed to obtain his ends, changed his conduct towards those whom he had drawn thither, persecuted them according to the edict of

*Institutes B. IV, c. xx. p. 29

France, and ordered four of them to be thrown into the sea. Disheartened at these events, the ministers, and many of their flock, obtained leave to return. But they were sent home in an unseaworthy vessel, which many of them refused to enter. Those who entrusted themselves to the mercy of the elements, after nearly perishing with hunger, from the deficiency of their naval stores, at length reached the coast of France, and delivered a sealed packet to the nearest magistrates, which Durand had assured them would secure to them hospitable treatment; but which denounced them as heretics, and commended them to the secular arm that they might be destroyed. Fortunately, the magistrates of Hennebon, on the coast of Brittany, the place where they touched, were of their own faith, and revealed the perfidy of Durand to the miserable fugitives.* But the divine Nemesis did not long delay. His colony which remained was attacked and expelled by the Portuguese, in 1565, who founded there the present town of Rio Janeiro, the capital of Brazil; so near did this wealthy kingdom come to being a colony of France, and, perhaps, a Protestant rather than a Papal country.

Before these events were fully known, Coligny sent out another band of emigrants, under Jean Ribault, in two vessels of the Royal Navy, with a company of veterans, and several gentlemen, all of the Huguenot faith, to found another colony, and on our own shores. They sailed from Havre on the 18th of February, 1562, and landed in the St. John's river, in Florida, on the 1st of May, giving it the name of May river on this account. Here he set up a pillar engraved with the king's arms, and took possession of the country in the name of his king. Thence he sailed northward for four weeks, till he came to a deep and spacious bay, forming an entrance to a noble river, which he called Port Royal, "one of the fairest and greatest havens in the world," as he says, and which still bears the name he gave it. Here, on the coast of South Carolina, he erected another pillar similarly engraved, and again took possession of the

* Bèze, Hist. Eccles. I, pp. 100-102. Smedley, I, 66. Henry's Life of Calvin, II, p. 360.

country in the royal name. Here, also, he built a fort which he called Fort Charles, the traces of whose entrenchments are yet seen;* and having supplied it with tools, provisions, and warlike stores, and left in it a small garrison of thirty men,—gentlemen, soldiers and mariners, who had volunteered to remain,—he returned to report to Coligny what he had accomplished, and to bring out other colonists to people a land clothed with fertility and beauty. Thus was planted by the Huguenots of France, in South Carolina, the first Protestant colony in America, forty-five years before the settlement of Virginia, and fifty-eight before the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth Rock. How Ribault, on returning home, found France involved in civil war, and no one at leisure to attend to the newly planted colony; how they, relying upon supplies from abroad, took no measures, by cultivating the soil, to obtain them; how they were reduced to straits and became dependent on the friendly Indians for supplies; how dissension arose among them, and their commander was put to death; how they at length constructed the first vessel built by European hands on this continent, and after dreadful hardships at sea, reached the shores of Europe; how Coligny fitted out a new expedition, the king providing three armed vessels for the enterprise, the command of it being given to Laudoniere, Coligny having advised him to take none with him who were not of his own religion; how officers, soldiers, mariners, flocked to him, and he left with a picked company, among whom were many young men of ancient and noble families; how, on the 24th of June, 1564, he entered the St. John's river, in Florida, which was regarded by the French as a part of Carolina or New France, and there built a new fort, *Arx Carolina*, and how troubles and dissensions arose among them also; how, in the following year, January, 1565, Ribault again sailed with four vessels and a large company, many of them with their wives and children, seeking that freedom in religion which was denied them at home; how he was followed by a Spanish fleet under Don Pedro Menendez, who landed at

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

the site of St. Augustine, which was then founded by him, and who had orders to propagate the Roman Catholic faith, and destroy all heretics,—all these things are matters of history.

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

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

* See on this subject, the following authorities: *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*,

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

par Marc Lescarbot, Avocat en Parlement, Témoin Oculaire d'une Partie des Choses ici Recitées. Trois. Edition. Á Paris, MDCXVIII., pp. 40-225.—Mémoire, par Francisco Lopez Mendoza, Chapelaine de l'Expedition de Pedro Menendez de Abiles, from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Royale, with other original narratives, edited by H. Ternaux. Paris, MDCCCXLI.—Hackluyt's Voyages, III., pp. 300-360.—Sparks' American Biography, Vol. XVII; Life of John Ribault, and the authorities there quoted. According to Mendoza, who learned the fact from one of the French captives, there were in the expedition two Protestant clergymen.—Ternaux p. 214. One of these appears to have borne the name of Robert, who is mentioned as the chaplain; the other was Challeux, whose narrative is found in Ternaux, Comp. Barcia, *en Sayo*.

impoverished by the expenses of the expedition he had fitted out.*

Meanwhile, the affairs of France underwent a great change. Weary, apparently, of civil war, peace was concluded at St. Germain in 1570, three years after the events just described, on the basis of amnesty for the past, the free exercise of the Protestant religion in the suburbs of two towns in each province, restoration of confiscated property, and the possession of four cautionary cities for two years. It had been the policy of government to persecute the Huguenots. Now, all is flattery and pretended affection. A marriage was projected between the King of Navarre, the Protestant Prince, and Margaret, sister of the King, which was urged by the King upon the Protestants as the means of cementing the amity between the two dissentient parties, and, at the same time, apologized for to the Pope as the only means of avenging himself on his and God's enemies, and chastising these great rebels. The facts of this consummate treachery are all well known. How the Queen of Navarre, with her children, were drawn to Paris to be present at the august ceremony; how the admiral de Coligny, in spite of many warnings, also was drawn there with the chief nobility attached to the Protestant cause, and was received with every demonstration of friendship by the King and the Duke of Guise, his ancient enemy; how troops were introduced into the city, ostensibly to protect the Huguenots, but, in truth, for another purpose; how the gentlemen were invited to gather around the hotel of Coligny for his greater security, and the King of Navarre was advised to strengthen himself by assembling in his apartments the gentlemen attached to his service. These preparations, for the most consummate perfidy that is found on the pages of history, were duly made. At two o'clock on Sunday morning, the 4th of August, 1572, the church bell of St. Germain's, which was the concerted signal, was rung. The Duke of Guise, attended by his brother and other gentlemen, went to Coligny's house, which was broken open, the Swiss

* La Reprinse de la Florida.—Teruauz I, p. 301.

guards at the foot of the stairs were killed, and the hired assassins of Guise, penetrating to the chamber of the Admiral, put him to death, and threw the corpse from the window at Guise's feet, who wiped its face to recognize it, spurned it with his foot, and ordered the head to be cut off. Then was one branch of our Presbyterian Church receiving its baptism of blood. The great bell of the Louvre rang, and all the bells of the city followed; the city was illuminated by numerous lights placed in the windows, and the defenceless Huguenots were slain as they rushed into the streets. Armed men, and priests with a crucifix in one hand, and a sword in the other, preceded the murderers, urging them to spare neither relatives nor friends. When daylight came, headless bodies were falling from the windows, the gateways were blocked up with the dead and dying, the streets were filled with carcasses, which were dragged along the pavement to the river. The palace of the Louvre was itself filled with blood. The Protestant gentlemen whom the King of Navarre and the Prince of Conde were advised to assemble around their persons, were called forth into the court-yard, one by one, and killed. Most died without complaining, others appealed to the public faith, and the promise of the king. "Great God!" they cried, "be the defence of the oppressed!" "Just Judge! avenge this perfidy." For three days, and to some extent for a week, the massacre continued. The body of Coligny was tossed into a stable, then drawn through the streets for two or three days, then thrown into the Seine, then drawn out and hung in chains by one foot from the gibbet of Montmorency, where it was viewed with satisfaction by the King. Even the ladies of the court were seen to descend into the square of the Louvre to view the dead bodies of the gentlemen who had cheerfully conversed with them the day before, which they did with unfeeling merriment and wanton curiosity. This massacre was repeated in other cities till 30,000, or, as some say, 100,000 were put to death. Yet at Rome there were great rejoicings. The Pope went in grand procession and performed high mass. A *Te Deum* was sung, and a medal struck, bearing on one side the head of Gregory XIII, and

on the other the Destroying Angel smiting the Protestants, with the legend *Huguenotorum Strages*, 1572. And so ended all efforts of the French to plant a colony on the Atlantic coast of what is now these Southern States.

No wonder that the health of Charles IX declined after the night of St. Bartholomew, that sleep often fled from his eyes, and his nights were disturbed by horrid dreams of the blood, murder and perfidy of those awful scenes. It may be true, as is recorded, that blood started from every pore, and his frame was torn with strong convulsions, and that he died the victim of remorse in the 24th year of his age and the 13th of his reign. "The wicked shall not live out half their days." We should deem it a sad thing for *us* if we could reckon the average of a hundred martyrs in this happy country to every Church. Yet such is the computation made in the *Cabinet du Roy*,* a book printed in the year 1581, and dedicated to Henry the Third, in reference to our Presbyterian ancestors of France. "It is clear as noon-day," says the writer, "that the sun is vastly more. For 'tis a truth incontestable, that there have been cut off from the Church of Caen about 15 or 16,000; from the Church of Alancon, 5,000; from the Church of Paris 13,000; from the Church of Rheims 12,000; from the Church of Troyes 12,000; from the Church of Sens 9,000; from the Church of Orleans 8,000; from the Church of Angers 7,500; from the Church of Poitiers 12,000 persons!"

For 100 years, however, after the sad fate of Ribault and his companions, the territory of South Carolina and Georgia was trodden only by savage feet.

Meanwhile great events were passing in Europe, in which our Presbyterian ancestors, in the various countries of their birth, were actors and sufferers, witnesses and martyrs. In France they were shut up in their strongholds and besieged. Of their deeds of valor; of their sufferings by famine and pestilence in their beleaguered cities—how in Sanscerre, for instance, as we are informed by De Lery, pastor of La Charité, who was among the besieged, the skins of animals macerated in water,

* Liv. I. pp. 274—277, quoted in Quick's Synodicon, Vol. I. pp. 59—60.

were in great esteem for food, and parchments, title deeds, and books made of parchment, contributed to sustain life, so that literary repasts, not figuratively but literally, were often indulged in, and "the characters, printed or manuscript, could still be read on their fricaseed tripe which was on the plate ready to be eaten;" how the voice of prayer and praise was mingled with the clangor of arms, as often among our Scottish ancestors; how at the battle of Yvry, when Henry the IV was contending for his crown, he harangued his soldiers in the presence of an army double in number to his, and told them: "If you lose sight of your standard, bear my white plumes in view—they will ever be found in the path of honor and duty;" how, when they were drawn up in line of battle, they raised the 118th Psalm, in the translation of Marot and Beza, and then knelt down, while a short and fervent prayer was offered; how the younger cavaliers of the opposing army construed this as an act of fear and cowardice, till an officer, turning to the General, Joyeuse, assured him it was the precursor of a desperate battle; how D'Ancerres, the Minister, when he had concluded this act of devotion, assumed the weapons of a carnal warfare, drew his sword and mingled with the foremost combatants, with his head uncovered, and no other defensive armor than a corselet, as an example to his flock; how Henry exhibited the greatest coolness and valor, and was ever in the thickest of the fight; how 400 men of honorable birth, and 3,000 soldiers, were left dead on the field of battle, and victory perched on the Presbyterian banners; how Henry afterwards, perhaps to preserve peace in his dominion, professed the religion of Rome, but, in the edict of Nantz, proclaimed liberty of conscience, equal civil rights and eligibility to office, to his former friends, and how this edict was honorably observed by him till his lamented death by the hand of the assassin,—these, and much more, can history tell.

It was on this soil of France, let us never forget it, that the Presbyterian faith sustained its severest shock of conflict with the Roman hierarchy, to which it was then opposed; and that, though overborne at last by tyranny and power, and driven forth from their native soil, their nobles and gentlemen were,

as a class, without fear or reproach, and among the most illustrious men of France. Their adherents among the people were of that intelligent middle class, the artizans, tradesmen, manufacturers and merchants, who are the bone and sinew, and wealth of any nation, and a more illustrious, able and learned clergy than that which embraces the name of Calvin, Beza, Farel, Viret, Pictet, Turretine, Bochart, Claude, Drelinecourt, Daillé, Saurin, and many others, cannot be found in the annals of any church.

The scene now changes to another country. It was on the soil of Scotland that the Presbyterian Church chiefly bore her testimony and wrestled unto blood, for Christ's Crown and Covenant, against royal tyranny and prelatical domination. During the twenty-five years in which James VI reigned over Scotland, before he ascended the English throne, he showed himself as great a tyrant as has ever cursed a people. Possessed of the most ridiculous notions of the Divine right of kings, he was perpetually, and most vexatiously, interfering with the freedom and independence of the Kirk. On one occasion the Moderator of the Presbytery of Glasgow was dragged from his chair, insulted, beaten and cast into prison. But the Church was firm to her trust. An extraordinary meeting of the Assembly was called, and a solemn remonstrance drawn up and adopted. "In your Highness' person," said they, "some men press to erect a new Popedom, as though your Majesty could not be full king and head of this Commonwealth unless as well the spiritual as temporal sword be put in your Highness' hands, unless Christ be bereft of his authority, and the two jurisdictions confounded which God hath divided, which directly tendeth to the wreck of all religion." "Who dares subscribe to these treasonable articles?" said the Earl of Arran, when they were presented to the King in Council. "WE DARE!" replied Andrew Melville, and seizing a pen, immediately subscribed them, and was followed by his brother commissioners.

Melville was arraigned for these and other declarations, and fled for his life. These conflicts, for the spiritual independence of the Church, became more and more severe, and many clergymen sought safety to their persons in the neighboring country

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

Thus, full and clear, were the declarations of the King, under the influence of probably his sincere convictions, united with a grateful remembrance of the assistance and loyalty of the Church in the past season of peril. But when, in 1603, on the death of Elizabeth, James was proclaimed King of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, though he had but the year before lifted up his hand, and in the presence of God and the Assembly, vowed "that he would, by the grace of God, live and die in the religion presently professed in the realm of Scotland, and defend it against all adversaries," his views on the polity of Christ's Church took a wondrous change. His maxim at the Conference at Hampton Court, more than once emphatically pronounced, was "no Bishop, no King." "A Scot's Presbytery" said he, with profane levity, "agrees with monarchy as well as God with the devil;" and to Dr. Reynolds, who represented the Puritan party, "If this be all your party

* Hetherington, pp. 93-94.

have to say, I will make them conform, or harrie them out of the land, or else do worse.”*

By means of bribery, treachery and persecutions, by raising sectional jealousy among clergymen themselves, and by overawing the Assembly, which met at Perth, in obedience to the royal mandate, the King and his adherents partially accomplished their object. The *Five Articles* of Perth authorized innovations upon the discipline of the Church of Scotland, making it conform to that of England, and were the precursors of still greater innovations. On Saturday, the 4th of August, 1621, they were ratified in the Parliament of Scotland by a small majority—an act ominous of evil, and not without singular coincidences, noted at the time, and long remembered in Scotland. “The morning,” says the historian, “had been dark and lowering, and clouds piled on clouds, gathered over the capital. At the very moment when the Marquis of Hamilton and the Lord High Commissioner rose, to touch the Acts with the royal sceptre, in token of their ratification, a keen blue flash of forked lightning blazed through the gloom, followed by another and another, so bright as to blind the startled and guilty Parliament in the act of consummating their deed. Three terrific peals of thunder followed in quick succession, hailstones of prodigious magnitude descended, and sheeted rains, so heavy and continued as to detain in durance the perpetrators of this treason against the King of Kings, by subjecting His Church to an earthly monarch. This disastrous day was known for long years in Scotland as ‘the black Saturday,’—black with man’s guilt and the frowns of Heaven.”† “The sword is now put into your hands,” writes the King to Spotswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, “go on, therefore, to use it, and let it rest no longer, till ye have perfected the service entrusted to you.”‡

Three years after these events, on the 27th of March, 1625, James I departed this life, leaving behind him, in England and Scotland, a misgoverned people, a country harrassed with reli-

* Neal I, p. 252

† Hetherington p. 126.

‡ Calderwood p. 784.

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

The forty-five years intervening between the death of James and the first settlement of South Carolina, were replete with great events. Charles I, the son and successor of James, was not wanting in intellectual gifts and refined culture. In his religious belief he was an Arminian, in church government a zealous promoter of Episcopacy, and in private life unblemished; but, as a King, his life was a series of wretched blunders. "He had an incurable propensity to dark and crooked ways," and "was perfidious from constitution and habit, and on principle also." A season of great trial was now approaching the Church of Scotland, and to prepare her for it her Lord and Head poured out upon her his gracious spirit. For a period of five years, from James' death, at Irvin and Stewarton, there was what Fuller calls "a great spring-tide of the Gospel," so that "like a spreading moor-burn the power of godliness did

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

advance from one place to another." In the Kirk of Schotts, in 1630, there was a still more powerful demonstration of the Spirit, under the preaching of John Livingston, then but a licentiate, and but 17 years of age, when 500 persons experienced conversion under a single sermon.

The attempt of Charles and Archbishop Laud to force the English service on the Kirk of Scotland, the story of the indignant Jenny Geddes and her stool, and the confusion, sorrow and lamentation, throughout Scotland, which the tyrannical and ill-advised attempt produced, are well known.

The people, clergy and nobles, rallied in behalf of an oppressed Church, and it was agreed that Scotland should resume and renew her solemn covenant with God. The scene is equally well known to all proficients in Scottish history. When in the Church of Grey Friars, at Edinburgh, Feb. 28, 1638, after prayer by Henderson, and an address by the Earl of Loudon, Johnstone unrolled the vast parchment which was to be subscribed, and read it aloud, it was a critical moment in Scotland's history, and in ours. It was a moment of deep and solemn stillness, when all felt themselves in the dread presence of that God to whom they were all about to renew their allegiance. At length the aged and venerable Earl of Sutherland stepped forward, and with great solemnity, and a hand trembling with emotion, subscribed Scotland's covenant with God. Name after name followed, till the entire congregation within had subscribed it. The roll was then taken to the church-yard, spread upon a tombstone, and subscribed by the assembled multitude. The emotion deepened every moment. Some wept, some broke forth in exultation, some added, after their names, *till death*; some opened a vein and subscribed it with their own blood,—sad prophecy of what was to come! As the space on the parchment became less, many wrote their names in a more contracted form, others subscribed with their initials, till not a spot was left. "Again," says the historian, "they paused. The nation had formed a covenant in ancient days, and violated it. What if they should prove faithless too! With heartfelt groans, and flowing tears, they lifted up their right hands to heaven, and called God to witness, in solemn

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

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

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

This Parliament called the Westminster Assembly, which met on the 1st of July, 1643, and during the 1,163 sessions of this venerable body, through a period of *five years, six months and twenty-two days*, were framed the Confession of Faith, Catechisms and form of Government—under whose provisions we are here assembled this day—which constitute the Church symbols of so many branches of the Presbyterian Church, and whose doctrinal articles are the bond of union in a greater or

less degree of the larger portion of all the Protestant Churches who worship God in the English tongue.

Of the Solemn League and Covenant, which was the basis of the union between England and Scotland at this time, of the contest between the King and the Parliament, while these documents of our Church were maturing, until it was taken out of the hands of Parliament by the army they had called into existence, who arraigned the King for high treason against his country, and on January 30, 1648, put him to death; of the adoption of the Westminster Confession as to its doctrinal articles by both Houses of Parliament; of their introducing an Erastian element into the discipline of the Church by making an appeal lie from every Presbytery to Commissioners of Parliament appointed in every province, and from the National Assembly to Parliament itself, and by making an Assembly legal only when summoned by Parliament, against which the Presbyterians loudly exclaimed as derogatory to the Supreme Headship of Christ over his Church; of the important, and in many respects, glorious period of the Commonwealth under Cromwell, when the name of England struck the tyrant and persecutor with dread, and filled God's people with joy, even on the Alpine Mountains of Piedmont; of the partial establishment of Presbytery in England; of the proclamation of Charles II as King by the Scotch, who, although they delivered the person of Charles I into the hands of the English, consented not unto his death; of the defeat of the Scotch army at Dunbar, and afterwards at Worcester by Cromwell; of the flight of Charles, and his hair-breadth escapes until he found refuge in France; of his recall by a new Parliament, and his enthusiastic reception by the people; of all these thickly coming events attended with such important issues, history must speak.

But, although the King was invited back, not only by Parliament, but by the leading clergymen who dissented from the Prelatical Church, his return was the signal for the most bitter persecutions. The old ecclesiastical polity was revived, receiving the sacrament according to the forms of the English liturgy was necessary to a seat in Parliament, and Episcopal ordina-

tion to ecclesiastical office. More than 2,000 Ministers of the English Church, mostly Presbyterians, were ejected from their churches and deprived of their livings in one day, and all who were destitute of private property were reduced to the extremest sufferings and want.* They were forbidden to come within five miles of their former charges, and it was made a crime to attend their worship, of which the punishments were fines, imprisonments and banishment. A traveller from a foreign country would have supposed that these men so treated were persons guilty of the greatest crimes, who deserved to be hunted and exterminated as wild beasts. Yet they were the men who were active in the restoration of the perfidious house of Stuart, whose representative, the second Charles, had pledged himself to them; but, once in power, had turned upon them the horrors of a bitter persecution. Of their true character one may judge when the names of Calamy, Bates, Owen, Howe and Baxter, are mentioned as examples, though illustrious ones, of the remainder of their persecuted brethren. Bishop Burnet and John Locke have given their testimony to their learning, ability and worth. In the reigns of Charles II and James II, 70,000 families were ruined in England itself, of whom about 8,000 persons died in prison. The majority of these were of the Presbyterian faith.

It was in the year 1670, while these persecutions were rife, that the first colonists who permanently occupied the State of South Carolina arrived upon its coast. They sailed from England in the month of January, arrived at the Bermudas in February, landed at Port Royal, the scene of Ribault's first colony, for which they were destined; but in the month of April removed to the Western bank of the Ashley river, nearly opposite the present site of Charleston, and commenced the settlement of old Charlestown. They had subscribed the celebrated constitutions drawn up for the government of the colony of South Carolina, by John Locke, under the superintendence of the Earl of Shaftesbury, which granted them the

* £8 or £9 per annum was all which the united industry of some of these families could gather for their support.

utmost freedom in the enjoyment of their religious opinions—a freedom which the proprietors sought afterwards to abridge. The large majority were dissenters from the Church of England, and, under their charter, immediately organized a free and republican government, that was utterly unfriendly to the aristocratical element which the constitutions of Locke vainly sought to introduce. Surrounded by savage foes, almost like the Jews when Jerusalem was to be re-built, they wrought with their weapons in one hand and their implements of labor in the other, vigilant in defence, yet industrious in their pursuits. The reservation of a Church site in their little town plot, showed that the institutions of religion were not quite forgotten. Suffering on the Old Continent for conscience sake, and removing to this to escape persecution, they could not be unmindful of their former faith. So far as we know, their religious observances were private and domestic, rather than social and public, and their contest with the wild nature by which they were surrounded, and their anxieties and many cares for the meat which perishes, may have led them proportionably to neglect that which endureth forever. Yet the fundamental constitutions of Locke declared that “no man shall be permitted to be a freeman in Carolina, or to have any habitation or estate within it, that doth not acknowledge a God, and that he is to be publicly and solemnly worshiped;” nor could any person above 17 years of age have the protection of law, or be capable of any place of profit or honor, who should not be a member of some church or religious profession, which provisions, had they been wise, would seem to mark this colony as peculiarly religious. The next year brought other colonists from England, and emigrants from the Dutch settlement of New Belgium, afterwards New York, who were soon joined by others from Holland, and the next year by emigrants from Ireland, who stipulated for the free exercise of their religion. The French Huguenots began to find their way into the new colony, and in 1680 a large number were sent out by Charles II in two public vessels.

In the first half of the second decennium of Carolina’s history, great events were occurring, which had a potent influence

on this as well as other colonies of these United States. The spirit of persecution was abroad in the countries from which our population was derived. The miseries endured by the dissenters of England, and their dread of greater sufferings in the prospect of a Popish successor to the British crown, in the person of James II, drove many to these shores. Some of these were men of good fortune, and of high standing in society. One of them was Joseph Blake, brother to the celebrated Admiral of that name, who sat in the English Parliament under Cromwell, and, as a naval officer, was the antagonist of the Dutch Admiral Van Tromp, in the most brilliant period of the naval history of Great Britain. He first taught English ships to despise castles on shore, and first infused into English sailors that extraordinary courage and contempt of danger, which has given to Old England her empire over the seas. Admiral Blake was a Presbyterian in faith, a staunch republican, singularly fearless, straightforward, upright and honest. In these high qualities his less illustrious brother shared. He was a wise and prudent person, of a heroic but well balanced mind, a Presbyterian of the English stamp, sincere in his religious convictions without bigotry. The remains of his brother, with those of Cromwell's mother and daughter, and others, buried in Westminster Abbey, had, in paltry and impotent revenge, been exhumed, and cast into a pit in St. Margaret's Church Yard. He was willing enough to escape from a sovereign who had shown himself a perfidious tyrant, and from a country where freedom to worship God was denied him. He led a colony of Presbyterians from Somersetshire in 1683, who became incorporated with the early settlers of Carolina. About the same time they were reinforced by an emigration from Ireland, under the guidance of Ferguson, which mingled with the other inhabitants. In this same year the majority of the ministers in the Presbytery of Lagan intimated to the other Presbyteries of Ireland, their intention of emigrating to America, on account of "the bitter persecutions and general poverty, their great straits, and the little success of the gospel." It was in the midst of these troubles that Francis Makemie came to America, who has been called the first Presbyterian minister ever in the British-American

colonies, which is not the fact, since he himself speaks of another who had preceded him at Lynnhaven, Va. He, too, visited South Carolina in 1683, and actually sailed from Virginia in 1684, with the design of settling on Ashley River, but was driven back by contrary winds, which discouraged him in his attempt, and so the new colony of South Carolina lost those services of this most active and resolute minister, which conduced so much to the early founding of the American Presbyterian Church.*

The new persecutions in Scotland contributed now a new element to the population of the infant colony. Charles and Archbishop Laud had undertaken to coerce the Kirk of Scotland to the adoption of the liturgy, and the sincerest portion of them had been driven to the moors, glens and hills, for the worship of God. The bloody Claverhouse, and his dragoons, had been let loose upon them, and many were the horrible murders they perpetrated. Then came the skirmish at Drumclog, when the worship of the congregation was interrupted by armed troops, and so sturdy a resistance was offered, that Claverhouse was routed. The battle of Bothwell Bridge followed, in which the Presbyterians were defeated in a great measure by their own divided counsels. Four hundred were slain on the field of battle, and twelve hundred were taken prisoners. The country was now ravaged by military commissions; and, if any one would not condemn the rising at Bothwell—if any had attended conventicles or baptisings in the field—if, though they had attended at the Prelatical Churches, their wives had gone elsewhere, they were punished by impoverishing fines, by imprisonment, by torture, by the gag, thumb-screws, and the boot, by banishment to the plantations, or by death. Neither sex were spared. Isabel Alison and Mary Harvey were hung for hearing Cargill preach. Margaret McLaughlin and Margaret Wilson were fastened to stakes, between high and low water mark, and left to drown by the gradually rising tide. 1683 was known in Scottish history as

* Reid II, p 425; Webster, Hist. of the Pres. Church in America, p 297.

“the killing time,” so numerous and bloody were these executions of those who persisted in adhering to their religious faith.

An attempt was now made to provide an asylum for those persecuted men in South Carolina. Several Scotch noblemen and gentlemen, who had suffered deeply in these persecutions, contracted for an entire county of 12,000 acres, and proposed to settle there some 10,000 colonists from the Presbyterians of Scotland. In 1683, Lord Cardross conveyed a band of emigrants to Port Royal, and a ship's load of sufferers, from the prisons, were transported at the same time to these distant shores, solely for their resistance to prelatical and religious oppression.* Lord Cardross had himself been a sufferer: the royal troops had been, for a long time, quartered upon him; he had been heavily fined because Lady Cardross retained a Presbyterian minister as chaplain in her house. His house had been broken open, his papers seized, and the chaplain, Rev. John King, taken out of the house and afterwards hung. Lord Cardross founded a town at or near the present site of Beaufort, which he called Stuart Town, in honor of his wife, a daughter of Sir James Stuart—an illustrious name. William Dunlop, then a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, son of the Rev. Alexander Dunlop, a man of great shrewdness and activity of mind, accompanied him. Even at an early age he had obtained a great influence with the Presbyterian party. This influence was increased by his marriage with Sarah, sister of Principal Carstairs, a name dear to Scotland, and widely honored for his shining piety, his universal and polite learning, his candor and integrity, all of which qualities could not save him from imprisonment and cruel torture.

This William Dunlop was, as far as we know, the first Presbyterian Minister ever resident in South Carolina. In connection with Rev. Robert Wylie, he drew up the Declaration, which

*Their treatment on board the vessel which brought them over, was cruel in the extreme; and, on their arrival, so many of them as could not pay their passage, were sold into bondage in Carolina. One of their neighbors, Elizabeth Linning, who had come down to the dock to bid them farewell, was forcibly seized by the captain and transported with them, and only released by the interference of the Colonial Governor in the port of Charleston.

it was hoped would be adopted by the army, and conveyed it to the camp at Bothwell on the eve of the disastrous battle; and, had his paper been put forth, it would have announced only those very principles on which were based the great revolution of 1688, which brought in the house of Hanover, and displaced the perfidious house of Stuart, and which were set forth in the Declaration of American Independence. During his whole residence in America, he continued deeply interested in the affairs of Scotland, but was extremely useful to the infant colony at Port Royal, not only performing the functions of his sacred office, but acting as Major of Militia, and promoting, in various ways, the prosperity and security of his place of refuge. When, in 1690, the colony of Lord Cardross was destroyed by the Spaniards, he returned to Scotland, when he was made Principal of the University of Glasgow, and died greatly lamented in March, 1700.*

The accession of James II, the Popish successor of Charles II, for a season but increased the sufferings of the persecuted Church. "He hated the Puritan sects," says Macaulay, "with a manifold hatred, theological and political, hereditary and personal." "He who had expressed just indignation when the priests of his own faith were hanged, drawn and quartered, amused himself with hearing Covenanters shriek, and seeing them writhe while their knees were beaten flat in the boots. In this mood he became king." Under him Baxter was brow-beaten, abused and insulted by the demoniacal Jeffreys, the most iniquitous of judges, who converted a court of law into a tribunal not less tyrannical and bloody, and far less decent than the Spanish Inquisition. The invasion of Monmouth, in concert with the Duke of Argyle, was followed by the most sanguinary vengeance. The courts held immediately after by

* He left behind him two sons, Alexander—who became eminent as Professor of Greek in the same College—and William, who filled the chair of Divinity and Church History at Edinburgh. Cardross himself took up his abode in Holland and went over to England with William, Prince of Orange, who landed at Torbay in 1688. His death, which was the effect of his sufferings in the cause of religion, occurred in 1693. For the preceding facts, see Woodrow, *Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, Vols II, III, IV.

Jeffreys, are known in legal history as "the bloody assizes." "I can smell a Presbyterian," says the judicial blackguard, "for forty miles." "Show me a Presbyterian," says he to a witness, "and I will show thee a lying knave." The condemned were hung in irons, or hung, drawn and quartered, or banished to the West Indies, being purposely sent to an unhealthy climate and an unsympathising people.

Meanwhile in France, the distressed Huguenots were visited with every kind of indignity and suffering. During the period of their toleration, one after another of the higher nobles had deserted their cause. The inferior nobles had followed, and many of the gentlemen also discovered that the path of lucrative and honorable employment was only to be found and continued by adopting the religion of the State. The ruin of the Protestants was now resolved on, and Madame de Maintenon, who, sad to say, was the grand-daughter of D'Anbigne, the famous Huguenot captain and soldier, but now the mistress of Louis XIV, lent all her influence to this ignominious cause. "If God spares the king," says she, "there will be only one religion in the kingdom." * Soldiers were quartered upon the Reformed, and the privacy of their families destroyed. Children were permitted to enter the Church of Rome from the age of seven years, and if a child, by the terror of the rod or the offer of an orange, could be brought to express the slightest desire to join the Romish Church, or even to enter its place of worship; if it could be shown that he had joined in prayer, made the sign of

* By special decrees many of the houses of worship were closed, and ministers convicted of holding unauthorised assemblies were led, by the public executioner, with a rope around their necks, and banished the kingdom. In 1670, schoolmasters were forbidden to teach the children of Protestants beyond reading, writing and arithmetic. In 1671, it was decreed that they should have but one school or teacher in any place, however large. Mixed courts, half of Protestants and half of Roman Catholics, were abolished, and the accused Huguenot must always appear before tribunals prejudiced against him. A fund was created for the conversion of Protestants, and placed under the direction of Pelisson, a convert from the Huguenot ranks, who bought his converts for six livres per head; and the "miracles of Pelisson" were a standing jest of the Court, where he was represented to be less learned, but more persuasive, than Bossuet. Protestant nobles were deprived of their nobility, which, perhaps was, in some instances, but recently conferred.

the cross, or kissed the image of the Virgin, he was taken away from the society and care of his parents, and educated in the faith of Rome, at their expense. Churches were demolished which were in the vicinity of those of the dominant faith. Greek, Hebrew and Theology were successively struck off from the curriculum of instruction in colleges and schools of the Reformed faith. The college of Sedan was destroyed in 1681, that of Montauban interdicted in 1685, and that of Saumur suppressed. At length the soldiery were sent to undertake the conversion of the Huguenots. As they entered the houses of the district of Poitou, sword in hand, they would cry, "Kill! kill!" to frighten the women and children. As long as there were money or valuables, they pillaged them of all. They would then seize them by the hair, and drag them to church, or they would torture them at slow fires by roasting their hands or feet. They would break their arms or ribs with blows, or burn their lips, or throw them into dungeons to rot. In the Canton of Berne these "booted apostles," instructed by their leader, would keep the head of the family, and other members of the household awake by noise of drums, by compelling them to maintain an erect position, pricking them with sharp instruments, pulling them about, suspending them by cords, blowing tobacco smoke up their nostrils till they were completely exhausted, and would promise any thing to escape from their complicated tortures. The soldiers offered indignities to the women. Then officers were no better. "They spat in their faces, made them lie down on burning coals, forced them to put their heads in ovens, the vapors of which were enough to suffocate them." Their study was to invent tortures which should be painful without being mortal. They affirmed that everything was permitted them by the order of their superiors, except murder and rape. The greater part of the commerce and manufactures of the nation were then in the hands of the Huguenots. Their richly furnished houses were rifled, and their stores, filled with goods, plundered. The dragoons made their horses lie down on the fine linens of Holland, and stabled them in the shops of the merchants, filled with bales of silk, wool and

cotton. At Bordeaux some were cast into the dungeons of the castle, the walls of which were arranged in the form of retorts. The miserable victims of imprisonment in these could not continue standing, lying or sitting. They were let down into them with ropes, and drawn up daily to be scourged. Many, after a few weeks of confinement, came forth from the dungeons of Grenoble without either hair or teeth. At Valance they were cast into deep pits, noisome with the stench of the decaying entrails of sheep. These combined enormities filled whole communities with terror. Many feigned conversion, to escape them. News was constantly borne to the court of Louis, of the result of these diabolical cruelties.* Madame de Maintenon writes to her confessor, "The king is well; every courier brings him great cause for joy: news of conversions by thousands." At length he gave the finishing stroke, as he supposed, to the French Protestant Church, and signed at Fontainebleau, on the 22d of October, 1685, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz. The Protestant temples were ordered now to be demolished, and their religious worship, both private and public, was prohibited. The ministers were to leave the country, within 14 days, on pain of the galleys. The people were not permitted to leave, and any attempt was punished by the galleys if they were men, and imprisonment if women, and by confiscation of their goods. Refugees were to return within four months, and if they did not so return, their property was to be confiscated. The day the Edict was registered, the demolition of the Church at Charenton, built by the architect Debrosse, and capable, it is said, of containing 14,000 persons,

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

was begun and finished in five days.* Other churches, where the eloquence of some of the noblest men of France had defended the truth, and called men to repentance, structures famous for their magnitude or architectural beauty, were levelled with the ground. The temple of Nismes was soon a heap of ruins, which was long marked by a stone in the the midst, bearing the inscription, "Here is the House of God: Here is the Gate of Heaven."† The ministers immediately left the kingdom, in haste, not knowing whither they went. They were sometimes detained on the frontiers, that they might be prevented from escaping within the appointed time, and so be doomed to the galleys. Multitudes of the people attempted their escape, were arrested, sent to the galleys, and chained for life to the benches on which they ate and slept. Among these were often men of intelligence and of illustrious descent.‡ Many were sold as slaves to the West Indies. Multitudes, notwithstanding the frontiers were guarded, escaped by night or in the day time, in innumerable disguises, or in boats, and every kind of procurable craft by sea. "600,000," says Voltaire, "fled from the persecutions of Louis, carrying with them their riches, their industry, and their implacable hatred against their king."§

The commerce and manufactures of France were crippled

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

† "The Protestants," says Weiss, "were steeped in a lethargy of grief. They had admired Louis XIV as the greatest king of the age, obstinately believing in his good faith, his wisdom, and his humanity." They had reposed, also, on the remonstrances of the Protestant powers. Every illusion ceased, however, when they saw fall, even to the last, the eight hundred temples they possessed." Vol. I, p. 102.

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

§ *Methods of Escape*, De Felice, p 415, *et seq.* Southern Lit Gaz, p 165; and Zurich Letter, Weiss, Vol I, pp 109, 110, Comp, also, Browning's Huguenots, and Smedley.

by the departure of her most industrious and valuable citizens, and her arts and manufactures transferred to those countries where the persecuted fugitives found refuge. At this time, and from this cause, Carolina received many valuable citizens from the French Huguenots, who brought their pastors with them, and at an early period set up their worship according to the Presbyterian Faith and Order. The sufferings which they underwent in escaping from their own country to this, may be conceived by the letter of Judith Manigault to her brother: "During eight months," she says, "we had suffered from the contributions and the quartering of the soldiers, with many other inconveniences. We resolved on quitting France by night, leaving the soldiers in their beds, and abandoning the house and its furniture. We continued to hide ourselves at Romans in Dauphiny, for two days, while a search was made for us; but, our hostess being faithful, did not betray us. We passed on to Lyons, to Dijon, to Metz, to Treves, to Coblentz, to Cologne, to Holland and to England, and thence to Carolina." Of the hardships she endured, of the disease, pestilence, famine, poverty and severe labor, she graphically speaks.* Another, who became the mother of an important family, was conveyed in her childhood over the frontier of France in a large milk-can in the pannier of a beast of burden—for the parents had assumed the guise of dairyman and dairy maid, as if going to the nearest market town to supply milk to the inhabitants for their morning meal.† A few refugees, also from the valleys of Piedmont, were among her earlier settlers. And the ill-fated project of the Scotch, which had dazzled the whole nation, of forming a New Caledonia on the Isthmus of Darien, and making it the transit of trade across the Isthmus to the East Indies, which was the noblest project since the days of Columbus, and has been revived in this our day, and will be eventually accomplished, redounded in a measure of good to the interests of Presbyterianism in South Carolina. In this project the Scotch

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

† See also the escape of La Fontaine, "Huguenot Family," from p. 111 to p. 121.

nation expended 1,000,000 of dollars, and lost 2,000 men. The nobility, gentry, merchants, the people, the royal burghs and the universities, subscribed to the stock—young women threw their little fortunes into it, and widows sold their jointures to command funds for the same purpose. Six ships were built in Holland of from 36 to 60 guns, and 1,200 men, among whom were the younger sons of the noble and ancient families in Scotland, and 60 disbanded officers, who carried their tenants and retainers with them, constituted the band of emigrants which sailed from the port of Leith, amidst the tears, prayers and praises of their excited countrymen, in July, 1698. Two Presbyterian Ministers accompanied these first colonists, Messrs. James and Scot, one of whom died at sea, and the other soon after their arrival. King William ordered all Governors in the West Indies and America to refuse aid and encouragement to the colony, which he looked upon with displeasure. In about eight months the colonists, worn with sickness and want, abandoned the expedition; before learning of which the Scotch sent out another colony of 1,300 men. Three Presbyterian Ministers were with the second emigration, who were ordered by the Commission of the General Assembly to erect forthwith, a Presbytery in the colony, with Moderator and Clerk, to appoint ruling Elders and Deacons, and hold regular Kirk Sessions. These Ministers were Alexander Shields, Francis Borland and Archibald Stobo. These were joined by Captain Campbell, with the people of his own estate, in his own ship. They effected their landing at the site of the new colony, but the Spaniards came upon them with a large force, to whom, after a long and vigorous defence, they were obliged to capitulate in March, 1700. They then commenced their homeward voyage, making their way in seven vessels to the nearer British colonies. Many died on the homeward passage. Two students of Theology, who had joined the expedition, died at Jamaica. The *Rising Sun* was their largest vessel—a ship of 60 guns. She encountered a gale off the coast of Florida, which brought them into great distress, and made for the port of Charleston under a jury mast; and, while laying off Charleston bar, waiting to lighten the vessel that she might be got into port, a storm

arose, in which she went to pieces, and every person on board perished. Lieutenant Graham, Rev. Mr. Stobo and his wife, with several others, fifteen in all, had gone up to town in the ship's boat, and so were saved. This Mr. Stobo was the fourth Minister of the Church in Charleston in which the Congregationalists and Presbyterians worshipped together, and became the founder of several Churches of the Presbyterian faith along the Atlantic coast in the early part of the eighteenth century.

Of the other settlements of Presbyterians in our little State, through the eighteenth century, who came chiefly from the North of Ireland in two streams—the one by direct emigration through the port of Charleston, the other through Pennsylvania, by the Mountains of Virginia and the Up-country of North Carolina into the Upper Districts of South Carolina; of the emigrants from Switzerland and the Palatinate of Germany, who, though chiefly of the Reformed or Calvinistic faith, are now incorporated with the Lutherans; of the further emigration of the Huguenots; of the stirring period of the Revolution, when the soil of Carolina was stained with fraternal blood, in contests between the Royalists and Whigs, beyond any other State in this Union, time does not permit us specially to speak.* Of the Huguenots and the Scotch-Irish, all, with hardly an exception, men and women, contended on the side of liberty. The muster rolls of each company are thick with the names of Presbyterian men, and every battle-field on Carolina's soil is moistened with Presbyterian blood. Several of the officers who fought in her battles were elders in the Presbyterian Church,† and it is still within the memory of some few survivors of the revolutionary period, that the men went armed to church, and sentries were posted, and marched their rounds during the time of Divine worship. The men of our Church were not wanting in that trying period.

* Of the Presbyterians, the Scotch, who were far the smaller number, for the most part, though not all, sided with the king, and withdrew with the British forces.

† Generals Morgan and Pickens, at the battle of the Cowpens; Colonels Campbell, Williams, Cleveland, Shelby and Sevier, at the battle of King's Mountain; Colonel Bratton and Major Dickson, at Huck's defeat. Major Morrow and Major James were Presbyterians; and all, we believe, except Colonel Campbell, were, or became subsequently, elders in the Church.

They had learned to understand the value of a just and regulated liberty in their contests for freedom to worship God, with tyrannical Sovereigns, and persecuting hierarchies, whether of England or Rome. Her church polity suggested to her the beautiful theory of a representative government and confederated States; and if she learned, on European shores, the idea of "a Church without a Bishop," she has finished her lesson on these shores in the idea of "a State without a King," and a Church wholly sundered from political organizations. As she has been a witnessing Church for God's truth, she has been a witnessing Church for the right of private judgment and freedom of worship, and the language of her frequent and solemn Covenants, sometimes signed with blood, are reiterated in the Mecklenburg Declaration, and in the Declaration of our Nation's Independence.

But the Presbyterian Church has also, at times, held those who were unfaithful to her own engagements, and her testimony has been obscured and her glory has departed. Truth is always an importation from heaven to the human breast, and grows as an exotic there, while error is its native growth. In all countries there have been aberrations from the strict path of orthodoxy, into the regions of doubtful speculation, which, however attractive to human reason, have been fraught with evil more or less disastrous to man's salvation, and more or less offensive to Christ our Head. Those peculiar modifications of Calvinism which, in New England, have been called Hopkinsianism, and Moderate Calvinism, were long before set forth by some of the Divines of Huguenot France. Arminianism arose among the Presbyterian Churches of Holland. Moderatism, which at one time threatened the purity of the American Presbyterian Church, arose and spread its blight over the Church of Scotland. In its latitudinarianism and pretended charity, it extended the Ægis of its protection over the advocates of error, tolerating, for a long time, Simpson, its Professor of Divinity, in his Arminianism, Pelagianism and nascent Socinianism, giving free course for the spread of Neonomianism in the Kirk of Scotland, condemning the Marrow Men for their adherence to the Marrow of Modern

Divinity—a work containing a few unguarded expressions, but holding forth the heart of the Gospel, and which was now re-published by Thomas Boston; poisoning the minds of men* against evangelical religion; becoming, at length, as Wither-
spoon, in his inimitable characteristics says, exceeding fierce for moderation; imposing ministers upon congregations without their consent, and in spite of their determined opposition; substituting in the instructions of the pulpit, a cold, legal morality instead of the warm pulsations of spiritual life; restrained with great difficulty from abandoning subscription to the Confession of Faith at the ordination of ministers; invading the right of private judgment, and converting the Church into a subordinate yet civil organization; ruling, however, with a rod of iron, prohibiting ministerial communion with other Protestant Evangelical Churches, and so denying the existence of a “Church Universal;” and resisting, towards the close of the eighteenth century, through which all these lamentable changes took place, the rising spirit of Christian missions. In Switzerland the decadence of spiritual religion, and the growth of Rationalism, and at last of Socinianism, was even more rapid and universal, and only in our own day has a counter-revolution been first effected through the influence of Haldane, and now through D’Aubigne and his associates. In the Church of Ireland, in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, latitudinarianism crept in. The innocency of error, unless it was wilful, was maintained by a great portion; and the Deity of Christ was held to be a doctrine not essential to Christianity. The errorists refused to subscribe the Confession of Faith, when pressed by the orthodox, and the Church became divided into subscribers and non-subscribers. Indeed, strict subscription to the Confession was discontinued, for nearly half a century, in nine out of the fourteen Presbyteries of the Synod of Ulster. And the Presbyterian Church of England also passed through a rapid decline. Beginning with Baxter, who, with all his piety, had a proclivity to loose theological opinions, and never having thoroughly adopted nor carried out into practice, the

* *e. g.*: Of the poet Burns, and others.

organization of the Presbyterian Church, with its Sessions, Presbyteries, and Provincial and National Synods, and with its strict subscription to the Confession of Faith, it rapidly declined through Baxterianism to Arminianism, and through Arminianism to Arianism, and from this to Socinianism, and finally almost to entire extinction.

These things are sad commentaries on the proclivity of even the best and noblest communities to error, and solemn warnings to us to be watchful against incipient heresies, and to require the strictest adherence to the form of sound words, and to the order of God's house, as embodied in our standards. Our fathers have left us a rich heritage of truth and virtue. The testimony they announced should be by us clearly uttered, and their wrestling for Christ's Crown and Covenant, and, as connected with this, for civil liberty, be imitated. We should not, in our seasons of prosperity and peace, become tolerant of error, and negligent in the rule and discipline of the Church, for God has placed us, we trust, in this New World, and in the midst of this mighty nation, and on a Continent across which is to be the path of commerce, which looks towards Europe on the East, and Asia on the West, that we may do our full share in filling it with education, with Heaven's truth, with a sense of individual responsibility and regard to law, and that we may bear forth to nations, now benighted, those rich blessings which our system of doctrine and government brought to Geneva, France, Holland, Scotland, Northern Ireland and England, in their purest and most heroic days. We have a noble, though, by the world, a despised ancestry, and we cannot desire to transmit to our children a more exalted heritage than we have received from them. Let us revive in our own minds the memory of their sufferings, their heroic deeds, and their virtues, and by our own historic labors be the medium through which a clear and distinct knowledge of our own times, and those which immediately preceded us, shall be handed down to future generations. Whether our own country continues to present the spectacle of a united, prospering people—which, may God grant!—or is divided into many and rival nations, there will still be a holy seed, which shall be the substance thereof, to bear witness to

the truth, and wrestle still for Christ's Crown and Covenant. Let us see that they enjoy a full and truthful record of the past, so far as it relates to this our heritage, that they may take up the song of Israel, and of the aged Moses, the leader of Israel, and say :

“There is none like unto the God of Jeshurun,
Who rideth upon the Heaven in thy help,
And His Excellency on the sky.
The eternal God is thy refuge,
And underneath thee are the everlasting arms :
Happy art thou, O Israel!
Who is like unto thee, O people saved
By the Lord, the shield of thy help,
And who is the sword of thy excellency!”