

Printed 1899

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THE

Presbyterian Quarterly.

No. 47—JANUARY, 1899.

I. THE PRESBYTERIAN BULWARKS OF LIBERTY AND LAW.

It is a striking and memorable coincidence that while in the City of Philadelphia the Presbyterian Synod of New York and Philadelphia, in 1787, was discussing and amending the report of Witherspoon and his associates, and seeking the best possible embodiment of Presbyterianism as an organized, representative and constitutional government, the Constitutional Convention was also at the same time, in that same city, debating and determining the best form of government for the new Nation. Led by Witherspoon, whose blood still tingled with the thrill of the hour when he signed the Declaration of Independence, the Synod took the Confession of Faith in hand, and without any scrupulosities of reverence for it as a venerable symbol, and in absolute indifference to possibilities of patch-work, stripped it of every vestige of Erastianism, and ordered a thousand copies of the Plan as thus amended, printed for distribution among the Presbyteries, "for their consideration, and the consideration of the churches under their care." In the next Synod, 1788, after further amendment and full discussion, the whole Plan was finally adopted as "The Constitu-

VIII. THE COVENANTER IN EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY.

It was not an accident that made John Cabot the discoverer of the Continent of North America rather than Christopher Columbus. He, whom "the winds and the sea obey," had decreed that the first ship to touch the solid shores of this continent should be one that bore at its mast-head the flag of what was soon to become Protestant England, rather than that of Roman Catholic Spain. He saw from the very beginning the end, which we discover only in the accomplished fact. That end was, that the colonization of North America should be a Protestant colonization.

Spain, then among the first, if not the very foremost nation in Europe, had determined that America should be another Roman Catholic Empire, the adjective being descriptive not of imperial glory, but rather of ecclesiastical control—in short, the equivalent of Papal. God's purpose was different. Hence Cabot and not Columbus. As the just and natural sequel of this first historic fact we have to-day American freedom, and the more than forty Commonwealths united under the Stars and Stripes, the symbol and pledge, the world 'round, of civil and religious liberty. For it is but to repeat the veriest commonplace of recent modern history, to say that America, with her republican institutions is the legitimate outcome of the Reformation. Given Luther, Washington was a necessity. If the oft-repeated proverb that, by his scholarly editing of the Greek New Testament, "Erasmus laid the egg, which Luther hatched," it is no undue stretching the figure to add, that from the brood thus originated sprang, as one of its most illustrious descendants, the Chanticleer that at Yorktown sounded out the clarion of victorious independence. In

1754, David Hume wrote in regard to these early discoverers of the New World: "Speculative reasoners during that age raised many objections to the planting of these remote regions, and foretold, that after draining their mother country of inhabitants, they would soon shake off her yoke and erect an independent government in America. But time," he goes on to remark, "has shown that the views entertained by those who encouraged such generous undertakings were more just and solid." But how much more "just and solid," now that we have advanced a century and a half beyond Hume, does the judgment appear of those "speculative reasoners," who prophesied a century and a half before he wrote! Hume lacked the spiritual insight to perceive the mighty working of those moral forces, which the reformation of Luther had unloosed. The defender of the Stuarts could not understand the principles that controlled the men who would mould a "government of the people, by the people and for the people."

But to say, that America is the outgrowth of the Reformation of the sixteenth century is to tell one-half the truth. That was a broad channel of far-reaching influence. But its deepest, mightiest current was that which flowed past the schools of Geneva. John Calvin—not a man, but the principles and truths of which his name is a compendious description—was the real founder of republican, free institutions in America. To present in full the historic demonstration of this statement would be to rewrite the history of Western Europe during its two most eventful centuries, the 17th and the 18th. It would require the telling afresh of that most thrilling story of modern times, the struggle of the Netherlands for the rights of man, a declaration of rights indelibly traced in the blood of heroes, both princely and peasant, than which none ever written was more sublimely glorious. It would march in review before us the armies of a Conde and a Gustavus; would open our ears to the

dying testimonies of countless martyrs; would repeat the trials and triumphs of generation after generation of Puritans, who being dead will yet continue to tell to coming ages the wonderful works of God. We should need to listen to the echoes of the teachings of Knox, as they come to us from Scottish glens, mingled with the tramp of the dragonades. Londonderry and the Boyne would have to tell again in our ears the story of their almost superhuman fortitude and valor. To glance even most superficially at this magnificent panorama—a pageant whose brilliant glories might well dazzle the eyes of angels—is, of course, far beyond the ability of the present writer and the patience of his readers. We can stay only to present the testimony—capable of very large increase—of a few of the leading historians who have written the wonderful story.

Hallam (Vol. 3: p. 427) tells us: "It was a struggle of the Scotch for the liberty of their Church, which was the means of preserving the liberties of England." And none in our day need to be reminded of the close and causal connection between English and American ideas of freedom. Macaulay (*England*, Vol 1: p. 73), speaking of the same era, makes the statement: "To this step" (forcing the "service book" upon Scotland) "our country owes its liberty." Lecky, tracing the influence of the Covenanters, declares: "The Kirk was by its very constitution republican," and, in the same line, Froude points out the fact, that "their" (the Kirk's) "religion taught them the equality of man." "It is," says Buckle (*Civilization*, Vol. 1: 811) "an interesting fact, that the doctrines, which in England are called Calvinistic, have been always connected with a democratic spirit. In the republics of Switzerland, North America and of Holland, Calvinism was always the popular creed. In the sharp retribution which followed the death of Elizabeth, the Puritans and Independents, by whom the punishment was inflicted, were, with scarcely an exception,

Calvinists." Again he says (Vol. 2: p. 185): "It was the Presbyterian clergy, who in their pulpits, their Presbyteries and their General Assemblies encouraged that democratic and insubordinate spirit, which eventually produced the happiest results by keeping alive the spirit of liberty." Referring to a little later period, Charles Hodge (*Hist. Pur. Ch.*, Vol. 1: p. 59), speaking of the early inhabitants of America, says: "The English Puritans were all rigid Calvinists, and many of them Presbyterians. The Dutch were Calvinists and Presbyterians. A moiety of the Germans were of the same class. All the French Protestants were Calvinists and Presbyterians, and so, of course, were the Scotch and Scotch-Irish." Cotton Mather informs us: "That a gentleman in New England having published a book, in which he attempted to prove, that Christ bore not our sins by God's imputation, and therefore, also, did not bear the curse of the law for them, the General Court of Massachusetts (the then supreme civil authority) afraid lest the Church of God abroad should suspect that New England allowed such exorbitant aberrations, ordered an answer to be prepared, in which it is stated, that the Lord Jesus Christ, as God-man and mediator, according to the will of God and of his own voluntary consent, fully obeyed the law, doing the command in the way of works and suffering the essential punishment of the curse in the way of satisfaction unto Divine Justice; and that they, who deny these, do take away both the matter and form of our justification, which is the very life of our souls." And Dr. Lyman Beecher writes (quoting Hodge, Vol. 1: p. 6): "Our Puritan fathers adhered to the doctrine of original sin as consisting in the imputation of Adam's sin and in a hereditary depravity." "The rigid Puritans," Mr. Bancroft affirms, "proved in America the supporters of religious freedom." And William Reed of Pennsylvania remarks: "The debt of gratitude, which Independent America owes to the dissenting clergy can never be paid." Froude gives to the

Covenanters the credit of having won independence for America and goes so far as to suggest that even Bunker Hill was borrowed from Ireland. Motley says: "Holland, England and America owe their liberties to Calvinists." And Ranke affirms, that "Calvin was the true founder of the American government."

But, weighty as are these authorities, there is still a more potent argument. The principles which inhere in that system of associated truths called Calvinism, contain at once the germ and the norm of freedom, both religious and civil. They have become, because they could not help but become, the greatest educating forces for the masses of men that the world has ever known. Their substance and their logical relations necessitate thinking, deep and strong thinking. They demand investigation into those questions which are essentially and everlastingly human. They display the logical consistency of the parts as a confirmation of their several and joint truthfulness. And let it be borne in mind, that logic is not arbitrary, but necessary. Logic is simply the scientific arrangement of the laws of thinking, not that of the philosopher alone, but of the universal mind of man. The humblest intellect, therefore, that accepts the teachings of this system, is thereby lifted into the sphere of the premise and the syllogism, though he may never have heard the names, and be wholly ignorant of their meaning. Awakened thought, quickened intellect, the outreach for larger knowledge; these, which are the very fountains of education, must ever be profoundly stirred in the mind of him who has learned the fundamentals of the Calvinistic system, viz.: God supremely sovereign and man lost, sinful, spiritually dead and helpless. It was, therefore, no freak of destiny, but the most natural development of principles, that Geneva should become the originator of public schools. Bancroft says: "The public school system was derived from Geneva, the work of John Calvin; introduced by Luther into Germany, by John Knox

into Scotland, and so became the property of the English-speaking nations." No wonder, as a recent writer relates, that "during the 18th century Covenanter ministers established twenty-eight colleges in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee." And even a more pregnant fact than this appears in the early annals of the American colonies, viz. : Wherever men of this faith were settled, the church and school-house were planted side by side from Massachusetts on the North to the Carolinas on the South, and as far inland as the country was settled.

Now, everybody knows that thinking is dangerous to despotism. Deliver populations from stolid ignorance, and you rouse the sleeping giant. Another element in the genesis of freedom is that profound reverence for God and his authority, that deep conviction, that he and he only is to be feared and obeyed, which lie at its very core. This conviction is deeply rooted in the vigorous system of Calvinism. This supreme reverence for God and allegiance to his authority beget a spirit of resistance to all unjust authority and to all unrighteous law. Hence the men who hold these views are instinctively the foes of anarchy on the one hand and tyranny on the other. To them civil liberty is liberty regulated by righteous law. Moreover, just in so far as God is exalted, the distinctions of lofty and lowly among men disappear. Hence the doctrine of sin, as taught in this system, is the mightiest of all levellers. God alone is great. And so the sturdy believer in total depravity—by which he means the curse of sin as it taints his entire nature—the totality of his being—body, mind and soul—gives little value to the factitious distinctions that prevail among men. In the presence of God monarch and subject stand on the same level. Both are sinners undone and helpless before their Divine Judge and King. Besides, as the pride of earthly distinction is humbled by this Scriptural doctrine of sin, so the lowliest position on earth

is lifted to the loftiest honor by the Pauline doctrines of the election of grace, and the atonement through the blood of the crucified Redeemer. He, whom the Eternal has chosen before the foundation of the world to be a child of God, and who has been delivered from the bondage and curse of sin by the death of the Son of God, has attained an elevation before which all earthly honors are as nothing. "His name, though it may not appear in the register of heralds, is recorded in the Book of Life." How easy—indeed, how necessary—to the believer in this system of truth, the inference, that men in their essential nature are all equal. This first principle of our great Declaration is no discovery of Thomas Jefferson or the men who with him signed that immortal document. The Waldenses and the Covenanter had felt its inspiration and rejoiced in its hope many generations before it appeared in the Westminster Confession or the Magna Charta of American freedom.

In addition to these germinal principles of Calvinism, there was also a law of their operation, which largely contributed to the establishment of liberty in America. That norm was the representative element in popular government. The Calvinistic system has sometimes been found conjoined with Independency in church polity; and the representative principle has occasionally united itself with Arminianism in doctrine. But both associations are abnormal. The logical connection is that of Calvinistic doctrine with Presbyterianism, or representative government. This combination of the principles of freedom with their normal associate in government, when transferred to the civil sphere, gave to America representative republicanism.

Thus the voices of history are confirmed by the outworking of well-known principles. And in the mouth of these two witnesses the fact is firmly established, that America's free institutions are the result of the Covenant theology in its development under representative methods

of government. The main channel through which these mighty moving forces found their way into the New World was the Covenanter colonization. It is often and truthfully described as the Scotch and Scotch-Irish influence. It was a grand and, I believe, the most controlling of all the forces, that wrought to the production of our American freedom and our representative constitutional government. Far be it from the purpose of this paper to withhold from other influences, which contributed to this grand result, one iota of the due recognition and honor which belong to them. All praise to Puritan and Pilgrim father! All honor to the sturdy Dutch and the knightly, unconquerable, incorruptible Huguenot, and the courtly Cavalier. That goodly vessel, our Ship of State, required the thought of many generations and the united energy of many strong and brave workers to lay her keel and build her frame. What this paper contends for is that "the knarled and crooked knees," as by many they are regarded, shall not be omitted when we recount

"What timbers, sound and strong,
To our vessel shall belong."

This element among American formative influences has failed of due recognition hitherto. In confirmation we cite the fact that the recent New York Methodist Conference, in reporting resolutions for adoption in regard to our war with Spain, entirely omits, in its statement of the original founders of our Republic, the name of this chief actor. "God," they say, "lifted his hand and the Huguenots, the Hollanders, the Puritans and the Cavaliers came to the New World and laid the foundations of the Republic." This omission is due mainly to two reasons. First, because the Covenanter was not among the earliest colonists. He came in after other factors had begun their work. But second also and chiefly, because in writing our early history he has had little share. And so much depends, as we all know, on who tells the story. Up to this time the Puritan and

Pilgrim have been foremost in this particular. This Calvinistic Scotch-Irish contribution to the production and formation of American institutions will bring the Covenanter before us as Immigrant, as Pioneer, as Soldier, and as Statesman.

The immigrant Covenanter, who came to America from Scotland and North Ireland, had won his name that day in 1638, when in old Grey Friar's church-yard at Edinboro he placed his signature to the revived Solemn League and Covenant. That was a mighty oath, by which he bound his soul: "We promise and swear by the great name of the Lord our God to continue in the profession and obedience of the said religion: and that we shall defend the same and resist all those contrary errors and corruptions, according to our vocation and to the utmost of that power, which God has put in our hands, all the days of our life." Well and faithfully has that covenant been kept these two hundred and fifty years. And kept it will be by the men who hold this faith, until the day of doom.

Under the tyranny of Mary Tudor and the Stuarts, persecution was inevitable to men of such a spirit. That tale of suffering is written in martyr blood and deeds of heroic devotion. It is so familiar, however, that no word of it needs here to be respoken. One of its results—a most signal illustration of the wrath of man bringing praise to God—was the large emigration of the men of Ulster and the Pentland Hills, and indeed from all Scotland, to the New World. The magnitude of that emigration has never been duly estimated. Recent research has developed the fact that it was larger by far than has ordinarily been supposed. During the seventy-eight years preceding the Toleration Act for Ireland, passed in 1782, so great and continuous was the exodus to America, that Froude says that "ships enough could not be procured to transport the emigrants." A careful and sagacious writer (Hodge, *History Pres. Ch.*, p. 60) has estimated that "one half the

population of this country would now be Presbyterian, had all the descendants of their co-religionists of the early day adhered to their faith." "According to Cotton Mather four thousand Presbyterians came to New England before 1640. At a later period one hundred families from Ireland settled Londonderry in New Hampshire, and to this settlement large accessions were made from Ireland; and from it streams of population went out to Maine. In 1729 a church was organized in Boston, composed of Scotch and Irish. Other emigrants settled at Pelham and Palmer." (Holmes, Vol. II., p. 99.) In 1718 three hundred and nineteen North of Ireland men petitioned the Governor of Massachusetts for a settlement in that State. And it is worthy of special note that only thirteen of these were unable to write legibly their own names. This is a most remarkable evidence of the prevalence of education among them. It was a rare occurrence, at that day, that ninety-six per cent of a group of emigrants could write their own names. Theodore Roosevelt, in his very interesting book, "The Winning of the West," (Vol. I., p. 180,) tells us that "in examining numerous original drafts of petitions and the like, signed by hundreds of the original settlers of Tennessee and Kentucky, I have been struck by the small proportion—not much over three per cent at the outside—of men, who made their mark, instead of signing their names." But the Scotch-Irish were few in New England as compared with their numbers in the more Southern colonies. Holmes mentions the arrival of four hundred and five emigrants from Scotland at New York in 1737 (*Annals*, Vol. II., p. 143.). The north side of Orange county, Smith states (*History*, p. 218), was inhabited by Scotch, Irish and English Presbyterians. And he mentions a settlement of Scotch in Albany county, New York. In the second volume of his history (p. 412) Bancroft asks: "Is it strange that Scottish Presbyterians of virtue, education and courage, blending a love of popular liberty with religious enthusiasm, hurried

to east New Jersey in such numbers as to give to the rising commonwealth a character which a century and a half has not effaced?" Brooks and rivulets with "curious, clear water," were as plenty as in the dear, native Scotland. It was a "gallant plentiful country," where the humblest laborer might soon turn farmer for himself. This was in 1682.

But by far the largest immigration of Covenanters was to Pennsylvania. In 1727 six ships loaded with families from Ulster landed in Philadelphia in one week. And during the whole of the eighteenth century the arrival of two or three ships a day was not uncommon. The population of this State in 1701 was twenty thousand. In 1749 it had risen to two hundred and fifty thousand, chiefly from this immigration. "But the Covenanters who landed in Philadelphia were not the only ones that came to the colonies. They landed at other points as well—at New York, Newcastle, Baltimore, Wilmington, Charleston and Savannah." "The larger part were in the South—perhaps two-thirds. They, therefore, constituted nearly one-half of the entire population of the Southern colonies. In North and South Carolina their control was almost supreme, as it has been ever since. Ramsay, the historian of South Carolina, states that Ireland—that is, the Scotch-Irish settlements—contributed most to the population of that State." (Covenanter, Cavalier and Puritan, p. 97.) The same is true in regard to North Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky and Tennessee. "This immigration commenced about 1700 and continued until the Revolution. The conclusion may safely be reached that prior to 1776 five hundred thousand of the Covenanter race had settled in the colonies." (Covenanter, Cavalier and Puritan, p. 44.) At the period of the Revolution all the colonies together had a population of two millions, seven hundred and fifty thousand (McMaster's Estimate, Vol. I., p. 7), or, in the stirring words of Patrick Henry, "three millions of people, armed in the holy cause

of liberty." Of these the Covenanters or Scotch-Irish were decidedly the most numerous class, numbering over nine hundred thousand (Scotch-Irish Seeds in America, p. 276.)

From this glance at the constituents of the population of the colonies in the Western World, we reach the conclusion that at the close of the eighteenth century the Covenanter Immigrant had established his home and was exerting his influence more widely in America than any other people.

No chapter in American history possesses greater fascination than that which records the adventures of the early settlers of the country. These pioneers—"advance guards of civilization"—encountered untold difficulties and displayed unsurpassed courage and fortitude. They had to overcome, in the aboriginal Indians, foes more savage and intrepid than any that a European race has ever contended against in its prosecution of conquest and civilization. For more than two centuries the Iroquois stubbornly held their own against the invaders. And they were only one among many tribes. And as we read the history of this conquest of America by Europe, a remarkable contrast develops between the colonization of North America and that of Central and South America. In the latter, the conquering peoples became in time assimilated to the conquered. Their bloods were intermingled. The lines of cleavage between the races in large masses of the populations were practically obliterated. This was not the case in the Anglo-Saxon development of North America. We say Anglo-Saxon, for the French and Spanish, though early discoverers, were soon eliminated from the problem. The sturdy Briton never lost his race instinct. He refused to mingle his blood with that of an inferior people. This lesson of our country's founders has evidently been forgotten by some, who in recent times have proposed miscegenation as the solution of the "negro problem" in the United States.

Recreant to the noble nature of their forefathers, they know but little of the real color of Anglo-Saxon blood.

Among these pioneers in North American colonization none did sturdier service than the Covenanter. As settler and frontiersman his field of operation was broader than that of any other class. This arose from two sources. First, he was not among the earlier colonists. His immigration found the Atlantic seaboard pre-occupied. From necessity he was driven inland. And in the second place, by reason of the superior number of immigrants, his channel of settlement was broader, and after its tide set in, it was so rapid and continuous that it required larger territory for its spread. Hence we find the steady movement of Scotch-Irish population from Central and Western Pennsylvania through the Cumberland and Virginia valleys and Southward into North Carolina and Tennessee. These steady streams were met by men of the same race, who spread westward from the Carolina coasts, through North and South Carolina. And these two contingents combining, swept over Kentucky and into the vast region north of the Ohio River, then coming to be known as the Northwest Territory. From New England, it is true, there have gone out through all the west large contributions of population and far-reaching influences. But these did not begin until after the Revolution. Nor had the Cavalier, the Dutch and the Huguenot, except in rare and individual instances, left their centres of growth in the ports and on the plantations of the seaboard.

Thus the latter half of the eighteenth century witnessed, along the headwaters of the Susquehanna, the James, the Potomac, the Roanoke, the Holston, the Cumberland, the Ohio and their tributaries, the heroic achievements of vast numbers of men and women, whose integrity and fortitude, backed by their rifles and their axes and their looms, made the winning of the West so grand a chapter in our American history. And these achievements were mainly those of Scotch-Irishmen. Discussing this development, Mr.

Theodore Roosevelt, in his brilliant work (Vol. 3 1, p. 37) makes clear the fact that "the Scotch-Irish were much the most important element in all the West." The description that Daniel Boone gave of himself may truthfully be applied to the sturdy race of which he was an illustrious and typical representative—"an instrument ordained of God to settle the wilderness." Roosevelt styles them "those splendid pioneers of our people." "Those warlike borderers, who thronged across the Alleghanies, the reckless and restless hunters, the hard, dogged, frontier farmers, by dint of grim tenacity, overcame and displaced Indians, French and Spaniards alike; exactly as fourteen hundred years before, Saxon and Angle had overcome and displaced the Cymric and Gaelic Celts. They were led by no commander. Spurred ever onward by the fierce desires of their eager hearts, they made in the wilderness homes for their children, and by so doing wrought out the destinies of a Continental nation. The fathers followed Boone or fought at King's Mountain; the sons marched with Jackson to overcome the Creeks and beat back the British; the grandsons died at the Alamo or charged to victory at San Jacinto. They were doing their share of the work, which culminated in the marvelous growth of the United States." (*Winning of the West*, p. 27.) These backwoodsmen were Americans by birth and parentage and of mixed race. But the dominant strain in their blood was that of the Presbyterian Irish; that stern and virile people, whose preachers taught the creed of Knox and Calvin. "That these Irish Presbyterians were a bold and hardy race is proved by their at once pushing past the settled regions and plunging into the wilderness, as the leaders of the white advance. They were the first and last set of immigrants to do this. All others have merely followed their predecessors." "They were fitted to be Americans from the very start. They were kinsfolk of the Covenanters. The creed of the backwoodsman, if he had any creed at all, was Presbyterianism." The

preparation that fitted this hardy race for their great mission was an inheritance. They were their fathers' children. And grandly did they illustrate the proverb, "blood will tell." The Covenanter courage of the bare hillsides and narrow glens of Scotland, and the patient energy which transferred the bogs of Ulster into the very Paradise of the Emerald Isle, repeated their story in the wilds of America. This pioneer life furnishes a record fascinating beyond the most thrilling romance. The clearing and its log cabin, the stockaded village, the hunter's camp, the Indian massacre, the hard-fought battle with tomahawk and rifle, the increasing community with its gradually developing civic life—all these, with their thousand perils and exploits, make the pioneer a very hero to our imagination. We learn to know the sources of our country's greatness. Indeed, to follow the trail of the American pioneer is to read the preface to the story of the Revolution and to uncover the foundations of the Republic.

The Immigrant and the Pioneer had, however, done only preparatory work. The sword of the Soldier and the pen of the Statesman had yet much to accomplish, before the cap of liberty should grace the brow of America. And the call for the service was promptly answered by the display of their courage and their political acumen. Each colony of the original thirteen brought its contribution. It was the union of brothers for the protection of the home. And in this co-operative work the Covenanter did his full share. This share, by reason of his relatively superior numbers in the gross population and of the influence of his liberty-loving principles, was decidedly the most forceful. A line or two must suffice to show the sources of this opinion.

Indian warfare—the battle of the great Kanawha, Lord Dunmore's war, with many others—and the conflicts with the French had made ready the stalwart warriors of the Revolutionary struggle. "Lord Dunmore's war, waged by

Americans for the good of America, was the opening act of the drama, whereof the closing scene was played at Yorktown." (*The Winning of the West*,) p. 244.) "It made possible the two-fold purpose of the Revolutionary War; wherein, on the one hand, the Americans won, by conquest and colonization, new lands for their children, and, on the other, wrought out their national independence of the British King." "It is a fact beyond question, that most of the early successes in America were immediately owing to the vigorous exertions and prowess of the Irish immigrants," (Campbell's *Puritan*, Vol 2: p. 491.) Ramsay, who resided in South Carolina during the Revolution and was a member of the Continental Congress, bears testimony in his history that "the Irish (i. e. Scotch-Irish) in America were almost to a man on the side of independence." Douglas Campbell concurs in this judgment. "In the colonial wars the Covenanter section furnished most of the soldiers of Virginia" and "in Pennsylvania they stood up as a unit for independence." "They furnished to the Continental army a majority of the troops from that State."

But perhaps the largest contribution—certainly a very large one—which the Covenanter soldier made to the successes of the American arms in the Revolutionary struggle, was in his constant fighting with the Indians along the western borders. "Official records show, that it was as much the policy of the British ministry to destroy the settlements west of the Alleghanies and the Blue Ridge, as it was to overcome the army of Washington." (*Covenanter, Cavalier and Puritan*.) But, thanks to these sturdy frontier soldiers—almost wholly of the Covenanter stock—at the close of the war *not one* of those settlements had been lost. And when, in the great conflict for freedom, did the tide turn fully and finally in favor of the American arms? We have the authority of Thomas Jefferson for the statement, that the victory at the battle of King's Mountain "was the joyful announcement of that turn in the tide of success, that

terminated the Revolutionary war with the seal of our independence." The heroes of that brilliant victory were Lewis and Campbell and Sevier and Robertson, with their associates of the frontier—men to whom fear was a stranger and whose valor was the expression of deep-seated principle. "In the hour and five minutes, during which that terrible battle raged, two hundred and twenty of the enemy had closed their eyes in death; one hundred and eighty were wounded and six hundred were taken prisoners. Every man of the enemy was either killed, wounded or captured." It was a victory signal too in its consequences. At that time Cornwallis was on a triumphant march through North Carolina to Virginia. Charleston and Savannah had fallen. Lincoln had lost his entire army. Gates had been defeated at Camden. All Georgia and South Carolina had yielded to the British arms. Universal gloom spread throughout the colonies. In the midst of this darkness came the triumph of King's Mountain. It was the rift in the black cloud. It was the breaking of the morning.

Prof. Fiske, in his work on *American Political Ideas*, (p. 125) makes the "unqualified statement," that "the victory of Wolfe at Quebec marks the greatest turning point as yet discernible in all modern history." In close connection with this statement he further declares that "the conquest of the North American continent by men of English race was unquestionably the most prodigious event in the political annals of mankind."

Accepting the general truth of these broad assertions, we find in them full confirmation of the position taken in the opening sentences of this paper, viz: that the discovery of this continent by Cabot was providentially in the line of its Protestant colonization. For "the power of self-government," which Prof. Fiske regards as England's greatest gift to America, was incontestably the result of that Protestantism which she possessed both before and

especially after the Reformation. Cabot opened the door for Protestant possession, and Wolfe made sure the unhindered progress of Protestant principles, and America became the home of Protestant Christianity.

When, therefore, the "critical period" of our American development had been reached—that period lying between the close of the Revolutionary War and the adoption of the Federal Constitution—these great historical events found their explanation and their opportunity. A fair field was opened for the working of the principles of freedom. How should they be set in action? It was a question hard to answer. Diversity of interests—now that the dangers of war, which had hitherto held them together, were removed—threatened the colonies with separation and disaster. But the God who had provided a Cabot for discovery and a Wolfe for victory, had ready for our needs a Washington as a leader, a Jefferson, a Hamilton, a Rutledge, a Madison, an Adams, and many besides, as framers of our free institutions. We cherish with pride the record of their masterful achievements. They set up a government for the United States of America. They framed a Constitution for its organic law which England's greatest statesman of this century, "The Grand Old Man," described as "the most wonderful work ever struck, at a given time, by the brain and purpose of man."

These builders of our State represented no single section or race. And what were the several contributions which individuals or classes made to the political fabric, it would be impossible to tell. It is, however, only just to say, that the Scotch-Irish elements in the American population at this critical period were prominently active in these governmental achievements. A strong love of freedom and a rational understanding of its essential nature were inheritances from their stalwart, liberty-loving ancestry. Their deepest convictions pointed to law as the rule of duty and to obedience to regulated authority as a necessary con-

dition of political freedom. The early settlements of these people showed how readily their principles took form in systems of government. "The first men on the continent to establish a free and independent community were the Watauga Association in what is now East Tennessee. The Watauga settlers outlined in advance the nation's work. They successfully solved the difficult problem of self-government!" (*Winning of the West*, Vol. I, p. 193).

It was men of the same blood who, in 1773, "held in the county of Worcester, Massachusetts, where, half a century before, fifty Covenanter families had settled, the first public meeting in the colonies which set forth the precise essential principles of the Declaration of Independence. And in the year 1775, thirteen months before the great Declaration was proclaimed at Philadelphia, Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, had rendered her name forever immortal by her clear statement of the principles of liberty and the bold resolve, "we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people." And as we read the memoirs of the Federal Constitutional Convention we recognize Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, John Rutledge and James Wilson as the leaders in its great achievements. "Three of these were of Covenanter blood, and the fourth learned his political lessons at the feet of John Wither- spoon." The public men of that day and a little later were, in full proportion, from this same stock. Of the fifty-five signers of the Declaration of Independence, more than one-fourth belonged to this class. Thirty-nine general officers in the Continental army were Scotch-Irishmen. Ten of these were major generals. Very many of the early governors of the colonies and a large proportion of the members of the Legislatures, especially in the Central and Southern States, belonged to the Covenanter race. In cabinet and council, not less than in the clearing and in the battlefield, the men of Scotch-Irish blood were found at the front. As Immigrant and Pioneer, and as Soldier and

Statesman he served his country well, manifesting by noble actions the strong principles of his Covenanter blood and creed.

But instructive and important as it is at times to trace back the streams of our national life to the several fountains out of which they have flowed, it is yet a far richer pleasure to watch these streams as they lose themselves in the broad, deep river of our country's citizenship. The distinctions of the past are gone. There are no longer Covenanters or Cavaliers, Puritans, Dutchmen or Huguenots. All are Americans.

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