

THE
NEW ENGLANDER.

No. CLI.

JULY, 1879.

ARTICLE I.—JOHN TILLOTSON, DOCTOR IN DIVINITY.

SOMETIME ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THE eighteenth century after having been abused, ridiculed, maligned for at least two generations, has, within the last few years, been found to contain and hold so much that we care for, so much that answers to our conditions and needs, that men are working it as if it were a mine full of gold and all precious stones. Coleridge sneered at it because it was a century for the "understanding" and not for "the reason." Newman and his friends at Oxford deplored it as disgraceful to the Church and dead in faith and in all higher enthusiasms. Carlyle, in his earlier years, wrote in the same vein, though through his long life he has found in the eighteenth century, matter for his most prolonged study and for his most elaborate and grand writing. So, of late, there is a great change. The much abused century is revenged. We have histories, essays, biographies, *pièces justificatives* without number; and we are likely to know and weigh it better and more thoroughly than would have been possible forty years ago. In this present paper we go back just a little, of the eighteenth century to call attention to and to devote some thought to the

ARTICLE II.—A CHAPTER OF AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY.

TWENTY-EIGHT miles from Guanahani, or San Salvador, memorable as the place where the feet of Christopher Columbus first trod the earth of the Western Hemisphere, is the island of Eleuthera.

In a monthly magazine, published in Philadelphia, just one hundred years ago, a writer who had lately visited it, describes a cave he saw on the north side of the island, in a rocky ridge, not far from the coast. Its entrance was on a level with the main land, in the form of an arch about fifty feet in height, and its length was about three hundred and fifty. The lofty roof had apertures for air and light, through which the luxuriant vines and shrubbery of the Bahamas had intruded. Near the center of the cave was a large irregular rock, in which steps for ascent had been cut; surrounding it were great stones which served as seats, and not far distant was a mahogany monument, on three sides of which were inscriptions to the memory of "James Seymor, who was born in Bermudas in the year 1640, in the month of October, on the sixth day, and died in the year 1650, upon the tenth of September."

To those who prize a free Church in a free State, the caves of Eleuthera have a history, in some respects as interesting as the catacombs of Rome were to the Christians of the early centuries. Hither the first Independent Church of the Somers Island or Bermudas retired, to avoid annoyance.

From its earliest settlement, Bermudas contained some who were not satisfied with certain expressions of the Book of Common Prayer, and some practices of the Church of England. Among the passengers wrecked in the "Sea Venture" with Newport, Gates, and Somers, in July, 1609, was Stephen Hopkins, "a fellow," says an old chronicle, "who had much knowledge in the Scriptures," and upon Sundays, read the Psalms and Chapters for the good chaplain Richard Buck. Others of the same ship were also considered "sectaries in points of religion."

George Keth or Keith, a Scotchman, came in 1612, with the first Governor of the Island, and soon after Lewis Hewes or Hughes, both "preachers of the word." Keith, before the landing of the Puritans at Plymouth, with his wife and son removed to Virginia, and in 1624 was living at the settlement now called Hampton. Hewes remained, and was one of those who in 1620 did not conform to the Book of Common Prayer, and with whom the Governor compromised by allowing the "Liturgy of Guernsey and Jersey, wherein all those particulars they so much stumbled at were omitted." The next year, Hewes returned to England, and published a narrative, entitled "A plaine and true relation of the goodness of God toward the Sommer Islands, written by way of exhortation, by Lewis Hughes, Minister of God's word." The volume was a thin quarto, and the relation occupied eleven pages, and thirteen were devoted to a catechism, prayers, and exhortations. In 1633, the Warden of St. George's Prison, Southwark, complained against him for five years of non-conformity, and he was dismissed from preaching, but his pen was not idle, and in 1640 appeared a quarto of forty pages, with the title "Certain Greevances well worthy the serious consideration of the Right Honorable and High Court of Parliament. Set forth by way of a dialogue between a Country Gentleman and a Minister of God's Word, for the satisfying of those that doe clamour and maliciously revile them that labour to have the errors of the Booke of Common Prayer reformed."

As early as 1623, a Scotchman sat in the legislative assembly, a minister of the Gospel, named George Stirk. With the exception of a visit to England, he was in charge of Southampton parish until his death, and his sympathies were with the Puritans of England. Roger Wood, the Governor of the Island, writing about the clergy, used these words: "Here they may use their discretion in God's ordinances, for we are grown so poor that no Bishops will look after us. We have homilies set to read in our churches which are the same as were printed in King Edward's days, which I am enjoined to cause be read, so that we change for the worse, having the works of the most famous divines in great plenty, as means of grace much to be preferred, before those old homilies."

In the year 1626 another Scotchman, of more than ordinary experience arrived, named Patrick Copland, sometimes spelled Copeland and Coapland. Early in 1612 he had sailed as Chaplain of the ship *Dragon* for the East Indies, and in 1614 returned to the Thames in the same vessel. In the transactions of the East India Company of London, under date of August 19, 1614, is the following: "The Indian youth brought home by Captain Best, and taught by Mr. Copland to read and write; to be sent to school and instructed in religion, that hereafter he may be sent home to convert some of his nation."

In 1616 Mr. Copland suggested that his pupil should be publicly baptized "as the first fruits of India," to which Archbishop Abbott assented, and on the 22d of December O. S. the rite was administered in St. Denis Church, London, by Dr. John Wood, and the Bengala had received the name of *Patrus Papa*, or Peter Pope, which it is said was selected by King James, that odd compound of cant, coarseness, and sottishness. Copland and his pupil sailed for India early in the year 1617, in the "*Royal James*," and on the second day of December, near the Isle of Java, he preached a sermon on board that ship, in view of an approaching conflict with the Dutch, in the presence of Sir Thomas Dale, late Governor of Virginia, and other captains of the English fleet. In 1621, while the "*Royal James*" was on the homeward voyage, Copland took up a collection for the benefit of the Virginia plantation, which the London Company set apart for the building of the first free school in the United States at Charles City, on the banks of the James River. On Thursday, April 22, 1622, he preached before the Virginia Company in the old Bow Church, and his discourse was published with the title of "*Virginia's God be thanked*;" and on the 3d of July, was elected Rector of the projected college at Henrico, near Richmond, Virginia, for the conversion of the infidels, and also pastor of the tenants of the college lands.

A few days after he preached in Bow Church, a ship arrived in the Thames, with a tale of horror which spread like wild-fire through the streets of London; the listening to which made the "hair of the flesh to stand up," and froze the hearts of those who had been devising good things for Virginia. It

was announced that nearly half of the inhabitants of Virginia had been suddenly attacked and killed by the savages.

The destruction of the inhabitants at Henrico on the 22d of March, 1622, and the charter of the Virginia Company in June, 1624, having been declared null and void by the Chief Justice of England, Copland's plans for the education of Indian children in Virginia were frustrated.

He determined however to migrate to Bermudas, where he had been told

"The isle is full of voices,
Sounds, and sweet airs that give delight and hurt not."

By the London proprietors he and Rev. Bellingham Morgan were appointed ministers, and on March 21, 1625-6 to the Governor of Bermudas they wrote: "We have likewise provided and sent by this ship, two ministers, namely Mr. Copeland, and Mr. Morgan, and we pray you, see them settled in such tribes, which are unprovided. We have agreed with Mr. Copeland, to receive his salary here, in money being 100 marks, per annum." The Governor was also informed that Mr. Copland desired that there may be "a free school erected for the bringing up of youth in literature and good learning," and the letter adds: "We pray you to be a furtherer of Mr. Copeland in that he hath a great desire that the youth may be catechized in the grounds of religion, which is so good a work we do very well approve of."

Before the 20th of November, 1626, he had reached Bermudas, and on that day, as a member of the Governor's Council, he moved that a free school be erected.

At a later period a Governor, "a doubting Thomas" as to free schools, wrote to London that Mr. Copland "having purchased land here, he hath builded thereupon, and will not remove to any part of the world from thence. He hath a project, to erect a free school here, and train up children to be preachers, to send abroad, to convert the Indians, and for that purpose, hath written to Scotland for one or two able scholars to instruct them in philosophy and divinity, and so to make them preachers, but where these children are, I yet know not, for we have but few, and peradventure their parents having educated them, will not send them, amongst the savages, to

turn them to the faith, who will understand them as well as the wolf did St. Francis when he turned them into civility, but Sir, these Scottish scholars desire to know their maintenance before they will undertake the journey, and I commend them for it. And to deal plainly and truly, I do desire not to have any more of the nation amongst us, but will prevent it while I can, [when] I know England abounds in learned men."

When Governor Berkeley of Virginia thanked God they had no free schools, he expressed the views of Governor Wood, who wrote: "Mr. Copeland thinks the Company will give all their common land to build a free school. I wish we had ministers contented to preach the Gospel, and let this Free School alone until we are free from debt. These works of ostentation and supererogation make great show and noise abroad. I assure you if men could transport themselves as they desire, it would leave but few to be taught and brought up in a free school in this place." Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury, died in August, 1633, and the next month, Laud was raised to his place, and his unhappy influence was felt in the distant isles of the sea. The Governor of Bermudas wrote in 1634 to William Ames, the great scholar and divine, associated with Hugh Peters at Rotterdam, inviting him to settle there, not having then heard, how in the preceding November, he had breathed his last breath, upon the bosom of his fiery colleague, who soon after became the pastor at Salem, then a fighting Chaplain under Fairfax and Cromwell, and after the accession of Charles the Second, was executed. His letter contained the following:—

"As there is a supposition that you intend to come for New England, and Mr. Peters, . . . let me desire you to leave that resolution and come to the Burmoodaes, where you are most entirely beloved and revered. We have but two ministers, both Scottish men, the one is called Georg. Stirk, who is very learned, but I fear not long lived. He hath all your works that are extant The other, Mr. Patricke Coapland, who hath traveled long, twice to the East Indies, and now settled himself here, having purchased five shares of land on which he hath builded and disbursed £1,000 sterling. . . . We are also far more secure from the hia-

rarchicall jurisdiction than New England is, for noe great prelate will leave his pontifical palace to take his journey to live upon a barren rock. And all our islands are not worth a bishopricke, and there are many men of great wealth and estates, and almost whole congregations gone with their pastors where they build towns and call them according to those from whence they come, as Boston, Yarmouth, &c. Ours is a most holesome air, that suiteth every creature in these islands; theires is a cold climate full of severitie . . . when they have well settled themselves they must be brought under the Archbishop of Canterbury, and have a suffragan sent to reduce them into the fould of their old shepheards; for the King will not be quit of his subjects wheresoever they live under his laws and obedience. All this discourse I relate to divert you from any thoughts to seek liberty that way."

The letter concludes with an offering of a "parcel of potatoes for Mrs. Ames."*

The next year Hugh Peters, A.M., of Cambridge College, left Rotterdam, and came to Salem, Massachusetts, and about the same time, there arrived at Bermudas, a man "most eminent," John Oxenbridge, who had been dismissed the year before, from his tutorship in Magdalene College, Oxford, on account of Puritanism. His wife, whose maiden name was Jane Butler, was as zealous as he, and during the seven years he remained, his influence upon the other ministers was very great.

In 1642, both Peters and Oxenbridge returned to England and were active against the royalist party. Shortly before the death of Peters, he said to a friend who attended his execution, "Return straightway to New England, and trust God there." Oxenbridge, who during the Cromwellian period had been Fellow of Eton College, in 1662, was silenced for non-conformity, and after spending some years in Surinam and the

* On the 11th of May, 1637, the widow of the great divine, Joane Ames, of Yarmouth, aged fifty, expressed her desire to pass for New England, with her three children, Ruth, aged eighteen, William and John. William became a student at Harvard, and his mother lived and died at Cambridge. He graduated in 1645, and after a few years was settled in England. In 1651 he preached in St. Paul's Cathedral, before the Mayor and Aldermen of London. He died A. D. 1689.

West Indies, in 1670 became the pastor of the first church in Boston, and in 1674 died in that city, "trusting God."

While Oxenbridge was preaching in Bermudas, his colleague, whom he termed "Father Copland," wrote an interesting letter dated December 4, 1639, to Governor Winthrop of Boston, who had sent twelve New England Indians to be trained, who had been left, however, at another island, in which he states: "If they land safely here, I would have had a care of them to have disposed them to such honest men as should have trained them up in the principles of religion, and so, when they had been fit for your plantations, have returned them again, to have done God some service, in being instruments to do some good upon their countrymen."

He continues with a narration of the method of the Jesuits and Dutch in the East Indies in teaching the native children their language, and the traders' children the Malaya dialect, both in the same school together, and then remarks: "I have now in my study a Popish catechism imprinted in Naugasack, in the Italian letter and Japan tongue. With this practice of the Jesuits in perverting, and of the Dutch in converting Indians, I acquainted the Earl of Southampton, and the Governor of the Virginia Company, Sir Edwin Sandys, and the Council of Virginia, who liked well of it, and gave order to Sir Francis Wyatt, their then Governor in Virginia, to follow this practice, but in a better manner. . . . If it be followed by your preachers and schoolmasters, through God's blessings upon their labors, I doubt not many of your heathen may be gained to the Christian faith. . . . I have sent you a small poesie of our Preacher's whom the Lord hath taken to himself. He hath left behind him a hopeful son of his own name, who is reasonable well entered in the Latin tongue. If there be any good school and schoolmaster with you, I wish with all my heart that he might have his education with you rather than in old England. . . . If you send us any more of your captive Indians, I will see them disposed of here to honest men; or if you send me a couple, a boy and a girl for myself, I will pay for their passage, so they be hopeful."

Before Oxenbridge returned to England, Nathaniel White, who had been a minister at Knightsbridge, near Westminster,

and William Goulding, a young man, advocated his sentiments in the parishes of Bermudas, and taught his catechism called "Milk for Babes."

Richard Norwood, an old resident, eminent as surveyor and school teacher, opposed to the innovations of Laud, and a Presbyterian in sympathy, refused to attend these catechisings and sent a complaint to William Pryme, the celebrated member of Parliament, which was printed.

In Paget's parish, on the afternoon of the 31st of January, 1643-4, White, Goulding, and Copland, standing together in the body of the church, did publicly renounce their ministry in the Church of England, and then formed an Independent Church, which, on the 15th of the following May, elected White as Pastor, Goulding as Elder, and Copland as Deacon. Beach, an aged schoolmaster, describes the religious condition of the island, at this time, in these words: "The next thing was, a day in a week, at noon, for two hours space, to catechise youth and children, when a simple catechism, set out by one Mr. Oxenbridge, son to Dr. Oxenbridge of London, who, with his wife especially, was the first ground-work of this faction; who in time, before it came to any perfection, departed from us, but left the cursed seed or fruit of their faction behind them. They being gone, this Mr. White, as chief, takes in hand to accomplish this business, which with another as forward, but better seen in it themselves, one Mr. Golding, a young man, but well learned in schismatical science, if not worse, joins together, labours with, and overcomes an ancient man, Mr. Copeland by name, and then, on all hands, with unanimous consent, join their forces for erecting and establishing this their church, and then instead of catechizing youth, they would catechize ancient people, young and old of both sexes." The next year a petition was read in the House of Commons from the Independents of Bermudas, which declared that the Divine Providence had led them to a remote isle, being fugitives, on account of their non-conformity and the persecution of the Episcopal party, and asked that they might be permitted to worship without molestation in their own way, pledging themselves "to be subject in their lives and estates to every civil power for conscience sake."

The prayer of the petitioners was granted, and on October 7, 1645, it was ordered, "that the inhabitants of the Somer Islands, and such others as shall join themselves unto them, shall, without any molestation or trouble, have and enjoy the liberty of their consciences in matter of God's worship, as well as in those parts of America, where they are now planted, as in all other parts of America, where hereafter they may be planted."

The Earl of Warwick, as Admiral of the English Plantations, with Sir Henry Vane, and others of the Committee on Plantations, on the 3d of November, did issue a command to all Governors and other officers, "to suffer them quietly, peaceably and freely to worship God," and if they should "think fit to remove or transplant themselves to any other parts of America to afford them all necessary help as they will answer the contrary and the high contempt of the power and authority of Parliament."

The Royalists of London who were members of the Bermudas Company, were displeased with the action of Parliament, and appointed a new Governor who was a royalist. Although a majority of the Councillors were Independents, Burgesses were elected who spurned the ordinance of 1645, and enacted that no Independent minister should preach or hold civil office.

Captain Sayle and others in sympathy with the Independents, now sent out vessels to discover some isle to which they could retreat. William Reyner, the Sheriff of Bermudas, an old resident, and an Independent, writes to Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, on the 31st of March, 1646, that they had sent two vessels to the Bahamas, to discover some place where they could be free from "the Bermudian imbitterment," and that one of these had never been heard from, and that the other returned the summer before without finding a desirable retreat.

In the fall of 1646, Captain Sayle and the minister Goulding were in Boston, on their way to England, to present the grievances of the Independents to Parliament, and the Bermudas proprietors. During their absence the venerable Copland, now nearly eighty years of age, was charged with using "deluding words in his sermon or exposition, to some people

which gathered to the mill on Sunday, the 25th of July, 1647, which tended to the dishonour of God, and the disparagement of Governor and Council." The Council Record says: "In tender regard to the weakness and age of the said Mr. Copland, and in regard of his long continued services in these islands, it is ordered that the said Mr. Copland be confined a prisoner to his own house."

During his confinement, like Paul the Apostle he wrote letters to his friends. He sends one "To the right worshipful Mr. Winthrop, Governor of Boston, and of the precincts belonging thereunto," which was dated "From George's Prison, Christ's School, this last of the 7th mo., 1647."

In this he alludes to the death of Winthrop's wife and his own: "I could condole with you for your losse, and my owne,* but that I am not willing to renew your grief and my owne." He also writes of the Church: "Calling to mind what some years ago you wrote to myself, to stir me up, to set upon the way of God in this island, it pleased the Lord that in the government of Capt. Sayle, Mr. White, Mr. Golding and myself being solicited by our then Governor to bestow a lecture upon the island on the week-day because we could not accommodate all by preaching on the Lord's day. Entering upon consideration of Capt. Sale's motion we yielded to his request upon condition, he would give way to us, to hold out to the people the way of the churches in the New Testament, which he willingly yielded unto, though as yet he is not a member (his wife being): since which time we have met with much opposition, both in the government of Capt. Foster, and also since our present Governor, Capt. Tho's Turnor, his being sent to us, from our Company."

Governor Sayle while in London succeeded in forming a company for the settling of one of the Bahamas Islands, and obtained a patent from Parliament allowing to each settler entire liberty of conscience in matters of worship. He sailed from England in a ship provided with supplies and a few

* Copland had a daughter living in 1634 as this sentence from a letter of Governor Roger Wood shows: "Mr. Copland would have sent unto Aberdeinne for a Scotseman to have beene a schoolmaster, but I verily think his project is to have such a one to marry a daughter hee hath, and at his death to conferre his estate upon him."

colonists, and reached Bermudas in October, 1647, to find that Pastor White and others were not comfortable. His wife Margery was presented to the Grand Jury the month of his arrival for not attending the services of the parish church. During his stay he plead before the authorities who were now Presbyterian, for toleration to the Independents, stating "that in the city of London, the Episcopal ministers did preach, the Presbyterians did preach, and the Independents did teach, and where the Presbyterians taught he could never find above a half-score people."*

In a short period Sayle, taking on board of his ship the aged Copland, and about seventy others connected with the Independent Church, sailed for the Bahamas group. A passenger who had come over in the ship from London, named Butler, contended, after they embarked, that by the charter, each man could serve God *in his own way*, and *his way* was by playing the viol. In this freak he was sustained by some foolish ones, and there was a division, after landing upon one of the Bahamas. Syle, with Copland and the sober portion of the colonists, left their demonstrative neighbors, to seek another refuge, and were wrecked on Eleuthera. While their lives were spared, they lost their supplies and were obliged to subsist upon the birds of the air, the fruits of the earth, and the fish of the sea, until Capt. Sayle built a small vessel out of the timbers of the wreck and obtained assistance from friends in Bermudas and Virginia.

While in Virginia he urged upon the Puritans of Nansemond that they should remove from the persecution of Governor Berkeley, and their pastor Thomas Harrison who in later years was the Chaplain of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and preached a funeral sermon in Christ Church, Dublin, upon the death of Oliver Cromwell, visited Boston, in October, 1648, and consulted with the pastors of the vicinity as to the expediency of his flock migrating to Eleuthera. The proposal was not approved of, and after this the Virginians moved to the shores of the Chesapeake Bay, where the capitol of Maryland now stands, and the next year secured the passage of an "Act concerning religion" which has become celebrated in history.

* Bancroft in *Hist. U. S.*, Cent. edition, vol. i, page 509, erroneously supposes that Sayle was a Presbyterian.

Pastor White, who had been charged with treason, "appealed to Cæsar," and requested permission of the Bermudas Council to go to England to answer the accusation, which was reluctantly granted. His case was examined by the Bermuda Company on the 27th of June, 1648, and he was fully acquitted. In 1646, Prynne published at London "A Fresh Discovery of some Prodigious New Wandering Blazing Stars and Firebrands styling themselves New Lights." To this, while in England, White replied in a work of one hundred and seventy pages, the title page to which, after the bad taste of the age, was a libellum, a little book in itself.

It reads

"Truth gloriously appearing
from under
The sad and sable Cloud of Obloquie
or

A Vindication

of the Practice of the Church of Christ in the Summer Islands, in an apologetical Answer unto some Letters and Papers lately sent from the Summer Islands by Richard Beake and W. Norwood, lately published by Master Prynne in his First Discovery of some prodigious New Wandering, Blazing-Stars, wherein the truth and that Church are much reproached, also a discovery of the Aforesaid Mr. Prynne his Fidelity, Credulity, Temerity, Want of Brotherly Charity, in receiving, believing, glossing, and publishing them. As also his Partiality, Fallacy (if not Falsity) in manageing and inhansing them: and last of all his malignity, in exasperating the high and honorable court of Parliament against them, before they have been heard speak for themselves, upon the naked report of Sons of Belial, and enemies capital, Thorow both of which do run (as is hoped) good satisfaction as concerning the model of that Church-way at this time much controverted, touching the way of worship, very commonly misunderstood, very falsely interpreted, but very truly called Independent."

"Licensed and printed according to order, Published not for offence, but Defence, by Nath. White, Bachelor of Divinity, and Pastor of the Church of Christ, at Summers Islands."

William Goulding, who had returned from England, on August the 27th, made a will, in which he speaks of himself as a "minister of God's word, and of the gospel of Jesus Christ being at this time sick and weak in body through a long and wasting sickness."

On the 30th of January, 1648-9, Charles the First was beheaded, but it was several months before the intelligence reached Bermudas, and the royalists were indignant and vindictive. They said on July 5, 1649, to the Governor and

Council: "We upon sufficient grounds, reports and circumstances are convinced that our Royal Sovereign, Charles the First is slain, which horrid act we detest, and unwilling to have our conscience stained with the breach of the oath to our God, and to avoid falling into a premunire, acknowledge the high born Charles, Prince of Wales to be the undoubted heir apparent."

On the 21st of August the Council withdrew all protection from those who did not conform to the ecclesiastical laws of England, and the next month Nathaniel White was impeached as a enemy to the King and country. The Independents remaining in Bermudas now began to make preparations to go to Eleuthera.

The first winter of the exiles on the wild isle of the sea was one of suffering. When Governor Winthrop and others in Boston heard of their distress, a collection was taken up for their relief, among the churches of that vicinity, amounting to about £800 sterling. Supplies were purchased and placed in a small, hired vessel in charge of James Pen and Abraham Palmure. They sailed from Boston on the 13th of 3d mo. O. S. (June) 1650, and reached Eleuthera on the 17th of the next month.

Scottow, the aged Boston merchant, in his "Narrative of the Massachusetts Colony," quaintly alludes to the aid of the New England Puritans to their suffering brethren. He writes: "They served God in houses of the first edition, without large chambers, sealed with cedars, and painted with vermilion, a company of plain, pious, humble and open hearted Christians called Puritans.

"When news was brought hither that the Church at Bermudas was banished thence, into a desolate island and full of straits, forthwith they sent a vessel of good burthen to them fully laden with provisions of all sorts, each striving who would be forwardest in so good a work, which supply came unto them, when as all the meat in their barrells, and oil in their cruise was spent and it was brought on the Lord's day, as their faithful pastor had finished his exhortation from Psalm 23, To trust upon the Lord Jehovah, their Shepherd who would not suffer his flock to want."

A committee of three was appointed to express the appreciation of the sympathy of the Massachusetts churches, and they gave in return, for the benefit of Harvard College then in its infancy, ten tons of Braziletto wood, "to avoid that foul sin of ingratitude so abhorred of God, so hateful to man." The vessel arrived in Boston on the 6th day of 8th month, bringing among others the daughter of the deceased minister George Stirk, to visit her brother George who had been a student of Harvard: a son of Nathaniel White, the Pastor of the Church, and Mr. Stephen Painter, a zealous layman, one of the original members of the Independent Church of Bermudas, who had been sent to England at the same time as Pastor White, on an accusation of high treason, and was acquitted.

James Seymour, who died at the age of ten years in 1650, and to whose mahogany monument allusion has been made, was probably the son of Florentio Seymour, a friend and executor of Pastor William Goulding.

The aged Copland passed to the "better land" before the year 1655, and probably at Eleuthera, his spirit departed.

Upon the 4th of October, 1652, a ship left the Bermudas with letters of recall for the pastor Nathaniel White. The time when he left Eleuthera has not been ascertained. A letter from the London proprietors, dated Sept. 21, 1674 addressed to the Governor of Bermudas, has the following: "Whereas we formerly ordered that Mrs. White, the widow of Mr. Nathaniel White should enjoy the Gleabe during her life time, and we being since certified of her death, do order," etc. At a meeting of the English Council of State, on the 23d of December, 1656, the case of about sixty persons on Eleuthera Island, who had suffered much hardship, was considered, and the following March the ship John brought from there to Bermudas Captain Sayle, his wife and three children, and thirteen other passengers.

For several years some of the Independents remained at Eleuthera, and in the summer of 1663, being in great distress, their Bermudas friends sent to them a vessel of supplies.

Residence at the Bermudas was no longer unpleasant, as the non-conformists had increased after the severe acts of Charles the Second.

The Rev. Sampson Bond, once active for the King, came from England in 1663, began to teach that the Book of Common Prayer was a Mass Book, and that the words used by a god-father and god-mother in the order for infant baptism were blasphemy. A Rev. Henry Vaughan, who had succeeded to the parish of his father who had graduated at Oxford or Cambridge, also sympathized with non-conformists. Anderson in his history of the Colonial Church quotes the following from a letter of the Governor of Bermudas: "I received a letter directed to ye first Clergyman in Bermudas; by ye seal I suppose it came from my Lord Rishop of London. None would receive it, except old Wm. Righton, formerly a preacher here, now turned lawyer, a tayler by trade, and a long time servt. to Hugh Peters. Hee would have open'd it, saying it belong'd only to him, but I would not permit him.

"Our Parish when Mr. Vaughan returned from England, did expect hee should have read ye Common Prayer, and administered ye Sacrament of ye Lord's Supper;—few in ye Island know what it is, more than by relating of aged people who formerly liv'd in England, and not to have flung off his cononical gown, and after a chapter read by a silly clerk, and a Psalm sung so irreverently, to step into ye Pulpit."

On the 26th of July, 1669, a commission was issued to William Sayle, the founder of Eleuthera, as Governor of Carolina.

In the Constitution prepared for this new colony by the celebrated philosopher John Locke, it was provided "That any seven or more persons agreeing in any religion shall constitute a church or profession, to which they shall give some name to distinguish it from others."

Upon the 26th of February, the ship *Caroline* which had come from England with colonists, sailed from Bermudas with Governor William Sayle, who was to preside over the new colony north of Florida, upon the Atlantic coast. After several days the vessels reached the vicinity of Beaufort, and from there sailed up the Ashley River and three ship loads of colonists landed on the first high land, and formed the nucleus of the commonwealth of South Carolina.

Governor Sayle after a few months was taken sick and died, but the principle of a free church, under no State control, for

which he so earnestly contended, has lived, and the voice he raised, has found an "Echo beyond the Mexique Bay."

Andrew Marvell, just before he became Assistant Latin Secretary of State under John Milton, had been tutor of a lad in whom Cromwell was interested. In a letter to the Protector, he writes relative to his pupil, that he had taken care "to examine him several times in the presence of Mr. Oxenbridge."

No doubt Marvell's conversations with Oxenbridge led to the composition of his poem on Bermudas containing the oft-quoted lines :

"What shall we do but sing his praise
That led us through the watery maze,
Unto an isle so long unknown,
And yet far kinder than our own?
Where he the huge sea-monsters wracks,
That lift the deep upon their backs,
He lands us on a grassy stage,
Safe from the storm, and prelate's rage.
* * * * *

He cast (of which we rather boast)
The Gospel's pearl upon our coast
And in these rocks, for us, did frame
A temple, where to sound his name,"