

Editor's Note: *The Journal of Backcountry Studies* appreciates historian David Andrew Caldwell making available to us his forthcoming biography of his famous ancestor, the Reverend David Caldwell. In my recent book, *Political Moderation in America's First Two Centuries*, Caldwell emerges as the premier political and religious moderate in the Southern Backcountry, and in David Andrew Caldwell's splendid new biography, published below, he comes alive as a pastor, teacher, husband, anti-Federalist, physician, and Revolutionary War leader. RMC

Rev. David Caldwell (1725–1824): Incarnation of a Cause, a Country, and an Age

DAVID ANDREW CALDWELL



Figure 1. Bust of David Caldwell
by Michel Van der Sommen.
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I. A LIGHT IN THE WILDERNESS

Stay, traveler. Near this place lies David Caldwell. If you want to know what kind of man he was, the answer is that he lived a life with purpose and left a legacy that brings accolades more than two and a half centuries after his death.

In downtown Greensboro, North Carolina, the David Caldwell Historic Park and Interpretative Center displays the busts of Rev. David Caldwell (1725-1824) and his wife Rachel, completed in 2007 by sculptor Michiel Van der Sommen. The busts present this couple in the prime of their life, attractive, physically fit, and at ease. David and Rachel's major achievements began while they were relatively young, he in his 40s and she in her 20s. David Caldwell Historic Park serves to educate the public about David Caldwell's contributions not merely as the founder and educator at the most prominent and longest lasting classic academy of

colonial North Carolina, but as a first generation American, hero, patriarch of the pulpit patriots of North Carolina, advocate of the Bill of Rights Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, and a member of a committee drafting a Bill of Rights for the first North Carolina constitution. Throughout the sixty-year marriage this duo exerted great influence upon colleagues, clergy, and countrymen. Their country asked for their help, and they provided it.

The earliest biography of Rev. Caldwell was published in 1842, eighteen years after Rev. Caldwell's death in 1824. Authored by Presbyterian minister Eli W. Caruthers, this biography emphasized David and Rachel Caldwell's assistance to the Regulator movement of 1765-1771, praised their contributions to the Presbyterian Church and education,¹ briefly described David Caldwell's role as a statesman and constitutionalist, and avoided entirely the subject of what assistance he had rendered to the Underground Railroad. Rev. Caruthers's book is notable in being among the first histories in America to show how the wife helped her husband's ministry.² Possibly Rev. Caruthers was influenced by *Democracy in America* by Alexis de Tocqueville, who describes admiration for the frontiersman's wife driving her husband's ambition. Through amusing anecdotes, Rev. Caruthers displays a knack for not putting his readers to sleep.

In 1846, Rev. William Henry Foote³ began his colonial history of North Carolina with these words: "North Carolina, in the days of colonial dependence, was the refuge of the poor and oppressed. In her borders the emigrant, the fugitive, and the exile found a home." The cadence of this composition invites anticipation that he will tell a good story. He devoted Chapter XVII to Rev. Caldwell.⁴ Rev. Foote provides enough details that the reader can visualize and step into the time and place that David Caldwell experienced. Rev. Foote asked the question that Rev. Caruthers had not asked—what principles of religion and morals, and modifying influences, made Rev. Caldwell what he was? Rev. Foote reviewed colonial records that Rev. Caruthers had not examined, and, with these sources, explained his admiration for David Caldwell's heroic life and Caldwell's conviction that the cause of independence must be defended at the cost of life, fortune, and most sacred honor. Nowhere does Rev. Foote mention Daniel Boone, whose autobiography *The Adventures of Daniel Boone, Formerly A Hunter; Containing a Narrative of the Wars of Kentucky*, was first published in 1784. That work tells how Boone led people to emigrate from North Carolina into Kentucky. Boone's autobiography and Rev. Caruthers's biography about Rev. Caldwell have been cited in support of the argument that the American frontier shaped a new self-made independent character who knew who he was, ready to settle the frontier, calm even when faced with imminent peril to himself.⁵

¹ Eli W. Caruthers, A.M. (1793-1865), *A Sketch of The Life and Character of David Caldwell, D.D., Near Sixty Years Pastor of the Churches of Buffalo and Alamance* (Greensborough, N.C.: Swaim and Sherwood, 1842). (Online)

² For discussion of the difference between evangelism and fundamentalism, and their contributions to American politics, see Frank Lambert, *Religion in American Politics: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

³ William Henry Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina, Historical and Biographical, Illustrative of the Principles of a Portion of Her Early Settlers* (New York: Robert Carter, 1846), ix. (Online)

⁴ *Ibid.*, 235-243.

⁵ See Fredrick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," spoken July 12, 1893, republished as Chap. 1, in Fredrick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: H. Holt & Co., 1920.) Turner's commentary exaggerates the influence of Rev. Caruthers's biography; the popular

Rev. Foote possessed an advantage that Rev. Caruthers lacked. Whereas Rev. Caruthers had been relatively isolated as the minister succeeding Rev. Caldwell at the Buffalo and Alamance congregations in Greensboro,⁶ Rev. Foote states that he had served seven years constantly engaged as a Secretary of Foreign Missions and in that capacity had called upon most of the Presbyterian congregations in North Carolina repeatedly. In conversation with the aged ministers and members of the church he heard many things to which he listened with emotion and asked to hear them again.⁷ Rev. Foote enables the reader to experience the fears, hopes, anxieties, and burdens that Rev. Caldwell and his wife Rachel felt.

In 1976, Ethel Stephens Arnett wrote an acclaimed biography of David Caldwell that reproduced the last will and testament of David Caldwell's father. She confirmed that David Caldwell was the son of Andrew and Martha Caldwell, not Andrew and Ann.⁸ The biography helped in the decision to establish the David Caldwell Historic Park.

In his 1979 Ph.D. dissertation,⁹ Mark F. Miller emphasized Rev. Caldwell's impact as an educator and wrote that Rev. Caldwell would have remained obscure but for Rev. Caruthers's biography. However, a reverse order better hits the mark: Rev. Caruthers would have remained unknown but for Rev. David Caldwell.

In the latest interpretation of David Caldwell's life and character, Robert McCluer Calhoon, a professor of history, focuses chiefly on Rev. Caldwell's impact upon political moderation and scarcely delves into his contribution as an educator.¹⁰ In the Prologue of *Political Moderation in America's First Two Centuries*, Calhoon begins his discussion of political moderation with Thucydides, the Peloponnesian War, 432 B.C.¹¹ Fluent in Greek, Rev. Caldwell likely could write like Thucydides and quote him from memory. Calhoon then advances to Aristotle's *Ethics* that espouses the virtue of the middle ground as prudent and wise. Calhoon continues with a discussion of numerous other sources, up through and past the English Civil War of 1640 and the English Revolution of 1688-89.¹² He identifies Presidents James

autobiographies by Benjamin Franklin and Daniel Boone and *Democracy in America* by Alexis de Tocqueville had a far greater impact upon Europeans in forming their opinions about the self-made Americans.

⁶ Mark F. Miller, "David Caldwell: The Forming of a Southern Educator." (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1979).

⁷ Foote, *Sketches*, ix.

⁸ Ethel Stephens Arnett, *David Caldwell* (Greensboro: Ethel Stephens Arnett, Junior League of Greensboro, N.C., Inc., 1976).

⁹ Miller, "David Caldwell."

¹⁰ Robert McCluer Calhoon, *Political Moderation in America's First Two Centuries* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 120–129, 144, 160–161, 174, 193. See also, Robert M. Calhoon, "The Scotch-Irish and Political Moderation," *Journal of Scotch-Irish Studies*, 1, no. 3 (2002): 122-141; Robert M. Calhoon, "On Political Moderation," *Journal Historical Society*, 6, no. 2 (2006): 275-295.

¹¹ During Rev. Caldwell's attendance at the College of New Jersey, the college included Thucydides in its core curriculum. See David W. Robson, *Educating Republicans: the College in the Era of the American Revolution, 1750-1800 (Contributions to the Study of Education, Number 15)* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985), 73.

¹² The most popular Tory-based history of the Revolution of 1688-1689 during David Caldwell's lifetime was *The History of England*, 6 volumes, by David Hume (1711-1776), the last volume of which was published in 1778. However, during the time that David Caldwell attended the College of New Jersey, its library did not have David Hume's *History of England*, but only the Whig-slanted *History of England* by Paul de Rapin-Thoyras (see Hume, *Educating Republicans*). Lord Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859) died before completing his popular *History of England from the Accession of King James the Second*, 4 vols., 1848-1861, in which he described the Revolution of 1688-1689 as not truly a revolution nor transformative. "Not a single flower of the Crown was

Madison and John Quincy Adams, as well as Rev. David Caldwell, as effective advocates of political moderation in America. Chapter 3 chronicles how political moderation intermingled with religion in the backcountry.

Rev. Caldwell admired the Late Greek classical sages who stressed that *apatheia* – meaning calm equipoise, devoid of uncontrollable passion – must be strived for. These Greek sages saw uncontrollable passion as an antisocial evil that could be overcome by dedicated disciples guided by a revered teacher.¹³

The 2008 biography of David Caldwell by Finis Jay Caldwell Jr.¹⁴ focuses upon how David Caldwell and his wife influenced the development of the evangelical movement. It also endorses Calhoun's conclusion that the *Two Treatises on Government* by John Locke (1632–1704) contributed to David Caldwell's views when the people may justifiably raise armed resistance to the Crown.¹⁵ The *Two Treatises* was assigned reading at the College of New Jersey during the time that David Caldwell attended.¹⁶ The Declaration of Independence and the Preamble to the U.S. Constitution reflect John Locke's views.

John Locke¹⁷ published *Two Treatises* anonymously in December 1689, with its title page marked 1690. These treatises have been republished and translated with various omissions. The only American edition from the eighteenth century was printed in 1773 in Boston. It omitted the Preface, in which Locke states that his purpose is to justify the Glorious Revolution, also known as the Revolution of 1688-89, by which the Crown was transferred by Parliament from James II to William III.

Unlike Benjamin Franklin and Daniel Boone, Rev. David Caldwell never wrote an autobiography. No known correspondence or journal has been preserved or cited in which David Caldwell wrote about himself. His biographers do not provide any anecdote exemplifying how Rev. Caldwell felt about his status in America history. This silence reinforces the impression that he regarded himself with humility, perhaps even with self-deprecation, likely because he believed he did what he perceived to be his duty.¹⁸ None of the biographies hint at any

touched. Not a single new right was conveyed to the People" (Macaulay, *History*, 291). Macaulay opined that James II's Catholicism did not render his overthrow inevitable; Macaulay argued that had James II been politically moderate, he would have remained in power.

¹³ Thomas Cahill, *Mysteries of the Middle Ages and the Beginning of the Modern World* (New York: First Anchor Books, 2008), 19.

¹⁴ Finis Jay Caldwell Jr., *Dr. David Caldwell: An 18th Century Flame for Christ, 1725-1824* (Kennett, Missouri: Finis Jay Caldwell Jr., 2008).

¹⁵ John Locke was within a few days of his tenth birthday in 1642 when armed resistance to the Crown broke out in England. See Roger Woolhouse, *John Locke: A Biography* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 8. The terrors and zealotry of those times nurtured Locke's preference for toleration and moderation. Locke's criticism of how much he disliked thrashing with a rod, how he disliked being taught Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Arabic by memory rather than by writing in those languages, and the pleasure he had with introduction to the ideas of Xenophon, Thucydides, and Aristotle, may have been substantial factors shaping David Caldwell's views on how best to educate his own pupils.

¹⁶ Robert Allen Rutland, *James Madison and the American Nation, 1751-1836: an Encyclopedia* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), 242.

¹⁷ John Locke, "First Two Treatises on Government, 1690," in *John Locke: A Biography*, Roger Woolhouse (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹⁸ David Caldwell neither commissioned a portrait nor prescribed any epitaph.

narcissism, inflated self-importance, intolerance of criticism, self-aggrandizement, or seeking of admiration. However, at the time of David's death, many individuals fondly praised this man. His faith, courage, and confidence had encouraged him to tackle problems that would have overwhelmed ordinary men.

As a born-again Christian, Rev. Caldwell would have undergone a conversion. Had he written of this conversion, it would be surprising and unexpected were he to have chosen words similar to those written by Oliver Cromwell: "You know what my manner of life hath been. Oh, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated the light. I was the chief, the chief of sinners. This is true: I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me. Oh the riches of his mercy! Praise him for me, pray for me."¹⁹

The recent contention that David's motivations were merely the manifestation of a classic Protestant Ethic has plausibility,²⁰ but is an unappealing academic abstraction when consideration is given to the details of David Caldwell's life that made him what he was.

On March 3, 1768, born-again Rev. Hugh McAden²¹ installed forty-year-old David Caldwell as minister of two Presbyterian congregations at Buffalo and Alamance deep in the Piedmont region of North Carolina, in what is now Greensboro, North Carolina. The proud members of these congregations dwelt in humble log cabins. They raised fat pigs and lean children, harvested crops and hunted game, girdled trees and guzzled corn liquor. These salvation-seekers split Sundays between scripture, sermons, sedition, and socializing. Throughout the "backcountry,"²² consciousness-raising clergy confronted congregations complaining of creditors, courts, colonels, commissioners, councils, and corruption. Despite its humbleness, the ministry provided David Caldwell a rich opportunity for his agenda, aura, and amiability to capture the attention, admiration and affection of the alienated throughout the Piedmont region of North Carolina. Cool but compassionate, Rev. Caldwell helped to inspire yet moderate the Regulator movement of 1765-1771. Historian Sallie Walker Stockward describes the Regulators as the first colonists to petition for home rule.²³

¹⁹ Diane Purkiss, *The English Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 21.

²⁰ "Calvin's view that God reigns everywhere and over all things led him to develop the biblical idea that man can serve God in every area of life - church, civil government, education, art, music, business, law, journalism. There was no need to be a priest, a monk, or a nun to get closer to God. God is glorified in everyday work and family life. Calvin's teaching led directly to what has become known as the "Protestant work ethic." See Gary DeMar, *The Geneva Bible: The Forgotten Translation*, published online, www.reformed.org/documents/geneva/Geneva.html.

²¹ Although McAden spelled his name as written, Rev. Caruthers misspells it as McAdden.

²² See Robert D. Mitchell, "The Southern Backcountry: A Geographical House Divided," in *The Southern Colonial Backcountry: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Frontier Communities*, eds. David Colin Crass et al. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998), 1-35.

²³ Sallie W. Stockward, *The History of Guilford County, North Carolina* (Knoxville, Tenn.: Gaut-Ogden Co. Printers 1902), 115-117. For further discussion of the Regulators, see the following: George R. Adams, "The Carolina Regulators: A Note on Changing Interpretations," *North Carolina Historical Review* 49 (1972): 345-352; John S. Bassett, "The Regulators of North Carolina 1765-1771," in Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1894 (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1895); Christopher Graham, "Reading the Regulators," *Journal of Backcountry Studies*, vol. III, no. 1 (Spring 2008); Marjoleine Kars, *Breaking Loose Together: The Regulator Rebellion in Pre-Revolutionary North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Marvin L. Michael Kay, "The North Carolina Regulation, 1766-1776: A Class Conflict," in

Just before the Battle of Alamance on May 16, 1771, Rev. Caldwell stayed up all the preceding night and past dawn as a mediator in a desperate effort to avoid bloodshed between Governor Tryon's well-trained, armed militia numbering 1,452 and the slightly more than 2,000 undisciplined American backcountry farmers known as "Regulators," who had requested his presence to see if his persuasive powers could aid in reaching a peaceful solution. Caldwell likely used the Geneva Bible or Greek New Testament to quote Jesus' Sermon on the Mount: "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the sons of God." (Matt: 5:9.) [The King James Version uses the phrase "children of God."] After Governor Tryon rejected his pleas, Rev. Caldwell remained between the two groups until one of the Regulators shouted: "Hey, Caldwell, you best remove yourself from where you are standing, or you will be shot to death, thus getting to see your God before you want to."²⁴ Rev. Foote states that as soon as Rev. Caldwell left the field, the shooting commenced.

Within a few years after the Battle of Alamance, the British governor and generals had to confront Rev. Caldwell as a principled Patriot challenging British rule. In December 1775 delegates of the Continental Congress met with Rev. Caldwell.²⁵ Although seemingly isolated on the frontier, Rev. Caldwell joined an intercolonial movement that aided attainment of America's independence. Beginning in January 1776, his sermons from the pulpit inspired wary and disaffected Scotch-Irish to take up arms and fight against British oppression. During the Revolutionary War, Rev. Caldwell hid in a swamp while British Lt. General Charles Cornwallis offered a substantial bounty of £200 for his capture, ironically enough to buy hundreds of acres of river bottomland. Rev. Caldwell was captured once when he returned to his home, but escaped, while the Tories (Loyalists) were focusing their attention on taking all of his furniture.

After the Revolutionary War, Rev. David Caldwell became a leader of an anti-federalist political party in North Carolina and was among the first to speak at a North Carolina convention in 1788 to determine whether North Carolina would vote to adopt the proposed Federal Constitution, perceived as a potential threat to States' Rights, susceptible to excessive Presidential power, and lacking a Bill of Rights that his fellow backcountry Piedmont farmers and he were determined to have. He neither bought nor rented the Federalists' argument that the enumerated powers of the federal government were limited in scope and would not infringe upon the liberties that Rev. Caldwell and those allied with him sought to protect. While vigorous in defending his anti-federalist views, Rev. Caldwell consistently displayed respect and courtesy toward the opponents. Although charismatic, he was not willing to use emotionally manipulative appeals such as fear, hatred and greed coupled with simplistic and subjective explanations to mobilize constituencies. Instead, he charmed, challenged, and changed his audience through his

The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism, ed. Alfred F. Young (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976); William S. Powell, "The War of the Regulation and The Battle of Alamance, May 16, 1771" (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1975); Alfred M. Waddell, presentation before a monthly meeting of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, October 4, 1870, "The War of the Regulators in North Carolina, 1768-71," printed in *The New England Historic and Genealogical Register* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1871), 81-87; Alan D. Watson, "The Origins of the Regulation in North Carolina," *The Mississippi Quarterly* vol. XLVII, no. 4 (Fall 1994): 567-598; James P. Whittenburg, "Planters, Merchants, and Lawyers: Social Change and the Origins of the North Carolina Regulation," *William & Mary Quarterly* 3rd series, 34 (1977).

²⁴ Caldwell Jr., *Dr. David Caldwell*.

²⁵ Calhoun, "The Scotch-Irish and Political Moderation," 122-141.

reasoning, by citing history, tradition, experience, classics, and scripture to appeal to the mind and painting hope to appeal to the imagination.

Rev. Foote states that by tradition it has been assumed that Rev. Caldwell drafted Section 32 of the first North Carolina State Constitution, which stated: "That no person who shall deny the being of God, or the truth of the Protestant religion, or the divine authority either of the Old or New Testament, or who shall hold religious principles incompatible with freedom and safety of the State, shall be capable of holding any office or place of trust or profit, in the civil department within the State."²⁶ Rev. Foote asserts that Rev. Caldwell understood the preceding section disqualified preachers of the gospel for the legislative functions, in virtue of their office.²⁷ By taking an oath to support the Constitution, officeholders were deemed to have satisfied the requirements of Section 32. The oath meant the oath taker was not a Papist, i.e., one who declared he would be subservient to the Pope as a foreign power. Section 32 was never enforced so as to exclude Catholics or Jews from public office. In 1835 North Carolina amended its constitution to delete the word "Papist" and substituted "Christian" for "Protestant."

By 1800, at age 75, Rev. Caldwell was recognized as one of the South's foremost educators. Historian Burton Alva Konkle (1861-1944) said that Caldwell "was one of the greatest natural teachers that America has ever produced" and that his Academy was "a veritable 'seminary' to the whole South."²⁸ Almost all of the Presbyterian ministers in the South until then were graduates of or had taught at his Academy. Graduates of the Academy included 5 future governors of southern states, 50 U. S. senators and congressmen, numerous future physicians and lawyers, and an estimated 135 ministers, 50 of whom had been ordained during the decade before the Revolutionary War. Aided by lecture notes and a list of medical books recommended by prominent physician Benjamin Rush, M.D. (1746-1813), a close friend whom Rev. Caldwell had first met while the two attended the College of New Jersey, Caldwell taught medicine to one of his sons so well that his son obtained a medical degree from the Medical College of Philadelphia without attending any lectures.

Among those who graduated from or taught at the Academy were the ministers that initiated the Second Great Awakening (Great Revival), beginning with revivals in 1786 in Pennsylvania; in 1791 in Guilford County, North Carolina; in 1797, and then again in the spring of 1801, in Logan County, Kentucky; and in the summer of 1801 at Cane Ridge, Bourbon County, Kentucky, up through 1805. This revival movement had a strong impact in shaping the Bible Belt²⁹ evangelical movement throughout the South and Midwest that remains a potent political force to this date.

²⁶ Caldwell Jr., *Dr. David Caldwell*.

²⁷ Foote, *Sketches*, 240.

²⁸ Burton Alva Konkle, *John Motley Morehead and the Development of North Carolina, 1796-1866* (1922; reprint, Spartanburg, S.C.: Reprint Co., 1971), 399.

²⁹ Satirist H. L. Mencken was the first to use the phrase "Bible Belt." He wrote in the *American Mercury* for February 1926 of a Jackson, Mississippi, newspaper "in the heart of the Bible and Lynching Belt." The term Bible Belt alludes to the prevalence of evangelical revivals, strict morals, belief in the literal truth of the Bible, and similar traits.

The Great Revival emphasized personal conversion and regeneration, “moral values,” and invigorated the temperance and anti-slavery movements.³⁰

In 1810 the University of North Carolina awarded Rev. David Caldwell an honorary degree as Doctor of Divinity.

During the War of 1812 Rev. David Caldwell used his oratorical skills to successfully persuade the youth of Guilford County – only thirty miles from the border dividing Virginia and North Carolina – to volunteer for a militia that would defend Virginia’s shores from a British invasion. Before he spoke, there were not enough volunteers. The wetlands near Virginia’s shore posed a grave risk to health, likely the high risk of contracting malaria. After Rev. Caldwell’s inspiring speech, volunteers enrolled by scores more than needed. Instead of formulating the issue as whether the benefits outweighed the risks, hardship and inconvenience, Rev. Caldwell quoted from Luke 22:36. “He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one.”³¹

In 1818 the first Underground Railroad “depot” for transporting runaway slaves was established in the woods just to the north of Rev. David Caldwell’s farm, with his own slaves feeding the runaways.³² Usually, nothing more was asked of “station masters” serving as active participants in the Underground Railroad. The initial runaways headed for Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Indiana.³³ The “railroad” included a “depot” at Drumore Township (now Quarryville), Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, the birthplace of David Caldwell.³⁴ The runaways traveled only at night, watching the North Star rise in the sky ahead of them.

David Caldwell first stepped into history in 1765 as a missionary on the Great Wagon Road³⁵ among pioneers who shared a common past and had sipped full with kings and tyrants,

³⁰ See John B. Boles, *The Great Revival: Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1996); Charles Crossfield Ware, *Barton Warren Stone, Pathfinder of Christian Union; a Story of his Life and Times* (St. Louis, Mo.: The Bethany Press, 1932); Eric Foner, *Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 64-65; Vernon L. Parrington, *The Romantic Revolution in America, 1800-1860* (New York: Harcourt Brace/Harvest Book, 1954); Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 419-428, 637-638; T. K. Boegher, “Camp Meetings and Circuit Riders. Untamed Faith on America’s Early Frontier,” *Christian History Magazine* (XIV no. 1); George Marsden and Mark A. Noll, eds., *Eerdmans Handbook to Christianity in America* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1983); William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings and Reform* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1978), 80-84; Ken Walker, “Christians Honor 200th Anniversary of Cane Ridge Revival in Kentucky,” *Charisma* (Nov. 2001): 24-28.

³¹ Caldwell Jr., *Dr. David Caldwell*, 97.

³² See Levi Coffin, *Levi Coffin, 1798-1877, Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, the Reputed President of the Underground Railroad* (Cincinnati: Robert Clark and Co., 1876), 55.

³³ *Ibid.*, 60-61, 65-67.

³⁴ See I. C. Arnold, *An Underground Station in Drumore Township* (Lancaster, Penn.: Lancaster County Historical Society, 1951).

³⁵ By the early 1740s, a road had been built between Philadelphia and Lancaster, called the Lancaster Pike. It became a segment of the Great Wagon Road that continued through Gettysburg to Harper’s Ferry, and eventually all the way to the west bank of the Savannah River, Georgia. The Great Wagon Road (originally a buffalo and elk trail) was used by most Scotch-Irish and other ethnic groups migrating south from Pennsylvania ascending up through the Shenandoah Valley, between the Allegheny Mountains to the west and the Blue Ridge Mountains to the east, into North Carolina and Georgia. The Great Wagon Road “served as the gateway to the backcountry with Philadelphia connecting the region to the larger Atlantic world. Historians have recently taken to calling it ‘Greater Pennsylvania.’ By 1800 the backcountry region extended westward from the Great Wagon Road from Pennsylvania

land speculation, religious discrimination, and overcrowding. The vast majority was Presbyterian Scotch-Irish³⁶ relocating from Pennsylvania at the end of the seven-year French and Indian War, through a five-hundred-mile corridor along the Appalachian Mountains. Their journey took them across swollen rivers, muddy banks, ridges, ruts, and roots, south past Maryland and Virginia, to the cool parasol pines of the Piedmont backcountry of North Carolina, distal from the sun-scorched Atlantic littoral. They traveled in more than 1,000 Conestoga wagons, armed with Pennsylvania rifles, and lured by hopes of cheap land available on the North Carolina frontier and the expectation that they would be free to practice their religion. North Carolina Governor Arthur Dobbs wrote in 1754 that settlers “take up lands . . . with a view to cultivate and improve them, as fast as they can, all the back settlers being very industrious.”³⁷

to Georgia into southeastern Ohio, the bluegrass region of Kentucky, east Tennessee, and northeastern Alabama” (Robert M. Calhoun, “Ordered Liberty in the Southern Backcountry and the Middle-West” *Journal of Backcountry Studies*, Volume I, Issue 2 Fall 2006). The constant movement, open camp socializing and blurring of ethnic groups, rich and poor, educated and non-educated, nurtured political moderation (ibid.). This road began near Ft. Chiswell (Chissel), where road converged from Philadelphia and Richmond. The Cumberland Gap was discovered in 1750 by Dr. Thomas Walker, who called it Cave Gap. In 1796, the road through the Cumberland Gap was renamed the Wilderness Road, when it was widened to allow passage of the Conestoga wagon. The Wilderness Road was one of three wagon roads that penetrated deep into Kentucky. Daniel Boone (1734-1820) did not reach the Cumberland Gap until 1769. He passed through the gap to reach the Blue Grass region, an Indian hunting ground. He returned in 1775 to blaze the first trail through the Cumberland Mountains into Kentucky. See Parke Rouse, *The Great Wagon Road* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973); Brenda E. McPherson Compton, “The Scots-Irish From Ulster and The Great Philadelphia Wagon Road,” web: electric Scotland.com.) In 1782, Abraham Lincoln (? – 1784), grandfather of the future president of that name, and his family, accompanied Daniel Boone into Kentucky. In his field book, Boone made the following entry: “Abraham Lincoln enters 500 acres of land, on a Treasury Warrant — No. 5,994 — beginning opposite Charles Yancey’s upper line, on the south side of the river, running south 200 poles, then up the river for quantity, 11th December, 1782.”

³⁶ In Scotland and Ireland, the preferred term is “Scot-Irish” or “Ulster-Irish.” Only the beverage is Scotch. Although the term “Scotch-Irish” became an American idiom, England’s Queen Elizabeth first printed it in a 1573 proclamation. The term was in common use in the American colonies long before the famines of the 1840s in Ireland caused an intense influx of Catholic Irish, and an alleged need of the Protestant Irish of Scottish ancestry to distinguish themselves. In September 1723 an Anglican minister George Ross wrote from New Castle, Delaware: “They call themselves Scotch-Irish — and the bitterest railers against the church [of England] that ever trod upon American grounds.” See James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 330. In 1772 a newspaper advertisement reported a runaway African slave named Jack who was “said to speak the Scotch-Irish dialect” (*Virginia Gazette*, October 22, 1772). In an affidavit recorded on March 15, 1689/1690 in the Somerset County Court, Maryland Records, in a hearing to bring charges against Matthew Scarbrough is this reference: “I William Patten was at worke at James Minders and one night as I was at worke Mr Matt Scarbrough came into the house of sd Minders and sett down by me as I was at work, the sd Minder askt him if he came afoot, [footnote 10 continued from previous page] he made answer again and so he did, saying that man, meaning me, calling me Rogue makes me goe afoot, also makes it his business to goe from house to house to ruinate me, my Wife and Children for ever. I made answer is it Mr. Scarbrough (?) and he replied and said ay you, you Rogue, for which doing ile whip you and make my Wife to whip you, and I answered if ever I have abused (you) at any time, or to any bodies hearing, I will give you full satisfaction to your own Content. (At which Scarbrough said: You Scotch Irish dogg it was you, with that he gave me a blow on the face saying it was no more sin to kill me then to kill a dogg, or any Scotch Irish dogg, giving me another blow in the face now saying goe to yr god that Rogue and have a warrant for me and I will answer it. Wm. Patent.”

³⁷ Letter from Arthur Dobbs to the Board, 9 November 1754, Colonial Records of North Carolina, vol. V, 149.

Although the first few generations of Scotch-Irish often thought of themselves as Irish rather than Scottish,³⁸ their culture, manner of speech, dress, and customs were quite similar to those of the Scots and English living in the counties bordering England and Scotland, i.e., the English shires of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and parts of Lancashire on the western side of the Penninines, North UMBERLAND, Durham, the northern part of Yorkshire, and the Scottish counties and sheriffdoms of Ayr, Renfrew, Lanark, Dumfries, Wigtown, Kirkcubright, Roxburgh, and Berwick. They spoke largely English, not Gaelic.³⁹ Some of the Scotch-Irish resented the designation: "We're not Eerish bot Scoatch."⁴⁰ Only about 4,000 Scotch-Irish had migrated from Northern Ireland to America between 1700 and 1730. More than 60,000 arrived between 1730 and 1770. By the time of the American Revolution, 100,000 had relocated to America. The majority was comprised of agricultural workers and general laborers. Only a few were skilled. The Scotch-Irish made up the largest European ethnic minority in America by 1776.⁴¹

Because of the presence of more than one Andrew Caldwell residing in Lancaster County, too often the father and mother of David Caldwell have been identified erroneously as Andrew Caldwell and Ann Stewart from Ireland instead of immigrants Andrew Caldwell and Martha from Scotland, whose voyage only made a temporary stopover in Ireland to pick up additional passengers.⁴²

By 1725, hardly any Native-Americans resided in this Alamance region. Only the wind whistled in vacant villages and shook the buds of wildflowers in meadows where corn, beans, and squash had once grown. By 1701 smallpox and other communicable diseases against which the tribes had no immunity had reduced their numbers to one-sixth. The largest tribe that had settled in Alamance had been the Sissipahaw, a branch of the Sioux family that crossed the Mississippi River centuries before. The tribe gave its name to the Haw or Saxapahaw River. Most of their villages had been built alongside streams and rivers. In 1712 the Tuscarora killed 16 of the Sissipahaw because they refused to join and fight the English. The surviving Sissipahaw retreated deeper into the forest, leaving no archeological traces except their former dwellings, burial mounds, and scattered arrowheads. The tribe abandoned a region where there were so many buffalo that three or four men with their dogs could kill from 10 to 20 in a day.⁴³

As John Lawson and Robert W. Ramsey stated, deer were so plentiful that a rifleman with a little powder could easily kill four or five in a day. A common hunter could kill in the autumnal seasons as many bears as would make from 2,000 to 3,000 weight of bear bacon. The

³⁸ James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 1-4.

³⁹ David Hacker Fisher, *Albion's Seed* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 621-622.

⁴⁰ Wayland F. Dunaway, *Scotch-Irish in Colonial Pennsylvania* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 10.

⁴¹ Jon Butler, *Becoming America: The Revolution before 1776* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 23-25.

⁴² *Dictionary of American Biography*, ed. Malone Dumas (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons) mistakenly identifies Ann Stewart and Andrew Caldwell, Irish emigrants, as the parents of David Caldwell. Rev. Caruthers wrote that the parents were Andrew and Martha Caldwell. See Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 10.

⁴³ Douglas L. Rights, "Traces of the Indians in Piedmont North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* 1 (July 1924): 277-288.

waters abounded with beavers, otters, and muskrats.⁴⁴ Killing bear and deer chiefly for food, not as trophies or as a boastful display of manhood, the typical pioneer did not selectively hunt the deer with the biggest antlers or bears with the largest bear skins and thereby diminish the size of the species. David's skill as a hunter would have aided his survival during the Revolutionary War, when the British and Loyalists wasted his fields and seized his farm animals.

As so often in the past, Presbyterians were looking for the Promised Land, if not Edenic Paradise. They coveted land so much that cynics would say they kept the Ten Commandments and everything else they could get their hands on.⁴⁵

Although Scotch-Irish Presbyterians commonly referred to themselves as the Chosen People, from the viewpoint of religious predestination, they believed as farmers that their agrarian society nurtured those virtues conducive to their salvation. They viewed the movement away from agrarian values as conducive to moral decay. Thomas Jefferson is the best-known proponent of this view.⁴⁶ The Roman philosopher Cato the Elder popularized the same view in the second century B.C.E, asserting that the highest display of being a good citizen was being a good farmer willing to serve the State.

Presbyterianism thrived on the road farthest from Anglican Bishops. No Anglican minister visited the Piedmont backcountry until 1766. Neighbors included Quakers, Moravians, Baptists, Methodists, Lutherans, and Reformed Germans, all of whom sought to stay clear of Anglican interference. In 1714 an Anglo-Irish archbishop wrote that the Scotch-Irish had a particular aversion to Anglican curates and called them hirelings.⁴⁷ Upon his tour in 1766 of the North Carolina backcountry, Anglican itinerant preacher Charles Woodmason complained that, when he preached, Presbyterians disrupted his services, started a pack of dogs fighting outside the church, loosened his horse, stole his church keys, refused him food and shelter, and gave two barrels of whiskey to his congregation before a service of communion.⁴⁸

The population in backcountry North Carolina grew from a few hundred in the 1740s to 39,000 European-Americans and 3,000 African-Americans by 1767.⁴⁹ In 1750, the Assembly created Anson County, which spanned the entire western Piedmont. In 1752 Orange County was established, located between Rowan to the west and Granville to the east. In 1753, the Assembly split Anson and renamed the northern part Rowan County. In 1762, it formed Mecklenburg County from the western part of Anson County. In 1771 the counties of Wake, Guilford and Chatham were created from parts of Orange and Rowan counties, perhaps in an effort to gerrymander and concentrate the voting power of the backcountry farmers into one county while

⁴⁴ John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina* (1709; reprint, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984); Robert W. Ramsey, *Carolina Cradle: Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier, 1747-1762* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), 305.

⁴⁵ Billy Kennedy, *The Scots-Irish in PA & KY* (Greenville, S.C.: Emerald House Group, 1998).

⁴⁶ Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia, 1784*, ed. William Peden (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, 1954).

⁴⁷ Charles K. Bolton, *Scotch Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America* (Boston, Bacon & Brown: 1910), 68.

⁴⁸ Charles Woodmason, "An Account of the Churches in South Carolina, Georgia, North Carolina and the Floridas" [1767], in *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason*, ed. Richard J. Hooker (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), 20, 30, 31, 39, 45.

⁴⁹ Kars, *Breaking Loose*, 16.

the others would remain in control of loyalists. The town of Hillsborough, located in the central Piedmont, was founded in 1754, incorporated in 1759, and given its current name in 1766. It served as the seat of the Orange County lower court and hosted meetings of the superior court of the Hillsborough District. It was located on a wagon road from Salisbury to the market town of Cross Creek (now Fayetteville). A 1768 map shows the location of the courthouse, the jail, the Anglican Church, numerous taverns, stores, and craft shops, and the layout of 140 lots, of which perhaps 45 were settled. A single wagon road spanned the distance between Hillsborough (Orange County), Alamance (Guilford County), and Salem (Rowan County).⁵⁰ Historians have opined that because of humiliation felt by backcountry small farmers oppressed by the court, lawyers, merchants, and elite of Anglican Hillsborough, the Regulators targeted Hillsborough for the severest riots and destruction of property.

High Expectations

At the giving of the March 1768 installation sermon,⁵¹ no “eddies of a mighty stream rolling to its appointed end” (William Cullen Bryant) alerted Rev. Hugh McAden that David Caldwell was likely, if not certain, to play a significant role as educator, religious leader, and politician, not only for the local congregation, but also for the Piedmont backcountry farmers throughout North Carolina, regardless of denomination. But Rev. McAden could have made a well-educated guess that Rev. David Caldwell’s future was bright.

Firstly, Rev. McAden could not have overlooked the charisma possessed by Rev. Caldwell, a trait commonly associated with strong leaders. In his 1842 biography of David Caldwell, Rev. Caruthers wrote:

There was something about him which was unique, and which language cannot define His facial expression and manner were such that with very few words he was able to make his listener understand how he felt on whatever question was placed before him. His response was given with such calmness and good humor that no feelings of disapproval were excited, even if his point of view was different on the subject under discussion.⁵²

Historian William H. Bailey, using long quotes from colonial records that Rev. Caruthers never examined, criticizes Rev. Caruthers’s romantic interpretation of the causes underlying the Regulator movement. Bailey saw the primary underlying motivation as economic, not religious.⁵³ The prevailing religious argument that rebellion was morally right and in accordance

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁵¹ Rev. Hugh McAden’s installation sermon is preserved in the Eli Washington Caruthers’s papers in the Manuscript Department, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. I thank Prof. Calhoon for forwarding me a copy. Dr. Calhoon observed that Rev. McAden’s installation sermon of David Caldwell called for the congregations at Buffalo and Alamance “to submerge their New and Old Side affiliations in reciprocal relationships with each other and their new minister based on diligence, respect, and spiritual discipline” (Calhoon, “The Scotch-Irish,” 122-141).

⁵² Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 30-31.

⁵³ See W. H. Bailey, “The Regulators of North Carolina,” *American Historical Register* (1896): 313-334, 464-471, 554-567.

with Locke's political views and biblical scripture when the government had broken its covenant to protect the citizenry from oppression was one of the arguments made by Rev. David Caldwell.⁵⁴

Secondly, Rev. Caldwell had already established a reputation as an effective and inspirational educator. To supplement his salary as pastor, Rev. David Caldwell purchased a 550-acre farm⁵⁵ near the Buffalo Creek Church and in 1767 commenced a classical school in his own two-story log house. There he attracted 50 to 60 young men per year, teaching them much more than reading, rhetoric, reckoning, and religion. He continued this endeavor, with interruption only during the Revolutionary War, until he was too infirm to teach.⁵⁶ The Academy was relocated to a nearby building after the two-story log structure was destroyed during the Revolutionary War.

Rev. Caruthers wrote of David Caldwell:

His usefulness as a teacher was scarcely inferior to his usefulness in the pulpit . . . The most important service which David Caldwell rendered, as a teacher, was to the church, or to the cause of religion; for nearly all the young men who came into the ministry of the Presbyterian church, for many years, not only in North Carolina, but in the States south and west of it, were trained in his school.⁵⁷

Rev. Caruthers observed that, after the Revolutionary War, Rev. Caldwell charged each student an annual tuition of \$10 to \$12, but dispensed with it for those unable to pay.⁵⁸ This was then equivalent to approximately 160-200 bushels of wheat.

John Motley Morehead (1796-1866), privately tutored by Rev. Caldwell between 1811-1815 and governor of North Carolina from 1841 to 1845, recalled that Rev. Caldwell applied a soft hand and firm principles:

He must have measured about five feet eight or ten inches . . . enveloped in a large cape made of bear skin with a net worsted cap on his head . . . supporting himself with a cane not much shorter than his own body . . . had a well formed head and strong features . . . broad Scotch accent which he often assumed, when he desired to be humorous or to worry a laggard pupil with a bad lesson . . . an exceedingly studious man . . . a man of admirable temper, fond of indulging in playful remarks, which he often pointed with a moral; kind to a fault to every

⁵⁴ See "The Character and Doom of the Sluggard," a sermon by Rev. David Caldwell, appended as sermon #1 to Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 273-284, and as sermon #2 to Caldwell Jr., *Dr. David Caldwell*, 222-234; Calhoun, *Political Moderation*, 120-129, 144, 160-161, 174, 193.

⁵⁵ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 29. A copy of the deed (Deed Book 6, p. 39, Register of Deeds Office, Rowan County, North Carolina), a plot of the farm and a record that Rev. David Caldwell subsequently deeded 275 acres to his brother Alexander in 1771 and that Alexander's son, Samuel, sold the land back to David after Alexander's death at the original price are shown in the Caldwell Family Newsletter, Daughters of American Revolution Library, Washington, D.C., pp. 49-50.

⁵⁶ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 30-31; Rev. E. H. Gillett, History of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, Philadelphia, Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1864, in University of Michigan, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich., American Culture Series, Reel 372.4, p. 227; Foote, *Sketches*, 235.

⁵⁷ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 37.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 271.

human being, and I might say to every living creature . . . He seemed to live to do good.⁵⁹

Morehead added:

I was not long in Dr. Caldwell's hands, before I became satisfied of his remarkable excellence as a teacher . . . I applied myself to my studies with great zeal, with which he was much pleased; and often has he made me recite, from four to six hours a day, parsing every difficult word, and scanning nearly every line, when the recitation happened to be in any of the Latin poets. Indeed you could not get along with him with any comfort, without knowing accurately and thoroughly everything you passed over.⁶⁰

Thirdly, Rev. McAden knew that Rev. Caldwell came from a family background that would appeal strongly to backcountry farmers. David Caldwell's parents were immigrants, who went directly to the Colonial Pennsylvania frontier, cleared the land, prospered, obtained title despite ever increasing land prices from the influx of new settlers and land speculation, survived the perils of the frontier, raised four sturdy sons, and, with the help of David's brothers, provided for his education. At his death in 1757, David's father owned one of the larger acre farms in Drumore Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and was able to provide David enough money with which to improve a large tract of land in North Carolina backcountry donated to him by his congregation. All of David's brothers became Presbyterian Church ruling elders of the congregations to which they belonged.⁶¹ Both New Siders and Old Siders among the Presbyterian Scotch-Irish valued perspiration, perseverance, piety, and passion.

Rev. David Caldwell's father Andrew is buried at the "old cemetery" of two cemeteries at Chestnut Level Presbyterian Church, 1068 Chestnut Level Road, Drumore Township [renamed Quarryville], Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. More likely than not David's mother Martha is buried there as well, at a site that has lost its grave marker. The church records of any burial were consumed in a fire. The cemetery is located about 8 miles north of the current Pennsylvania-Maryland state line.

In his biography, Rev. Caruthers explained why it was difficult to say much about Rev. Caldwell's parents. When the British militia burned Rev. Caldwell's library during the Revolutionary War, it destroyed the family Bible and Rev. Caldwell's correspondence.⁶² Rev. Caldwell had lived nearly a century, and, at the time Rev. Caruthers was writing the biography, those who knew Rev. Caldwell personally were advanced in age and their memories of Rev. Caldwell's family history were hazy.

⁵⁹ William Buell Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (New York: R. Carter and Brothers, 1857-1869), 3:266-267

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 11.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 1, 223.

Not all of David Caldwell's books were destroyed. Jim McNulty reported in the *Greensboro Daily News* on June 25, 1973 that some two dozen books with the signature of Rev. David Caldwell inside the cover were auctioned for \$1.50.⁶³

David's brothers, Alexander, Andrew, and John, were all disaffected with the abuses of the British government. During the Revolutionary War the farm inherited by John and Andrew was likely called upon to supply food for the troops. Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, became the major supplier of guns, hand-fabricated goods, and grains to feed the continental armies. On September 27, 1777, the Continental Congress, fleeing from the British invaders of Philadelphia, arrived in Lancaster and held a regular session there and made Lancaster the temporary capital.

The Pennsylvania government also took up residence in Lancaster and remained there for the duration of the British occupation of Philadelphia.

David Caldwell's brother Alexander moved to Guilford County, North Carolina, and bought land next to David's farm. His wife was Margaret. Alexander fought for the North Carolina militia under Gen. Nathanael Greene in the Carolinas. Over eighty percent of military actions during the War were fought in the South. Alexander Caldwell is listed in the Patriot Index as No. 0672271. He attended Buffalo Presbyterian Church. The loss of church records by fire and missing grave markers prevents us from knowing whether he is buried at the Buffalo Presbyterian Church cemetery. He was appointed as the Justice of Peace in 1776. He died in August 1784, due to an illness that he had acquired during the Guilford County Courthouse Battle. After the settlement of his estate, his surviving wife and children, along with many Scotch-Irish, moved to Greene County in the foothills of the Great Smokey Mountains, which later became a part of the state of Tennessee in June of 1796. Presbyterianism became the first religion among white settlers established in that state. Today about one in five Tennesseans can trace their ancestry to the early Scotch-Irish settlers.

Andrew served as a "court martial man" in the Lancaster County Militia, 2nd Battalion, 7th Company, in the Revolutionary War. Beginning in 1781 Gen. Washington began having deserters executed. Andrew Caldwell was possibly involved in this process. Andrew never married. He died at age 74 on March 11, 1808 in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

John served as First Captain of the Lancaster County Militia 6th Battalion during the Revolutionary War. He was born in Lancaster County about 1736 and served as a Ruling Elder of the Chestnut Level Presbyterian Church. Additional information about John Caldwell might be found in the personal papers or correspondence of fellow officers of the same battalion. John never married. He died at age 76 on June 12, 1812 in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

Given their supplementary income derived from their farm, neither Andrew nor John likely lacked boots, uniforms, food or shelter. The same was not true for many of the non-officers, dispirited because of inadequate clothing, shelter, and nutrition, even hay on which to sleep. Their number dwindled away through death, desertion, and disgust.⁶⁴

⁶³ Caldwell Jr., *Dr. David Caldwell*, 158-159.

⁶⁴ George F. Sheer and Hugh F. Rankin, *Rebels and Redcoats* (1957; reprint, Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 1987), 303.

Andrew and John's Pennsylvania rifles were formidable weapons. They could repeatedly hit a bull's-eye or shoot out a man's eye up to about 250 feet.⁶⁵

Growing up on the frontier exposed the Caldwells to the perils of Indian attacks. As the Scotch-Irish and others increasingly relocated west of the Susquehanna River and moved across the Blue Ridge and Appalachian mountains into the Ohio Valley, they intruded upon the territory of Native Americans who already had well-established settlements, crop lands, and fishing grounds. Some of the Native Americans were able to live alongside the immigrants, some retreated, but many sought to terrorize the unwelcomed settlers, by scalping, burning at the stake, and kidnapping.

The words of Gov. Dinwiddie echoed through the colonial newspapers in 1754:

Think you see the Infant torn from the unavailing Struggles of the distracted Mother, the Daughters ravished before the Eyes of their wretched Parents; and then, with Cruelty and Insult, butchered and scalped. Suppose the horrid Scene completed [sic], and the whole Family, Man, Wife, and Children (as they were) murdered and scalped . . . and then torn in Pieces, and in Part devoured by wild Beasts, for whom they were left a Prey by their more brutal Enemies.⁶⁶

In the May 9, 1754, edition of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Benjamin Franklin printed a woodcut of a disjointed snake, whose parts represented the separate colonies, and the words, "Join" or "Die." The movement toward colonial unity began while Andrew was still alive.

In July 1755, British Gen. Edward Braddock's troops were gunned down as they marched in close formation through a clearing within ten miles of Fort Duquesne, a fort held by the French near present-day Pittsburgh. Gen. Braddock died within a few days from his wounds. Twenty-three-year-old George Washington, appointed that year to replace Gen. Braddock and put in charge of defending Virginia's 350-mile-frontier, wrote to his mother about the event:

Honored Woman: As I doubt not but you have heard of our defeat, and, perhaps, had it represented in a worse light, if possible, than it deserves, I have taken this earliest opportunity to give you some account of the engagement as it happened, within ten miles of the French fort, on Wednesday the 9th instant.

We marched to that place, without any considerable loss, having only now and then a straggler picked up by the French and scouting Indians. When we came there, we were attacked by a party of French and Indians, whose number, I am persuaded, did not exceed three hundred men; while ours consisted of about one

⁶⁵ During the Revolutionary War, James Madison exulted at the ability of militia of able-bodied farmers, though not formally trained soldiers, consistently to hit a man's head at 100 paces. This experience influenced his drafting of the second amendment to the United States Constitution (Federalist Paper No. 46.) The second amendment provides: "A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the People to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed." See Earl M. Wheeler, "The Role of the North Carolina Militia in the Beginning of the American Revolution" (PhD diss., Tulane University, 1969).

⁶⁶ Letter of Robert Dinwiddie, February 14, 1754, Dinwiddie Papers, i 74, Cf. I 119, quoted in Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Boston; The Society, Vol. 11, 416 (online).

thousand three hundred well-armed troops, chiefly regular soldiers, who were struck with such a panic that they behaved with more cowardice than it is possible to conceive. The officers behaved gallantly, in order to encourage their men, for which they suffered greatly, there being near sixty killed and wounded; a large proportion of the number we had that ratification of the Constitution did not mean the American people were surrendering their rights, and therefore that protections were unnecessary.

The Virginia troops showed a good deal of bravery, and were nearly all killed; for I believe, out of three companies that were there, scarcely thirty men are left alive. Captain Peyrouny, and all his officers down to a corporal, were killed. Captain Polson had nearly as hard a fate, for only one of his was left. In short, the dastardly behavior of those they call regulars exposed all others, that were inclined to do their duty, to almost certain death; and, at last, in despite of all the efforts of the officers to the contrary, they ran, as sheep pursued by dogs, and it was impossible to rally them.

The General was wounded, of which he died three days after. Sir Peter Halket was killed in the field, where died many other brave officers. I luckily escaped without a wound, though I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me. Captains Orme and Morris, two of the aids-de-camp, were wounded early in the engagement, which rendered the duty harder upon me, as I was the only person then left to distribute the General's orders, which I was scarcely able to do, as I was not half recovered from a violent illness, that had confined me to my bed and a wagon for above ten days. I am still in a weak and feeble condition, which induces me to halt here two or three days in the hope of recovering a little strength, to enable me to proceed homewards; from whence, I fear, I shall not be able to stir till toward September; so that I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you till then, unless it be in Fairfax . . . I am, honored Madam, your most dutiful son.⁶⁷

In November 1755, 400 to 500 armed men gathered in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, demanding a scalp bounty from the Quaker government, to reward them for killing any Indian, friend or enemy. They accused the government of “selling out to a race more alien than the French.” The Quakers responded by printing pamphlets caricaturing the Scotch-Irish as rawboned, ill-educated, uncultured hicks.

The conflict between the Indians and white settlers intensified during the French and Indian War, as measured from the declaration of war by Great Britain in 1756 to the Treaty of Paris signed in February 1763, ending the war. Some historians use 1754 as the commencement, when the first skirmishes occurred between the French and British. Churchill described it as the First World War. At the close of the War, the later French ambassador, Comte de Vergennes, commented: “The colonies will no longer need Britain's protection. She will call on them to

⁶⁷ Jared Sparks, *The Writings of George Washington: Being His Correspondence, Addresses, Messages, and Other Papers, Official and Private* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1847), 86-87.

contribute toward supporting the burdens they have helped to bring on her, and they will answer by striking off their chains.”⁶⁸

Rev. Caruthers mentions that Rev. Caldwell received payment in 1762 for delivering several Indian scalps.⁶⁹ He notes that Rev. Caldwell’s wife, Rachel, recalled an episode when Indians were coming in through the front door while she fled through the rear door.

Beginning in May of 1763, Chief Pontiac and an alliance of Indian tribes captured virtually all of the British forts from Lake Superior to the Mississippi, burned churches and log cabins to the ground in Pennsylvania, Virginia, New York, and slaughtered settlers. No troops were immediately available to resist the Indians. Survivors poured eastward expressing bitterness against the people who thought the Indians should be treated fairly.⁷⁰ The British regained the lost territory but sought to secure peace by eliminating the primary cause of Indian attacks.

In October, Britain declared in the Proclamation of 1763 that colonists were prohibited from migrating west of the Alleghenies. A standing army of ten thousand soldiers was stationed to enforce the Proclamation. This was done not merely to placate the Indians but to protect them from settlers all too ready to shoot an Indian on sight without regard to whether the Indian was hostile or peaceful. One effect of this prohibition was temporarily to divert migration of Scotch-Irish south into the Piedmont region of Virginia and the Carolinas. More importantly, the Proclamation united Americans both wealthy and landless against Britain. Wealthy speculators, including George Washington, were frustrated that the Proclamation locked them out of hoped-for profits to be gained through selling land in Ohio. The Proclamation angered many landless Scotch-Irish and other colonists who saw westward expansion as their only hope for an escape from poverty. Former members of the militia who had served during the French and Indian War felt the Proclamation deprived them of free land that had been promised to them as payment for their services. The use of a standing army to stop the land grab led to quartering of the redcoats in the homes of colonists despite their protests. The expense of the War and maintenance of a standing army led to more vigorous enforcement of existing laws relating to collection of taxes, as well as attempts to impose new taxes, all deeply resented by the colonists. For the first time there was a widespread perception among the colonists that independence from Britain would enhance their prosperity.⁷¹

Between November 1763 and February 1764, furious Scotch-Irish Presbyterian backcountry settlers massacred small groups of Conestoga Indians in and around Lancaster before marching on the capital, where they intended to slaughter Moravian-associated Indians, including men, women, and children who had been provided shelter by the Quakers at a barracks on the Delaware. An alarmed governor placed Benjamin Franklin in charge of a militia to fend

⁶⁸ Letter of Compte de Vergennes, 1763, quoted in Lisa Frederiksen Bohannon, *The American Revolution* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications, 2004).

⁶⁹ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 113.

⁷⁰ Edmund S. Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 252.

⁷¹ See Robert Harvey, *A Few Bloody Noses: The Realities and Mythologies of the American Revolution* (Woodstock & New York: The Overlook Press, 2003), 39-44.

off the Scotch-Irish.⁷² Benjamin Franklin deplored the attack in Lancaster County and observed that all of the Indians were peaceable and had Christian names.⁷³

These riots were the first instance of “white rage” and mass political awareness in Pennsylvania. Hostility towards the Indians brought about increasing anger by the Scotch-Irish towards the Quakers who sought to maintain harmony with the Indians and a profitable fur trade. For every Indian killed, fifty Scotch-Irish had been killed.⁷⁴ Newspapers and anti-Quaker pamphlets were filled with stories of Indian mutilation, murder of women and children, kidnappings, and sexual torture. Surprisingly, among those whites that had remained captive of the Indians for a long time, many acclimated themselves and resisted repatriation to the white settlements.

I. Daniel Rupp’s “A History of Lancaster County: to Which is Prefixed a Brief Sketch of the Early History of Pennsylvania,” reprinted by the Lancaster County Historical Society in its quarterly, provides a fairly good account of the relationship between the Lancaster County settlers and the Native Americans, the rivalry between the Pennsylvania-Dutch and the Scotch-Irish for political power, and the divisiveness of a great variety of religious orders that James Madison would later characterize as factions advancing their private interests over the public interest.

Perceiving the proprietorship form of government too weak, Franklin led the Assembly to petition the King for an establishment of a royal government in Pennsylvania. The Presbyterians counter-petitioned and launched scurrilous broadsides attacking Franklin and the Quakers. In the October elections, Franklin was ousted from the Assembly.⁷⁵

Some historians have expressed the opinion that the counties on the Indian frontier of Pennsylvania “forged a self-conscious religious and national community,” by drawing people from diverse origins, religions, ethnic groups, and cultures, all white, focusing their anger on the Indians and their allies and against the King who failed to protect them and was even accused of setting the Indians upon them. In writing the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson charged that King George III “has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, & conditions of existence. . . .”⁷⁶

Fourthly, Rev. Hugh McAden likely recognized that Rev. David Caldwell’s congregations strongly wanted what he hoped to provide. Rev. James Geddes Craighead wrote:

[W]herever the first Scotch-Irish immigrants formed a settlement, they promptly organized a congregation for Christian worship. The Westminster Confession of

⁷² Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin* (New York: The Viking Press, 1938), 306-311.

⁷³ Benjamin Franklin, “A Narrative of the late Massacres in Lancaster County, of a Number of Indians, Friends of this Province, by Persons Unknown,” Philadelphia, 1764, reprinted in *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Albert H. Smith (New York: n.p., 1905-1907), 4:284-314.

⁷⁴ Order of the Scotch-Irish Society, *The Scotch-Irish in America: Proceedings of the Scotch-Irish Congress* (n.p.:n.p., 1902), 350.

⁷⁵ Morgan and Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*, 253.

⁷⁶ Worthington Chauncey Ford, et al., eds., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1904-1937), 497.

Faith and its Directory of Worship was endeared to them. They were resolved to maintain the doctrines and polity of the Presbyterian Church for themselves and their children. They were zealous in preserving their ecclesiastic organization as an offspring of religious liberty. Youths in this early period were taught at home, and under parental instructions, and trained to obedience and subordination, as the unbending law of the family. The schools established by the Presbyterian ministers, confirmed and extended the family education.

The mass of these emigrants were men of intelligence, resolution, energy, religious, and moral character, having means that enabled them to supply themselves with suitable selections of land, on which they made permanent homes for their families.

They were a God-fearing, liberty-loving, tyrant-hating, Sabbath-keeping, covenant-adhering race; trained by trials, made resolute by oppression, governed by conscience, and destined to achieve a mission and place in history of the Church and the race.⁷⁷

Rev. Caruthers mentions the scarcity of ministers in North Carolina before 1760. While Rev. James Geddes Craighead's description may be an exaggeration as to the lowland Scots (the majority of whom were from Ayrshire and Renfrewshire) and Scotch-Irish generally who migrated to America, it does appear to be an accurate portrayal of Andrew and Martha Caldwell and the Buffalo and Alamance congregations which invited their son David Caldwell to be the minister of those congregations. In actuality, many Scotch-Irish migrated without ministers and less than 1/15th of the population in the middle colonies, including Pennsylvania, were church members as of 1740.⁷⁸ In 1776, only 17% of American colonialists were members of any congregation. Church membership did not reach more than half of the population until 1906;⁷⁹ it was lowest on the frontier. At the time of the Cane Ridge Revival that began in 1801 and continued for three years, only about 10% of the white settlers in Kentucky were members of any congregation.

Debts to the tax collector, tavern, and store muddied the well from which the Piedmont settlers could not satiate their thirst for independence. Sheriffs embezzled the taxes and picked the juries who shielded the embezzlers from conviction. They seized two, three, four times more of a debtor's property than what was owed and sold it to friends for less than it was worth, sharing in the profits from resale. Neither shame nor guilt interceded when they took a farmer's plow for unpaid taxes; on at least one occasion, they ripped a homespun dress from a farmer's wife and sold it at auction. Land agents absconded with entry fees, lawyers benefited from litigiousness, justices took bribes, and only the wealthy had currency with which to buy property at public auctions. Store owners and merchants profited twice, buying the crops at a low price and selling merchandise at a credit price that was greatly higher than the cash price.

⁷⁷ Rev. James Geddes Craighead, *The Craighead Family: A Genealogical Memoir of the Descendants of Thomas and Margaret Craighead, 1658-1876* (Philadelphia: Sherman & Co. Printers, 1876), 52; see L.D.S. film 897112, Item 3.

⁷⁸ Richard Hofstadter, *America at 1750: A Social Portrait* (New York: Knopf, 1971), 181.

⁷⁹ See Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776-2005* (Piscataway: Rutgers University Press, 2005).

Evidence of the value of Rev. David Caldwell includes the character of his adversary. The most powerful man in the backcountry was condescending Col. Edmund Fanning (1737-1818), a Harvard/Yale lawyer, Hillsborough commissioner, and Haw River colonial assemblyman. Fanning was impatient with any disagreement. He leagued with scoundrels and fettered braver men, dreading they should be free. He advanced his own interests while forsaking those of the backcountry settlers.⁸⁰ Fanning had moved from New York to North Carolina in 1763, where he had held various public offices; he served as a judge, speculated in land, and has been described as the forerunner of the carpetbagger. Fanning treated the common people with contempt, and “they willingly returned the sentiment.”⁸¹ For his refusal as assemblyman to inform the backcountry settlers how the tax money was spent, they distrusted him. For his imperious efforts as the top ranked official of Orange County to reassert his authority, the backcountry settlers despised him. For his vindictiveness towards whoever insulted him, the settlers hated him. In simplest terms, they perceived Fanning as the evil violator of law, and themselves as the righteous defenders of the law.

Fanning regarded any Presbyterian claiming God on his side as diabolical. Believing that whenever two or three Scotch-Irish Presbyterian farmers were gathered together the devil of sedition was among them, he was content with a very limited supply of Anglican sermons for the people. Fanning disliked the long, loud, and distressing preaching ministry and aggressive religion of the Presbyterians. He might have recalled the words of King Charles in 1646: “People are governed by pulpits more than the sword in times of peace.” The power of the press was largely concentrated in the Presbyterian pulpit. Certainly he recognized that brimstone sermons were not the main theme of the amiable and popular Rev. David Caldwell, who was gaining the possession of the public ear not merely in the religious but in the constitutional struggle as well. Rev. Caldwell was neither histrionic nor neurotic, but a self-confident, charismatic, sophisticated spiritual and political leader.

David’s brother, Alexander Caldwell, might have been named after an Octorara Presbyterian minister, Alexander Craighead, whose religious perspective and strong anti-British sentiments may have especially appealed to David’s parents, Andrew and Martha Caldwell.

Alexander Craighead’s arrival as minister in Lancaster County preceded the birth of David’s brother, Alexander, by one year. In contrast to Rev. John Thomson, an Old Side minister at Chestnut Level Presbyterian Church in Drumore Township since 1732, who vehemently opposed the emotionalism of revivalism, but not the concept of born-again conversion, Alexander Craighead was a passionate New Sider.⁸²

Finally, Rev. McAden likely recognized that David Caldwell had absorbed valuable theological lessons from some of the most renowned ministers in the American colonies. From the age of 7 in 1732 to age 19 in 1744, David attended Thomson’s sermons at Chestnut Level Presbyterian Church.

⁸⁰ Kars, *Breaking Loose*, 55-75.

⁸¹ William S. Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 151.

⁸² See Marilyn J. Westerkamp, *Triumph of the Laity: Scots-Irish Piety and the Great Awakening, 1625-1760* (New York: Oxford University Press 1988), 200-203, 208.

Rev. John Thomson was born about 1689 in County Down, Ireland. He attended the University of Glasgow. Ulster Synod at Antrim licensed him 23 June 1713. He arrived in America perhaps as early as 1713. He was ordained by Presbytery of Philadelphia meeting at New Castle in 1717. He served as pastor at Lewes, Delaware, 1717-1729, and provided services at Snow Hill, Maryland from 1729-1733. He also served four Pennsylvania communities: Newcastle, Nottingham, Fishing Creek and Drumore. From 1733-1744 he was a full time pastorate at Chestnut Level. In 1734 he wrote "Poor Orphans Legacy," published by Benjamin Franklin.

Rev. Thomson had a strong reputation as a forceful speaker.

A schism occurred in Rev. Thomson's congregation in 1741, with a sizable portion of the congregation initially petitioning for his removal.⁸³ The presbytery did not act on the petition after it was discovered that many of its signatures were forged, but for the next three years, Rev. Thomson had increasing difficulty getting his salary. In August 1744, he petitioned for and obtained his dismissal.

Charles Augustus Briggs wrote: "Thomson was a narrow and opinionated man. He became the father of all the discord and mischief in the American Presbyterian Church."⁸⁴ Others praised Rev. Thomson as "reasoned, temperate and firm," and attributed the discord and rancor to Rev. Gilbert Tennent, at whose log college David Caldwell received his formal theological training. Rev. Thomson sought to model the colonial Presbyterian churches on the Church of Scotland, which was rejected by Presbyterians of English and Welsh origin. He insisted that every minister and member of the congregation affirm in writing adherence to the Westminster Confession of Faith (1646), a "subscription" resisted by those who strongly believed that any heresy be best assessed by trial, not tested by a loyalty oath.

During his ministry at Chestnut Level Church, Rev. Thomson was absent for months at a time, making itineraries through the frontier of Virginia. He served the Virginia communities of Winchester, Staunton, Opekon, Rockfish Gap, Cub Creek in Brunswick, and others. It is likely that during Thomson's long absences, David Caldwell and his parents would have attended sermons at other nearby Presbyterian churches, such as that of Rev. Alexander Craighead, and Alexander's father, Rev. Thomas Craighead. Rev. Thomson complained that Rev. Alexander Craighead had diverted members of the Drumore Presbyterian congregation to Alexander Craighead's New Side beliefs.

In 1744, following his release from his ministry at Chestnut Level, Rev. Thomson moved to Buffalo (now Prince Edward County, Virginia). In 1747 he was granted "full powers in ecclesiastical matters in Virginia." In 1751 he relocated to Centre Church, Anson County (later Rowan, later Iredell), North Carolina, and died in 1752. Rev. E. F. Rockwell, of Statesville, North Carolina, called John Thomson "the first missionary and gospel pioneer in this section of North Carolina, who traversed this region before McAden, McWhorter, Spencer, and Craighead" and wrote Thomson's epitaph: "Born by the side of the River Foyle, in the North of Ireland, where he first opened his eyes on the world, he closed them, in the wilderness, on the banks of

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 200.

⁸⁴ Charles Augustus Briggs, *American Presbyterianism: Its Origins and Early History* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1885), 211.

Catawba: an ocean rose between his cradle and his grave, an emblem of his stormy life. Ireland gave him birth; Iredell County a grave; the heavenly Jerusalem a final rest.”⁸⁵

During David Caldwell’s childhood, a movement within the Presbyterian Church towards a revivalist “New Side” had begun that led to disenchantment with the Old Side views of John Thomson.⁸⁶

Rev. Jonathan Edwards had given a series of sermons in Northampton, Massachusetts, directed at individuals of the ages of Andrew and Martha Caldwell.⁸⁷ One of these sermons was given in April 1734 at a funeral to mourners grief-stricken because of the death of a young man. Rev. Edwards quoted Psalm 90:5-6: “In the morning they are like grass which groweth up. In the morning it flourisheth and groweth up. In the evening it is cut down and withereth.” He warned the youth in attendance of squandering their lives in vanity. He argued, “How unreasonable is it for one who is so much like the grass and flowers in the field . . . to spend away the prime of his opportunity in levity and vain mirth in inconsideration and pursuit of carnal and sensual delights and pleasures . . . If you should die in the flower of your youth when the body is most active and beautiful it will rise again a thousand times more active and beautiful. . . .”⁸⁸

He told the members of the congregation their happiness would be far greater than that of simply being fondly remembered for a time. Their glory would last. Rev. Edwards conveyed to them the evangelistic notion not to be squeamish about death if they were true believers, and that they could stare death in the eye and rejoice, while friends and family could consider it a privilege to watch the departing Christian’s last moments and hear the beating of approaching Angels’ wings.⁸⁹

Rev. Edwards published a sermon in 1734 titled, “A Divine and Supernatural Light.” In that sermon, Rev. Edwards said that a “spiritually enlightened” person does not “merely rationally believe that God is glorious, but that he has a sense of the gloriousness of God in his heart.”⁹⁰ “Persons of mean capacities and advantages” can apprehend this spiritual light “as well as those that are of the greatest parts and learning.” If the Gospel “depended only on history, and such reasoning as learned men only are capable of, it would be above the reach of the greatest part of mankind.”⁹¹ Rev. Edwards’s sermon had particular appeal to the youth, to women fearful of death associated with childbirth, to the poorer elements lacking obvious indicia of social status, and to those of the new commercial class and landowners who viewed themselves as self-made men.

⁸⁵ John Goodwin Herndon, John Thomson, *Presbyterian Constitutionalist Minister of the Word of God, Educational Leader and Church Builder* (Lancaster, Penn.: The Lancaster Press, 1943), 60.

⁸⁶ See Mark Noll, *America’s God: Theology in America from Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1992); George M. Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 153-157. Among the books discovered at a Greensboro auction in 1973 with David Caldwell’s signature was one of the books authored by Jonathan Edwards.

⁸⁷ Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards*, 153.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 154.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

Rev. Edwards's emphasis upon the improvability of man was used by him to increase converts and distinguishes him and other New School evangelicals from the Old School strict Calvinists who viewed man apart from the Select as unable to do the will of God and attain salvation.⁹² New Sider evangelists reasoned from Scripture that if Jesus had died to save all men, he had not died to save only the predestined select.

A decade earlier, preaching to a Presbyterian congregation in what is now New York City, Rev. Edwards had begun using the metaphor of light throughout his preaching and sermonizing to describe God's love. To Rev. Edwards, regeneration meant to be given eyes to see the light of Christ in hearts that had been hopelessly darkened by sin.⁹³ His father, Rev. Timothy Edwards, had used the word "awakening" as a means to distinguish a true conversion from self-deception, but had not published his sermons. Jonathan described his own boyhood experience as "remarkable season of awakening" and published sermons in which he frequently used "awakening" to refer to conversion.⁹⁴ This helps dispel the claim by some historians that the term "awakening" was first used in the nineteenth century to refer to conversion and new birth.⁹⁵ Rev. Edwards's sermons had a strong impact upon William Tennent Sr., who established the first academy in America for teaching future Presbyterian ministers, and his sons, New Light preachers Gilbert Tennent, Charles Tennent, William Tennent Jr., and John Tennent, all emigrants from Ulster Ireland.

On July 8, 1741 Jonathan Edwards gave his most famous sermon, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," that combined vivid imagery of the Christian concept of Hell with observations of the secular world and citations of scripture. He ended the sermon with these words: "Therefore let everyone that is out of Christ, now awake and fly from the wrath to come."⁹⁶

William Sr., William Jr., John, and Gilbert Tennent became the best known ministers among Scottish Presbyterian congregations in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, and Charles Tennent among English Presbyterian congregations in Delaware. Each of them emphasized "personal regeneration" through "born again" conversion, a Calvinism that exuded warmth rather than coldness, and a belief that faith could heal life-threatening illnesses and produce other miracles. In the 1740s, Gilbert Tennent compared his own recovery from a nearly terminal illness to the biblical raising of Lazarus. One of his brothers had lost all of the toes of one foot [presumably due to diabetes], lapsed into coma, ceased to have a palpable pulse, and was presumed dead and about to be interred, when he suddenly regained consciousness. Gilbert Tennent attributed each of these "miracles" to his own prayers.⁹⁷ Non-revivalist Presbyterian

⁹² George M. Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind and New School Presbyterian Experience: A Case Study of Thought and Theology in Nineteenth Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970); Sidney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 464-66.

⁹³ "Christ The Light of the World," ca. 1723, cited in Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards*, 55.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁹⁵ See Frank Lambert, *Inventing the "Great Awakening"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 165-167.

⁹⁶ See Joseph A. Conforti, *Jonathan Edwards, Religious Tradition, & American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

⁹⁷ Butler, *Awash*, 185.

ministers, such as Rev. David Evans, criticized Gilbert Tennent for his claim of supernatural powers. Rev. Evans compared Rev. Gilbert Tennent to an astrologer and fortuneteller.⁹⁸

In 1743, Gilbert Tennent had inveighed against Rev. John Thomson, *The Doctrine of Convictions Set in a Clear Light* (1741), as a “detestable and inconsistent performance . . . Hardly anything can be invented that has a more direct tendency to destroy the common operations of God's Holy Spirit, and to keep men from Jesus Christ.” But six years later, in his *Irenicum* (1749), Tennent praised Thomson, *Government of the Church* (1741), for breathing “the candid, humble spirit of true Christianity” and declared that Thomson's writings spoke in a “candid charitable Strain, to the Honour of the late Revival of Religion, as well as [to] the Honour of the ministers he opposed.” Milton Coalter portrayed Tennent as if he had been the incarnation of Satan in Milton's *Lost Paradise* and described the controversy between Thomson and Tennent as a clash between “the advocates of order and doctrine and the disciples of terrors and conversion.”⁹⁹

The term “New Sider” derives from a division of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland and Ulster Ireland that had spread to the colonies.¹⁰⁰ In the American colonies, the Presbyterian Church was divided into the Synod of New York, constituting the New Side, and the Synod of Philadelphia, representing the Old Side. The New Side was led by a ministry mainly trained in the colonies, while the Old Side was led by ministers largely trained in Scotland. As dissenters, Presbyterians would not have been permitted to attend Cambridge or Oxford University. The New Side was evangelistic, while the Old Side opposed revivals. The New Side welcomed itinerant evangelists, such as George Whitefield; the Old Side shunned them. The New Side opened its membership to anyone who converted, including black Americans. The Old Side sought a church that was exclusively Scotch-Irish. The New Side emphasized that the minister must earn the esteem, admiration and affection of his local congregation, while the Old Siders emphasized the congregation's duty to obey the Church Elders and minister. The New Side emphasized those portions of the New Testament that declare anyone could be saved through a process of conversion and grace, while the Old Siders stuck with the more rigid Calvinist doctrine that the vast majority was predestined to go to hell. The Old Side derisively called the New Siders “enthusiasts,” meaning that they were resting belief upon emotion and disputed claims of direct divine revelation rather than scripture. The New Side favored converted ministers; the Old Side insisted upon formally educated ministers. The seminaries at Harvard and Yale favored the Old Side. Princeton (known in the colonial era as the College of New Jersey) was for the New Side.

The New Side reflected New Light elements of Congregationalism (Puritanism) brought by New Englanders and reinforced by interest in the Great Awakening of 1738-42 among Presbyterians who had been born and raised in the colonies. In 1741 the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia excluded the New Brunswick Presbytery for “irregularities.” Four years later the schism occurred. The divisive issues were the revival and its extravagancies, the evangelistic training that the Reverend William Tennent taught at his Log College on Neshaminy Creek,

⁹⁸ Ibid., 201-202.

⁹⁹ See Milton J. Coalter, *Gilbert Tennent, Son of Thunder: A Case Study of Continental Pietism's Impact on the First Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies* (Greenwood Press, 1986).

¹⁰⁰ Elizabeth I. Nybakken, “New Light on the Old Side: Irish Influences on Colonial Presbyterianism,” *Journal of American History* 68 (March 1982): 819.

Pennsylvania, (20 miles north of Philadelphia), and the question of the right to itinerate. Harvard and Yale would not admit any pupils to their seminaries except Old Siders. The New Siders established the College of New Jersey to train their evangelists. The College of New Jersey might not have been established but for the expulsion David Brainerd from Yale Divinity School for attending services at a New Side church. Jonathan Edwards's biography, *The Life of David Brainerd*, became a bestselling book in America during the colonial period. In 1758, the Old Siders and New Siders reunited by achieving a compromise on matters of governance, if not theology. The Compromise derived from a Plan of Union of 1729, which included this clause:

When any Matter is determined by a Majority Vote, every Member Shall either actively concur with, or passively Submit to Such Determination; or, if his Conscience permit him to do neither, he Shall, after Sufficient Liberty modestly to reason and remonstrate, peaceably withdraw from our Communion, without attempt to make any Schism: Provided always, that this Shall be understood to extend only to Such Determinations, as the Body Shall judge indispensable in Doctrine or Presbyterian Government.¹⁰¹

On the frontier, depending upon which group had the majority, the entire congregation became Presbyterian or Congregationalist. As observed by Martin Marty, Congregationalism was chiefly a religion of the northeastern United States, whose members were among the elite, mostly of English and Welsh descent. Congregationalist Jonathan Edwards preached revivals in Massachusetts in the 1730s and 1740s and had formerly done so as a Presbyterian preacher in New York in 1723. Congregationalists were among the first sects to divide into New Lights, favoring revivalism, personal conversion, and itinerant preachers; the Old Lights shunned the singing, ranting, rejoicing, and emotionalism exhibited during church services by the New Siders. The great legacy of congregationalism was church organization, theology and concepts of world mission. The Congregationalists differed from Anglicans in emphasizing local community control of churches without Bishops. They differed from Presbyterians in not having Synods. Eventually Unitarians and Trinitarians evolved from Congregationalism. The Congregationalist churches were the first among North American Protestant churches to send missionaries worldwide.¹⁰²

Jonathan Edwards is widely regarded as the most brilliant American theologian.¹⁰³ At least three of his sermons have been identified as masterpieces of Christian literature: "Religious Affections," "Freedom of the Will," and "The Nature of True Virtue." He authored Colonial America's most widely known Protestant sermon, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," in 1741. He discussed the Great Awakening in his 1742 work, "Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England."

Before David Caldwell turned age 21, he had the opportunity to listen to New Sider William Tennent Sr. (1673-1745). Caldwell also attended Tennent's Log College during the

¹⁰¹ Charles A. Briggs, *American Presbyterianism: Its Origin and Early History: Together with an Appendix of Letters and Documents, Many of Which Have Been Recently Discovered* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1885), 319.

¹⁰² Martin Marty, "North America," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity*, ed. John McManners (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 395-396.

¹⁰³ Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards*, 1.

time that Tennent's son Gilbert, a New Light preacher, taught there. William Tennent Sr. graduated from the University of Edinburgh in 1695 and was a close friend of Rev. Thomas Craighead, grandfather of David's future wife, Rachel Craighead. William Tennent Sr., had emigrated from Scotland to America in 1718. Rev. Gilbert Tennent served Presbyterian congregations at New Brunswick, New Jersey, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Rev. Thomas Craighead moved to Lancaster County in 1733 and was installed as pastor of the Pequea Presbyterian Church in September of that year. Like William Tennent Sr., Rev. Thomas Craighead shared the Scottish Enlightenment view that sought to reconcile reason and religion and encouraged study of both science and scripture. Rev. Thomas Caldwell's medical training and William Tennent Sr.'s favorable attitude toward science may have induced David Caldwell to look to medicine, not magical amulets, Freemason Druid-like ritual, or faith healing.

Rev. Thomas Craighead's son, Rev. Alexander Craighead (David Caldwell's future father-in-law), was licensed by the Presbytery of Donegal Township, Lancaster County, on October 3, 1734, and installed as pastor of Middle Octorara Church in 1735 and served Rocky River Presbyterian Church, in what is now Cabarrus County, North Carolina, from 1758 to 1766.

David Caldwell also met Alexander Craighead's mentor and close friend, Rev. George Whitefield, formally an Anglican but preaching a nondenominational evangelism. Rev. Whitefield had ordained David Caldwell's first teacher, Rev. Robert Smith, an advocate for New Siders. Rev. Whitefield encouraged George Tennent to become an itinerant evangelist. He also encouraged local church autonomy. Rev. Whitefield roamed the frontier as a "circuit rider," i.e., a Christian Lone Ranger. He conducted many revival meetings beginning in and near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1739-1740, attended by thousands, as well as throughout the colonies, including Christmas Day, 1739, in New Bern, North Carolina. He brought about in David Caldwell a great awakening of religious piety and a desire to help others.

Rev. Whitefield was the most famous among a group of "spellbinders," open-air orators who sought to emphasize brotherhood and the plight of the poor, compassion rather than condemnation, involvement rather than indifference. He could make people weep or tremble by the way he spoke. In almost every sermon he would ask: "Are you saved?" "Playing on fear and stirring passion, Whitefield harangued individuals into being empathetic, charitable, and socially responsible. Whitefield was a fiery spark in the driest tinder."¹⁰⁴ His message appealed to those who were alienated from their various churches and to the democratic-minded who responded to Whitefield's call for humanitarianism.¹⁰⁵ "[He] created a popular intercolonial movement, the first that stirred the people of several colonies on a matter of common emotional concern."¹⁰⁶ He was among the first modern revivalists, popular preachers, and A-list celebrities. He used open camp meetings, assemblies on weekdays in direct competition with secular events, drama, spectacle, singing, and his own popularity, to gain converts.¹⁰⁷ He differed from William

¹⁰⁴ Jack Cady, *The American Writer* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 68.

¹⁰⁵ Web page, the Presbyterian Historical Society.

¹⁰⁶ Hofstadter, *America at 1750*, 217.

¹⁰⁷ Harry S. Stout, *The Divine Dramatist: George Whitefield and the Rise of Modern Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1991).

Tennent Sr., and his sons Gilbert, Charles, John and William Tennent Jr., in not proclaiming that he was a faith healer or that he had any power to elicit divine intervention.¹⁰⁸

In his 1742 sermon, "Marriage of Cana," Rev. Whitefield said: "What if you are miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked, that is no Excuse: Faith is the only wedding Garment Christ requires; he does not call you because you are already, but because he intends to make you Saints. No, it pities him to see you naked. He wants to cover you with his Righteousness."

Benjamin Franklin wrote of attending one of Whitefield's Philadelphia sermons in 1740 with initial skepticism, having read that Whitefield was enriching himself from the donations during his sermons. After the sermon began, Franklin felt the need to donate a few copper coins, and at mid-way, his silver coins, and at the end, greatly moved by Whitefield's eloquence and emotional appeal, all the gold coins he carried on his person.¹⁰⁹ Franklin and Whitefield thereafter remained lifelong friends.

Though Rev. Whitefield had a facial tic that produced an intermittent conjugate gaze (crossed-eyes), women were said to be quite attracted to him. A 1760 cartoon has a woman saying: "I wish his Spirit was in my Flesh."¹¹⁰

Because Whitefield deemphasized scriptural interpretation, Rev. Stephen Bordley criticized Whitefield for giving the best delivery and the worst divinity.

The Great Awakening initiated by Revs. George Whitefield (Anglican), Gilbert Tennent (Presbyterian) and Jonathan Edwards (Congregationalist) has been described as the Second Reformation, restoring the terrors and consolation of Christianity to unchurched persons at a time of greater secularism and religious indifference.¹¹¹

George M. Marsden describes Whitefield's tour as the first intercolonial cultural event, the beginning of a common American cultural identity.¹¹² Historian Frank Lambert espouses the view that revivalists of the 19th century exaggerated Whitefield's impact and even invented the notion of a Great Awakening.¹¹³ Lambert mentions that Whitefield visited only 7 of the 13 colonies. In Virginia, where Anglican domination was strongest, Whitefield confined himself to just a few counties. Ignoring the writings and sermons of Jonathan Edwards, Harvard professor Jon Butler asserts that the first use of the term "Great Awakening" in print appeared in Joseph Tracy's "The Great Awakening," published in 1841. Butler derides the term "great awakening" as one of "interpretative fiction."¹¹⁴

New England Professors Lambert and Butler omitted any mention of the effect that George Whitefield had upon prominent Scotch-Irish ministers and educators at the College of

¹⁰⁸ Butler, *Becoming America*, 202-203.

¹⁰⁹ Benjamin Franklin *Autobiography and Other Writings*, ed. Kenneth Silverman (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), 116-119.

¹¹⁰ Butler, *Awash*, 188-189.

¹¹¹ Hofstadter, *America at 1750*, 218; see Stout, *Divine Dramatist* and Frank Lambert, *Pedlar in Divinity: George Whitefield and the Transatlantic Revivals: 1737-1770* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

¹¹² Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards*, 209.

¹¹³ Lambert, *Inventing*.

¹¹⁴ Butler, *Awash*, 165; Jon Butler, "Enthusiasm Described and Decried: The Great Awakening as Interpretative Fiction," *Journal of American History* 69, no. 2 (Sept., 1982): 305-325.

New Jersey, who encouraged independence, such as Rev. John Witherspoon, Rev. Samuel Davies, Rev. Alexander Craighead, who had settled temporarily in Virginia before relocating to North Carolina, and his son-in-law, Rev. David Caldwell.

Critics have called the Great Awakening “the last gasp of the Middle Ages . . . a departure from a religion calling for study to a religion asking for cant.”¹¹⁵ Butler calls Whitefield a “catechist.” But these opinions cannot be corroborated by review of 23 Whitefield sermons that survive. They are gems of persuasion, applying all of the principles set forth in Cicero's writings on oratory.

Upset clergy who lost their congregation because of the influence of George Whitefield complained that in trafficking for the Lord, Whitefield trampled on every religious regulation imposed by civil and religious authorization.¹¹⁶ Rev. Whitefield was equally contemptuous of unconverted ministers whom he claimed “knew no more of true Christianity than did Mohammed.”¹¹⁷

Professor Westerkamp asserts that Whitefield was successful primarily where the congregations were of the New Lights and that the “Great Awakening represented neither the effectiveness of the itinerants nor the spirit of clerical-lay cooperation, but the ultimate power of the laity.”¹¹⁸ Jon Butler draws boundaries around this interpretation. He points out that hardly any laypersons participated as members of the Synod. For example, in 1775, twenty-five ministers and five laymen attended the Synod of Philadelphia. In contrast to the ministers, who were permanent members, the laymen held only transient positions on the Presbytery and Synod. No layperson ever chaired a Synod. The Philadelphia Synod censured congregations that hired unqualified ministers without its approval. The Synod supervised 9 Presbyteries and 120 ministers by 1770. The most well-known “New Side” ministers sought to protect clerical privilege. Jonathan Edwards wrote: “The common People in exhorting one authority ought not to clothe themselves with like authority, with that which is proper for Ministers.” In 1742, Gilbert Tennent lambasted lay preachers: “They were a dreadful consequence to the Church’s peace and soundness in principle . . . [F]or Ignorant Young Converts to take upon them authoritatively to Instruct and Exhort publicly tends to introduce the Greatest Errors and the greatest anarchy and confusion.”¹¹⁹

The letters and sermons of Whitefield were a subject of discussion at David Caldwell’s Academy. William Hodge, one of Rev. Caldwell’s pupils who became a preacher, became well known for espousing Whitefield's ideas. James Smith, a Cumberland Presbyterian historian, said that Hodge “was the reverse of Mr. McGready . . . His [Hodge’s] great Excellency appears to have been in his skill, under God, to heal the broken hearted and bind up their wounds.”¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ Jack Cady, *The American Writer: Shaping a Nation’s Mind* (Portland, Oregon: Greenerth Books, 1985), 69.

¹¹⁶ Frank Lambert, *The Founding Fathers and the Place of Religion in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 136.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 144.

¹¹⁸ Westerkamp, *Triumph*, 213.

¹¹⁹ Butler, *Awash*, 124-135, 185.

¹²⁰ James Smith, *History of the Christian Church* (Cumberland Presbyterian Office, 1835), 668.

Historian Patricia U. Bonomi has argued that the Great Awakening did not contribute significantly to the Revolutionary War, mostly because of the time lag.¹²¹

Jon Butler makes the same argument and, as an example, cites the inability of “New Sider” Rev. William Tennent III (son of William Tennent Jr.) to persuade Scot immigrants in South Carolina to join the Patriots.¹²² He also notes that most of the members of the Philadelphia Synod remained silent. In a pastoral letter of 1775 to its congregations, the Synod acknowledged: “it is well known . . . that we have not been instrumental in inflaming the minds of the People, or urging them to do acts of violence and disorder.”¹²³ Butler briefly mentions Rev. Witherspoon, president of the College of New Jersey, as an “agitator,” but does not describe his impact.

Each of these historians overlooked the contributions of Whitefield followers Rev. Alexander Craighead, Rev. David Caldwell, Rev. Samuel Davies, Rev. Alexander McWhorter, and Scotch-Irish Patriot preachers like them. Unlike William Tennent III, Revs. Witherspoon, Davies, McWhorter, Craighead and Caldwell were far more effective in using religion to foster anti-authoritarian sentiment. Butler states that the earliest history of Presbyterian ministers supporting the Patriot cause was written to serve the needs of the 1860s.¹²⁴ He makes no mention of Rev. Caruthers's biography of Rev. Caldwell.¹²⁵

John W. Thornton begins with this statement:

The true alliance between Politics and Religion is the lesson inculcated in this volume of Sermons, and apparent in its title . . . It is the voice of the Fathers of the Republic, enforced by their example. They invoked God in their civil assemblies, called upon their chosen teachers of religion for counsel from the Bible, and recognized its precepts as the law of their public conduct. The Fathers did not divorce politics and religion, but they denounced the separation as ungodly. They prepared for the struggle and went into battle, not as soldiers of fortune, but, like Cromwell and the soldiers of the Commonwealth, with the Word of God in their hearts, and trusting in him. This was the secret of that moral energy which sustained the Republic in its material weakness against superior numbers, and discipline, and all the power of England. To these Sermons — the responses from the Pulpit — the State affixed its imprimatur, and thus they were handed down to future generations with a two-fold claim to respect.¹²⁶

Thornton goes on to say:

¹²¹ Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America* (1986; reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

¹²² Butler, *Awash*, 205.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 203.

¹²⁴ See John W. Thornton, *Pulpit of the American Revolution, or the Political Sermons of the Period of 1776* (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1860); Frank Moore, *Patriot Preachers of the American Revolution, with Biographical Sketches* (New York: Charles T. Evans, 1862); and Joel Tyler Headley, *The Chaplains and Clergy of the Revolution* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1864).

¹²⁵ Butler, *Awash*, 195.

¹²⁶ Thornton, *Pulpit*, iii.

In the sermon of 1750 Jonathan Mayhew declared the Christian principles of government in the faith of which Washington, ordained by God, won liberty for America, not less for England, and ultimately for the world.”¹²⁷

Thornton tied in the American Revolution with the earlier English Puritan Revolution when he stated:

The name of Hugh Peter reminds us that New England shared in [the] English Revolution of 1640; sent preachers and soldiers, aid and comfort to Cromwell; gave an asylum to the tyrannicides, Whalley, Goffe, and Dixwell; reaffirmed the same maxims of liberty in the Revolution of 1688, and stood right on the record for the third revolution of 1776.”¹²⁸

Thornton’s opinion is limited to the contributions of Puritanism to the American Revolution. He gives no credit to the Episcopalian contributions of Virginia and to the Presbyterian contributions in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and the Carolinas.¹²⁹

Alan Heimert presents the argument that the Great Awakening substantially contributed to the Patriot Cause and further claims that the first Great Awakening led through the Revolution to Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy.¹³⁰

Historian Richard Middleton observes that the open camp meetings at which itinerant evangelists spoke lent themselves to discussion of politics and social problems.¹³¹ The mixing of rich and poor and the ecumenical character of the open camp meetings fostered political moderation and lessened the factional schism that James Madison deplored.

Historian Gary B. Nash argues that the Great Awakening inspired women to become exhorters of public prayers and run separate women’s meetings. The Great Awakening inspired the men to act more boldly opposing British oppression, because of belief that such resistance was needed for their salvation.¹³²

The evangelical New Side religious views of Rev. Caldwell and his constituents possibly contributed to his emergence as an uncompromising political leader combating Eastern North

¹²⁷ Ibid., v.

¹²⁸ Ibid., xx.

¹²⁹ Jerald C. Brauer, “Puritanism, Revival and Revolution,” in *Religion and the American Revolution*, ed. Jerald C. Brauer (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976).

¹³⁰ Alan Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind from the Great Awakening to the Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 9-21, 148, 537-38, 548-52. Heimert’s influence is acknowledged in Philip Goff, “Revivals and Revolution: Historiographic Turns Since Alan Heimert’s Religion and the American Mind,” *Church History* 67 (1998). See also William G. McLoughlin, “The Role of Religion in the Revolution,” in *Essays on the American Revolution*, eds. S. G. Kurtz and J. H. Hudson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973) and J. C. D. Clark, *The Language of Liberty, 1699-1832: Political Discourse and Social Dynamics in the Anglo-American World* (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1993).

¹³¹ Richard Middleton, *Colonial America*, 3rd edition (Cambridge: Blackstone Press, 2002), 265.

¹³² Gary B. Nash, *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America* (New York: Viking Adult, 2005), 76-77.

Carolina interest groups and his participation in the North Carolina provincial Congress as an elected official.¹³³

Robert M. Calhoun expresses the view that the classic education of James Iredell and Rev. Caldwell contributed to their pursuit of conciliation with Loyalists at the end of the Revolutionary War. Among the classic Greek texts widely utilized was that of Xenophon, *The Education of Cyrus*.¹³⁴ Calhoun states that Cyrus was both an Old Testament Christian hero and an exemplar of Greek humanism and classical moderation. In governing Persia, Cyrus learned that the pursuit of absolute power needed to govern successfully stood in creative tension with the need to govern leniently. Xenophon appreciated that the thirst for power was intrinsic to kingship and that respect for the political sensibilities of the subjects was the essence of statecraft. He further states that Xenophon's Cyrus was a forerunner of Machiavelli's Medici Prince. Both texts, *The Education of Cyrus* and *The Prince*, and both authors, Xenophon and Machiavelli, defined politics as the study of the moral strengths and weaknesses of regimes yielding uniquely valuable perspectives on human nature and society.¹³⁵

During his youth, David Caldwell may have witnessed firsthand the laity's strong disapproval of Rev. Thomas Craighead's refusal to allow his wife to participate in communion because she had slighted her stepson and the stepson's family when they visited Rev. Thomas Craighead's home. The congregation obtained the dismissal of Rev. Thomas Craighead.

Rev. Caldwell's congeniality was reflected in his acceptance of others not of his Presbyterian denomination. Several of his close friends were Anglicans, Quakers, Methodists, and Moravians. Caruthers wrote that David Caldwell was greatly impressed with a sermon that George Whitefield gave in Philadelphia in 1740 touching upon the subject of toleration. In that sermon, Whitefield said:

'Father Abraham, whom have you in Heaven? Any Episcopalians?' 'No.' 'Any Presbyterians?' 'No.' 'Have you any Independents or Seceders?' 'No.' 'Have you any Methodists?' 'No, no, no!!!' 'Whom have you there?' 'We don't know those names here. All who are here are Christians believers in Christ men who have overcome by the blood of the Lamb and the word of his testimony.' 'Oh, is this the case? Then God help us, God help us all, to forget party names, and to become Christians in deed and in truth.'¹³⁶

This invitation to any peaceable Christian believer regardless of sect would have been particularly welcomed by the founder of the Pennsylvania colony, William Penn, were he alive. Penn had embraced heterogeneity and inclusiveness and hoped for utopian brotherhood, contrasting the efforts of Puritan John Winthrop to establish an exclusive sectarian colony in Massachusetts. By 1740, William Penn's utopian dream was a failure, for the colony of

¹³³ See Charles D. Rodenbough, *Governor Alexander Martin: Biography of a North Carolina Revolutionary War Statesman*, (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1932), 49.

¹³⁴ Charles Lee Smith, "David Caldwell – Teacher, Preacher, Patriot," in "Great Events in North Carolina History," in *The North Carolina Booklet*, vol. XI, no. 4 (Raleigh: North Carolina Daughters of the Revolution, 1911), 251-258.

¹³⁵ Calhoun, "Backcountry Studies," 22.

¹³⁶ Albert D. Belden, *George Wakefield, the Awakener: A Modern Study of the Evangelical Revival* (London: S. Low, Marston & Co., 1930), 240.

Pennsylvania was deeply divided politically by Anglicans, Quakers, Presbyterians, and other denominations, whose elected representatives carried their divisive religious beliefs with them into the legislative assembly.¹³⁷

Non-sectarian toleration was born again in the revivals of Kentucky and Tennessee at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when preachers of several denominations cooperated closely to give sermons in open camp meetings.¹³⁸

The term “Great Awakening” is commonly used to describe the religious zeal that began with Englishman George Whitefield’s first tour of the American colonies in 1739-42. Some historians prefer a starting year of 1740, when Whitefield first toured New England, rather than 1739, when he first arrived in America by ship and began sermonizing in Pennsylvania. Rev. Whitefield continued these tours intermittently for decades, up to his death in 1770, even making stops at most of the larger settlements in North Carolina in 1764. Revivals were common to Christianity, dating back to at least the Crusades. The first revivals among Scotch-Irish began in 1625 and spread from Ulster Ireland to Scotland. As the Scotch-Irish migrated from the middle colonies of Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey into North Carolina, their ministers brought the Great Awakening of revivalism with them. Rev. McAden and his protégé David Caldwell were among the first clergy carrying the message of the Great Awakening into the backcountry. The Great Awakening encouraged participation of common people in church affairs and theological debates, thereby gaining a stronger sense of self and collective power.¹³⁹

Benjamin Franklin observed that the itinerant preacher had an advantage over the settled minister. By preaching the same sermon over and over to different audiences, the itinerant preacher was able to improve his performance.¹⁴⁰

Anglican minister Charles Woodmason complained that the religious radicalism of the New Insiders poisoned “the Minds of the People — Instilling Democratical and Common Wealth Principles into their Minds — Embittering them against the very Name of Bishops, and all Episcopal Government and laying deep their fatal republican Notions and Principles.”¹⁴¹ Woodmason observed in 1765, “Afrik never more abounded with New Monsters, than Pennsylvania does with New Sects, which are continually sending out their Emissaries.” These “new Lights or the Gifted Brethren, who pretend to Inspiration,” he wrote, “now infest the whole Back Country.”¹⁴²

Woodmason was critical of the aggressiveness of the Presbyterian itinerant ministers on the frontier. He wrote: “If there is a Shilling to be got by a Wedding or Funeral, these independent fellows will endeavor to pocket it.”¹⁴³

¹³⁷ Lambert, *Founding Fathers*, 101-102.

¹³⁸ See John B. Boles, *The Great Revival, 1787-1805: Origins of the Southern Evangelical Mind* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1972).

¹³⁹ Kars, *Breaking Loose*, 83.

¹⁴⁰ Kenneth Silverman, ed., *Benjamin Franklin: Autobiography and Other Writings* (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), 119-120.

¹⁴¹ Woodmason, “Account of the Churches,” 240-241.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 78.

¹⁴³ Lambert, *Founding Fathers*, 143.

In *Holy Trinity v. United States*, 143 U.S. 226 (1892), the U.S. Supreme Court interpreted a Congressional Act to allow immigration of a minister from England to perform services as rector and pastorate by reasoning that the intent of the Congressional Act was to regulate the unskilled, domestic labor market. Justice Brewer mentioned *in dictum*, i.e., a statement unnecessary for the court's decision, that the court would not presume that the Congress intended to ban ministers in view of a mass of unofficial utterances that the United States is a Christian nation. John J. DiIulio Jr. and Jon Meacham challenge the notion that the United States is a Christian nation and they criticize the Court for not acknowledging the moderate central position taken by James Madison in drafting the U.S. Bill of Rights that balances John Witherspoon's orthodox Christianity and Thomas Jefferson's deistic perspective. They quote various Founding Fathers to show how they interpreted the First Amendment as granting every sect a religious liberty, but prohibited an establishment of religion by which the federal government could compel adherence to any creed. DiIulio and Meacham claim that the opinion of Thomas Jefferson calling for a strict wall of separation between the state and religion was not the view of the other Founding Fathers and was popularized only after the influx of Catholic immigrants in the latter half of the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁴

David Caldwell's Log College

Mark Miller points out in his 1979 dissertation, "The Forming of a Southern Educator," that Rev. Caruthers observed in his 1842 biography of David Caldwell that David Caldwell referred to his school only as an Academy and never as a Log College. David Caldwell's Academy opened in 1767.

However, from the beginning, pupils commonly referred to the school as a log cabin college.¹⁴⁵

The New Siders had built 33 Presbyterian Log Colleges on the colonial frontier before the Revolutionary War; David Caldwell's "Log College" became the most prominent and endured the longest.¹⁴⁶

In 1846, in his *Sketches of North Carolina*, historian William H. Foote mentions that Tennent's Academy was scorned by being named a Log College by the Old Siders in Pennsylvania, a description favored by the New Siders, and suggests that it would be appropriate to designate David's Academy as the first such "Log College" in North Carolina.

Historian Finis Jay Caldwell Jr. observed that North Carolina newspapers first began referring regularly to the Academy as the David Caldwell Log College in 1935.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ John J. DiIulio Jr., *Godly Republic: A Centrist Blueprint for America's Faith-based Future* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 17 and Jon Meacham, *American Gospel* (online).

¹⁴⁵ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 37.

¹⁴⁶ See David Sloan, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the American College Ideals* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 281-284; see Archibald Alexander, *Biographical Sketches of the Founder and Principal Alumni of the Log College* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1851); address by George McCloskie, "What the Scotch-Irish Have Done for Education," in *The Scotch-Irish in America, Proceedings of the Scotch-Irish Congress at Columbia, Tennessee, May 8-11, 1889* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1889), 90-110.

The David Caldwell Log College Site in Greensboro has been a National Registered Historic Site since 1982. A plaque at the site indicates that the Academy closed in 1824. Rev. Caldwell continued teaching at the academy until 1816. The Log College served as a boarding-room academy, a college, a theological seminary, and one of the few schools on the frontier anywhere.¹⁴⁸ It served as a nursery of both piety and science, a place at once to train ministers and statesmen, a promoter of character, social order, Presbyterian orthodoxy, and revivalism and political wellbeing. Rev. Caldwell's better students completed in what then amounted to college-level courses, although his academy never granted degrees. The Log College has been metaphorically described as "a fortress between the frontier and the spiritual and cultural pattern it had brought to the frontier" as well as "a bridge that connected succeeding generations of Presbyterian pastors to the long history of Presbyterian revivalism," the roots of which can be traced back to outdoor, sacramental, revivalist gatherings in Ulster Ireland and southwest Scotland in the late sixteenth century.¹⁴⁹

Archibald Debow Murphey (1777-1832), one of the pupils who attended the Log College in the 1790s, after the burning of Rev. Caldwell's library by the British in the Revolutionary War, recalled:

There was no library attached to it; his students were supplied with a few of the Greek and Latin Classics, Euclid's elements of mathematics, and Martin's Natural Philosophy. Moral Philosophy was taught from a syllabus of lectures delivered by Dr. Witherspoon in Princeton College. The students had no books on history or miscellaneous literature. There were indeed very few in the state except in the libraries of lawyers who lived in the commercial towns.¹⁵⁰

Because Archibald Murphey was not pursuing medicine, it is understandable he would not have paid attention to Rev. Caldwell's large number of valuable medical texts that he likely guarded in his own quarters.

Archibald Murphey's father had fought as a Colonel under Gen. Washington during the Revolutionary War. Murphey became a large plantation owner with more than 100 slaves, a land speculator buying and selling more than 25 tracts, exporter of commodities to Virginia and South Carolina, lawyer, financier, senator, and was among the founders of the University of North Carolina, at which he served one year as a professor of languages. Unlike David Caldwell's Academy, the University lacked a seminary and did not train ministers. Murphey encouraged the development of public schools and sought to foster roads and bridges to ease transportation. While serving as a representative from Orange County from 1812-1818, he championed a system of public education, including primary schools, high schools, schools for the deaf and dumb, and the university, as well as proposals for more productive agriculture, the elimination of slavery,

¹⁴⁷ Caldwell Jr., *Dr. David Caldwell*, 22.

¹⁴⁸ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 37.

¹⁴⁹ Helen Turnbull Waite Coleman, *Banners in the Wilderness* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1956); Leigh Eric Schmist, *Holy Fairs: Scottish Communion and American Revivals in the Early Modern Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); and Westerkamp, *Triumph*, 15-42, 208-213.

¹⁵⁰ Charles Lee Smith (1865-1951), *The History of Education in North Carolina* (Washington: Govt. Printing Office, 1888). See John Witherspoon, *Lectures on Moral Philosophy*, ed. Varnum Lansing Collins, American Philosophical Association, 1910. (Online)

and the improvement of transportation, communication, and social conditions.¹⁵¹ Decades passed before Murphey's ideas on public education were accepted and implemented. Former Governor William A. Graham in 1860 wrote of Murphey that he was the one who "inaugurated a new era in the public policy of this State" and left to posterity "the noblest monuments of philosophic statesmanship to be found in our public archives since the days of the revolution."¹⁵² He became known to North Carolinians as the "Father of Internal Improvement," the "Father of the Common Schools," and North Carolina's "first native historian."¹⁵³ A vast number of biographies about Archibald Debow Murphey and collections of his correspondence illuminate North Carolina's early history as a State.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century Rev. David Caldwell had already changed his neighbors from rustic to refined. "Many of the well-to-do in his neighborhood and from most distant lands . . . sent their sons to his Academy because of his knowledge of the subjects of Latin and Greek and his talent for educating youth."¹⁵⁴

In Mark F. Miller's investigation of Rev. David Caldwell's educational contributions, Miller was able to find documents identifying by name only 65 of the pupils at the Academy; he was not able to corroborate Rev. Caruthers's statement that Rev. David Caldwell had taught five future governors. Gary N. Brown provided the governor's names to me in 2007. Besides Whig governor John Motley Morehead, North Carolina, 1841-1845, they include Israel Pickens, Alabama, 1821-1825; John Murphey, Alabama, 1826-1829; Gabriel Moore, Alabama, 1829-1831; and Newton Cannon, Tennessee, 1835-1839.

Miller did not imply that Rev. Caldwell taught only a handful of pupils each year and only 65 in his lifetime. The far greater likelihood is that Rev. Caldwell had to turn applicants away, and the classroom was full, perhaps with half-day sessions to serve the morning and afternoon pupils. A teacher typically handles classes today ranging between 20 and 30 pupils per class, so Rev. Caldwell could have easily taught 40 to 50 pupils per day, with about five to six each year becoming ministers. With the assistance of James McGready and other pastors, he could have expanded the number of theology pupils. In Rev. Caruthers's biography of Rev. Caldwell, Caruthers specifically mentions that Rev. Caldwell usually had 50 pupils attending a school year. In his memoirs, Barton Stone wrote of 50 students attending the Academy at the time he enrolled in 1790. This number would also explain the need for 8 to 9 slaves, to wash the clothes, prepare and serve the food, and do housecleaning. Caldwell's reputation as an effective educator rules out the likelihood that the college was shunned and tottered on closure during the 1790s.

The burning of Rev. Caldwell's large library in the Revolutionary War implies that the College was well established at that time. Descriptions about the impact of the Academy can be found in biographies of several of his pupils, including Barton Warren Stone, John Rankin,

¹⁵¹ See generally, Archibald D. Murphey, *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, 2 vols., ed. William Henry Holt (Raleigh: E. M. Uzzell and Company, 1914). Publications of the North Carolina Historical Association.

¹⁵² Powell, *North Carolina*, 253.

¹⁵³ John A. McGeachy, *A Dreamer's Speculation: The Financial Plight of Archibald Debow Murphey* (Raleigh: North Carolina State University Press, 2002).

¹⁵⁴ Salem Diary, June 30, 1804, in "Records of the Moravians in North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Commission, p. 2708, brought to my attention by Gary N. Brown.

James McGready, Samuel McAdow, and William McGhee.¹⁵⁵ Although Rev. Caruthers describes Rev. Caldwell as requiring assistance climbing stairs in his late 80s, the elegant Spencerian-like penmanship displayed on his Last Will and Testament, signed in 1822 at age 97, suggests remarkable hand-eye coordination. The most familiar example of Spencerian penmanship is the hand-written Coca-Cola logo.

Rev. Caruthers wrote that the school “had a goat that possessed a strong taste for books, and if ever a student, from thoughtlessness, left a book exposed, this goat was certain, if he came on it, to appropriate the whole, or part, to his own use.” He cited an instance of a dictionary thus left to the goat, and about to disappear before the unfortunate student, when he rushed at the goat with a vocal imprecation. The monitor of the week charged the offending student, “verbatim.” On Friday afternoon, as usual, the monitor's notes came before “Prexy” for his judicious administration. The offender remembered the goats in Matthew 25:31-46. He was ready. Said he, “They are a dammed creature; and I can prove it from Scripture.”¹⁵⁶

A discussion of archeological discoveries is set forth in John C. Baroody's “Archeological Investigations at the Site of David Caldwell's Log College,” 1980, located in the Caldwell Jones Collection, Greensboro Public Library. (A sketch of the stone foundation of the Log College is provided in the Caldwell Family Newsletter, Fall, 1999, DAR Library, Washington, D.C., p. 335.) The classroom on the second floor of the Caldwell Log College measured 20 x 20 feet, the same as that of William Tennent's single-story Log College, among the first Presbyterian academies in the American colonies, and perhaps of the same dimensions as the classrooms at the College of New Jersey (Princeton), at each of which Rev. Caldwell received his education. The first floor served as the living quarters of the Caldwell family.

No eighteenth or nineteenth century sketches or paintings are known to portray the David Caldwell Log College. Rev. Caruthers states that it had a chimney in the center. On-line sketches do exist of Tennent's one-room Log College at Neshaminy, Pennsylvania.¹⁵⁷ George Whitefield, who visited Tennent's Log College in 1739, described it as “a log-house about twenty feet long, and near as many broad, and to me it seemed to resemble the school of the old prophets, for their habitations were mean.”¹⁵⁸ The one-room log cabin measuring 17 to 20 feet in width and length was the most common structure built by the Scotch-Irish on the frontier.¹⁵⁹

Pupils boarded in a number of log cabins clustered near the David Caldwell Log College. This small community was situated adjacent to a small stream and located about 400 feet to the north of a road spanning the distance between Guilford Courthouse and what is now Guilford College. All around the Log College, in its infancy, were “soft Japanese Clover, buffalo grass, and abundant wild flowers.”¹⁶⁰ Dr. Caruthers noted that Rev. Caldwell regularly ditched and

¹⁵⁵ See Aubrey Lee Brooks, “David Caldwell and his Log College,” *North Carolina Historical Review*, no. 28 (October 1951): 399-407.

¹⁵⁶ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*.

¹⁵⁷ See alumni.princeton.edu/~ptoniana/logcollege.asp.

¹⁵⁸ George Whitefield, *The Journals of George Whitefield*, ed. Thomas Kidd (Carlisle, Penn.: 1960), 354-355.

¹⁵⁹ Fisher, *Albion's Seed*, 657.

¹⁶⁰ Stockward, *History*, 132.

irrigated his meadows with his own hands and did so by working with a spade something like an hour at a time, morning and evening, such that he had the best meadows in the county.¹⁶¹

A textbook on Latin grammar was used at Caldwell's Academy, but its title remains unknown. Charles Crossfield Ware surmises that the grammar may have been a copy of that which is said to have been published by James Davis in New Bern, North Carolina, in 1778, no longer extant, or Thomas Ruddiman's *The Rudiments of the Latin Tongue: A Plain and Easy Introduction to Latin Grammar*, a twenty-fifth edition of which was published in Raleigh in 1809. Ware states, "It is more probable that it was *The American Latin Grammar: or a complete Introduction to the Latin Tongue*, which was originally compiled October, 1780, by the late Presidents Burr, Finley, and others, with further improvements and Illustrations," and was thereby "recommended as excellently calculated for the general Use of the Schools."¹⁶² By ensuring that his pupils were proficient in Latin, Rev. Caldwell enabled them to keep abreast of the scientific, medical, and philosophical literature, the majority of which was then published in Latin. Latin was admired for the conciseness and unchanging meaning of its vocabulary over time. It achieved universality as a language at a time when English had not yet attained such status. Latin provided Rev. Caldwell's pupils access to the ideas of the enlightenment.

Pupils who went on to become historically prominent preachers consisted of both brimstone-and-fire orthodox Knox Calvinists, such as Rev. James McGready and Rev. Thomas B. Craighead, and Whitefield evangelists such as Rev. William Hodge and Rev. Barton Warren Stone, who, like Methodist John Wesley, emphasized that "God is Love," the words that appeared on the platform at the Alamance Church.¹⁶³

The caricature of Presbyterian educators as dour disciplinarians described by James Boswell finds no home in Rev. Caruthers's biography. He quoted one pupil, Dr. B., as saying:

In his school he governed as a parent, without any of that imperiousness so often witnessed in those who are 'clothed with a little brief authority.' He appeared to be always pleased when we were attentive and made good progress in our studies. In case we did not, through inattention or want of capacity, make that progress he had a right to expect or wished, we only experienced a mild reproof, or a little scorching sarcasm. When a student made a classical author utter the most absurd nonsense he would cry out, 'Murther Dherring'; and then ask him perhaps if he understood Irish.¹⁶⁴

Rev. Caldwell was reputed to have inflicted corporal punishment on only two or three pupils, and one was "sufficiently salutary" that Rev. Caruthers delved into it:

Samuel D, whose father kept a public house at the county seat, was sent to Dr. Caldwell's school at age of 14 or 15; but brought with him all those habits of idleness and dissipation which he had formed at the tavern. Being naturally what is called a 'smart boy,' and having a good share at that dexterity at mischief,

¹⁶¹ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 43.

¹⁶² Ware, *Barton Warren Stone*.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 33.

which boys of his age readily acquire in such circumstances, he was exerting a very unhappy influence on other scholars, especially on those who were younger than himself. After every other means had been tried in vain, the Dr. took him one day into a private apartment of his school house, and there applied "the rod of correction" until he accomplished his object: Samuel was subdued, and promised obedience. From that time on he was a reformed boy; and was thenceforward as orderly in his deportment and as attentive to his studies as any of the rest. When he arrived to maturity he removed to Georgia, where he married and settled; but having lived to bury his wife and all his children, he felt the loneliness of his situation; and hearing that his old preceptor was still living, he resolved to pay him a visit...The old man was sitting in the chimney corner... in meditations...and nearly severed from all ties of earth, from which he was roused by some bustle among his servants and by the footsteps of his visitor entering his apartment and approaching toward him. His sight had been once renewed, and was faded again beyond the assistance of art. His faded eyes were now directed towards the object that attracted his attention; and he waited in silence for some announcement that would let him know who was before him. 'Dr. Caldwell, don't you recollect me?' was the enquiry of Mr. D as he reached out his hand. 'I do not,' was the reply. 'Don't you recollect that very bad boy whom you once had in your school and whom you had to whip so severely?' 'O yes! Samuel D.' With that they seized each other by the hand; and for a moment tears were the only expression of feelings which were too deep for utterance. Mr. D. then concluded a brief history of his life — his fortunes and misfortunes, his connexions and bereavements, by saying that he had not one relation living in North Carolina, and no business to call him into this part of the country; but as he considered that Dr. Caldwell had done him more good than all other men, and having learned that he was still living, had come all the way here, a distance of two or three hundred miles, to see once more before he died.¹⁶⁵

In his letter VI, entitled "On the Presbyterians," François Marie Arouet de Voltaire (1694-1778) described the Scottish Presbyterian clergy:

as effecting a serious gait, putting on a sour look, wearing a vastly broad-brimmed hat, and a long cloak over a very short coat, and giving the name of Babylon to all churches, where the ministers are so fortunate as to enjoy ample annual revenue, and the people are weak enough to suffer this, and give them titles of my lord, your lordship, or your eminence.¹⁶⁶

Rev. David Caldwell did not have any aspect of this caricature.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 35-36.

¹⁶⁶ François Marie Arouet de Voltaire, *Letters Concerning the English Nation* (London: J. and R. Tonson, D. Midwinter, M. Cooper and J. Hodges, 1778), 37.

David Caldwell's Mentor, Rev. Hugh McAden

Rev. Hugh McAden, a moderate New Sider, was licensed in 1755 by New Castle Presbytery and was immediately sent out as a missionary to the Carolinas. His journal is set forth in William Henry Foote (1794-1869), *Sketches of North Carolina, Historical and Biographical, Illustrative of the Principles of a Portion of Her Early Settlers*. In 1759 Rev. McAden became pastor at Hanover Presbytery, which then included the greater part of Virginia. Among the members who formed Hanover Presbytery was Rev. Alexander Craighead, an extreme New Sider.¹⁶⁷ Alexander Craighead, the first minister in the vicinity of Sugar Creek, North Carolina, was a member of New Brunswick Presbytery when it withdrew from the Synod of Philadelphia.¹⁶⁸ McAden and Craighead were admirers of the evangelist George Whitefield and likely met with him when he toured North Carolina in 1764.

Rev. McAden's installation sermon is preserved in the special collection containing Rev. Eli W. Caruthers's papers at Duke University. It blends the views of the minister's responsibilities that were characteristic of what was then known as the New Side creed with the views of the Old Siders, so as to be acceptable to both the New Siders at Alamance and the Old Siders at Buffalo.¹⁶⁹ Rev. McAden told David Caldwell to labor, not loiter, with the people diligently, to painfully instruct, comfort, and edify them, and to guide but not dominate them, as a shepherd his flock, all to the spiritual good and advantage of his flock. He must give warning to the dangers to which they were liable and inform them of their duties. Citing the New Testament, Rev. McAden advised Rev. Caldwell of what conduct of his congregation would reveal their esteem and love for him according to his merit, talents, learning, and spiritual guidance. "When a thorough change is wrought in the hearts and lives of sinners — O how do their ministers rejoice. They come earthly and carnal, but if it is blessed to them, they go away healed of all their soul maladies." He advised the congregation that David Caldwell came to them as Noah's Ark with a peaceful olive branch. David Caldwell solemnly promised to administer the sacraments of the New Testament, baptism and Lord's Supper; join with the Ruling Elders in exercising the discipline and government established in the Church; make the sacred scriptures his only infallible and supreme rule, as explained in the John Knox's Westminster Confession of Faith, catechisms, sum of saving knowledge, directory for worship and discipline which he adopted at his ordination; conduct himself as a Christian and as minister of the gospel, in his personal, domestic and public capacity; and be an example to believers in word, conversation, charity, spirit, faith, unity, that they may follow him.¹⁷⁰

The dangers to which Rev. McAden referred included that of mob violence. By March 1768, the anger of backcountry farmers needed only a spark to burst into destructive flame. Unlike the coastal merchants and landed gentry who acted as Sons of Liberty in protest of the British Stamp Act of 1765, the backcountry farmers had as their object of collective protest not merely the oppressive and corrupt British government, but the exploitative tidewater (coastal) merchants and gentry as well. They complained that the coastal elite extended credit on oppressive terms and siphoned currency from the backcountry needed to pay taxes, court fees,

¹⁶⁷ See Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, Reel 372.4

¹⁶⁸ Foote, *Sketches*, 184-186; Westerkamp, *Triumph*, 208; Samuel Blair, *Animadversions on the Reasons of Mr. Alex. Creaghead's Receding from the Judicatures of this Church* (Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1743).

¹⁶⁹ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 35-36; Caldwell Jr., *Dr. David Caldwell*, 10.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

and buy property at public auction. Farmers were being evicted by manipulation of the court system. Justices, juries, land agents and surveyors were on the make. Earlier attempts by the Sandy Creek Association at Hillsborough in 1766 to seek redress of grievances had been met with governmental rebuke and reprisals. The backcountry settlers shared with the Sons of Liberty the belief in a social contract, the essential elements of which were the following:

The People protected their liberties by transferring part of their power and sovereignty to the government and abiding by the government's just laws. When the government abused this trust and evaded the laws or passed oppressive ones, people were obliged to obtain relief by legal and peaceful means, such as petitions and elections. But when such attempts were ignored, did not produce results, or were subverted by corrupt authorities, forceful popular resistance was deemed a civil duty crucial to the preservation for the public good.¹⁷¹

Buffalo Presbyterian Church

Most of the original congregation at Buffalo Presbyterian Church was comprised of Scotch-Irish families from Nottingham Presbyterian Church of Rising Sun (then known as Summer Hill), Pennsylvania (now Maryland), many of whom who had known David Caldwell in his youth and had asked for him to be installed as their minister. During the period of the great migration to the Carolinas, a group of Scotch-Irish Pennsylvania Presbyterians formed an organization known as the "Nottingham Company," which sent agents and purchased a tract of land in what is now Guilford County, on the banks of Buffalo and Reedy Fork creeks. The Buffalo Church was organized about 1756.¹⁷² Part of their motivation in emigrating was the inability to obtain clear title. Maryland and Pennsylvania had not yet resolved their dispute whether portions of Cheshire and Lancaster County were in Maryland or Pennsylvania. Nottinghamshire, England had been the site where the first battle of the English Civil War of 1640 began, pitting the royalists against the parliamentarians. It was also one of the few locations in England where dissenters and non-conformists, including Presbyterians, were powerful enough to control the local municipalities.

The bounds of the congregation extended from six to fifteen miles from the church. It was more than twenty-five miles from one extreme corner to the other. Practically everybody living in the central part of Guilford before 1800 [was] of the Presbyterian faith. Buffalo and Alamance Churches were bounded on the east by the German settlement and on the west by the Quakers. There was a Quaker settlement, old Center Church, far to the south of Alamance Church.

The bounds of the Buffalo congregation extended west to the Quaker settlement; northwest to and beyond Summerfield; north beyond Reedy Fork, and some of the families living on the Haw River came to Buffalo; northeast to and beyond Monticello; east nearly to the junction of Buffalo and Reedy Fork Creeks;

¹⁷¹ Kars, *Breaking*, 133.

¹⁷² See Rev. Samuel Meek Rankin (1864-1939), *History of Buffalo Presbyterian Church and Her People* (Greensboro: Joseph J. Stone & Co., 1934), 19-20.

southeast in the direction of McLeansville, beyond South Buffalo Creek; south to the bounds of the Alamance congregation, which was along South Buffalo Creek; southwest beyond some of the branches that form the headwaters of South Buffalo Creek. The people living within these bounds belonged to the Scotch-Irish race and were all originally Presbyterians. So far as we can find there was no other church in these bounds until about the year 1800. For a congregation that covered such a wide territory we can well understand why Dr. Caldwell had erected a house of worship that would seat a thousand people.”¹⁷³

Rev. David Caldwell served as the first pastor of Buffalo Presbyterian Church for 56 years.¹⁷⁴

Moire M. Ayres states of Rev. Caldwell, “He was a strong preacher, a sympathetic pastor, a great patriot, an efficient physician, a wise counselor, a statesman, and an outstanding teacher in church and state, loving and loved by his people.”¹⁷⁵

Alamance Congregation

Established eight years after the Buffalo Presbyterian church, many members of the Alamance congregation were Scotch-Irish who had emigrated from Lancaster and Chester counties, Colonial Pennsylvania. The original congregation was mostly Whitefield followers and New Light Presbyterians.¹⁷⁶

The initial Alamance congregation likely accepted the views of New Siders Gilbert Tennent and Samuel Finley.

The Nottingham congregation in 1740 invited Presbyterian New Sider minister Gilbert Tennent to give a sermon. He spoke on the dangers of an unconverted ministry. Tennent castigated Old Siders as enemies of Christ and as obstacles to conversion. His call for conscientious objectors to separate themselves from the unconverted ministers offended New Sider clergy. It also offended the intended target, the Old Sider clergy in Philadelphia and Boston, both of whom perceived that no pastor's authority would be secure and congregations would break up simply to get a minister to their liking. There were in fact numerous separations and breakups of congregations following this sermon.¹⁷⁷

Nottingham Presbyterian minister Samuel Finley (1715-1766) had been a supporter of Gilbert Tennent and George Whitefield's teachings and likened those ministers who opposed Whitefield to the Scribes and Pharisees who persecuted Christ and his Apostles. In his mind,

¹⁷³ Ibid., 21.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.; see also Raymond Dufau Donnell et al., *Buffalo Presbyterian Church and Cemetery* (Greensboro: Guilford County Genealogical Society, 1994, 1996).

¹⁷⁵ Moire M. Ayers, “Buffalo Presbyterian Church 1756-1981: 225 Years of Christian Service,” 1981, 3.

¹⁷⁶ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 25; Stockward, *History*, 14, 116.

¹⁷⁷ Richard L. Bushman, “Trouble in the Churches,” in *The Great Awakening: Documents in the Revival of Religion, 1740-1745*, ed. Richard L. Bushman (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970), 85-93.

they were false prophets who persecuted the true ones, and he viewed them as vain ministers whose ecclesiastic pride hindered them from embracing the Reformation.¹⁷⁸

Among the New Light congregation at Alamance Presbyterian Church, Rev. Caldwell favored the hymns and theological writings authored by Isaac Watts (1674-1748), pastor of a Church of Christ in London. Watts is recognized as the John Phillip Souza of Protestant hymn writers and is best known as the author of “When I Survey the Wondrous Cross,” “Am I a Soldier of the Cross?,” “I Sing the Mighty Power of God,” and “Joy to the World” (based on Psalm 98). He published his first hymnbook in 1707 in England. The hymns were first published in America in 1739. During the American revivals known as the Great Awakening, Rev. George Whitefield used Watts’s hymns and songs in his meetings. At the Buffalo Presbyterian Church, Rev. Caldwell confined the songs to those derived from the Psalms of David.¹⁷⁹

Barton Warren Stone recalled discussing with Rev. Caldwell and other pupils at the Log College Watts’s text with the cumbersome title: “The Glory of Christ as God-man, displayed in three discourses; viz.: Discourse 1. A Survey of the visible appearance of Christ as God, before his incarnation, with some observations on the texts of the Old Testament applied to Christ. Discourse 2. An Enquiry into the executive powers of the human nature of Christ, in its present glorified state; with several testimonies annexed. Discourse 3. An Argument tracing out the early existence of the human soul of Christ, even before the creation of the world, with an appendix, etc.” This book dealt with the concept of Trinity, a subject on which Stone was examined by Rev. Henry Patillo in order to be ordained.

Watts was one of the most popular writers of the day. His educational manuals — the ‘Catechisms’ (1730) and the ‘Scripture History’ (1732) — were still standard works in the middle of this century. His philosophical books, especially the ‘Logic’ (1725), had a long circulation; so also did his ‘World to Come’ (1738) and other works of popular divinity. The best of his works is ‘The Improvement of the Mind’ (1741), which Johnson eulogizes. In two fields, his literary work needs longer notice. His ‘Horae Lyricae’ (1706) gave him his niche in Englishman Samuel Johnson’s *Lives of the Poets*. It was a favorite book of religious poetry and, as such, was admitted into a series of ‘Sacred Classics’ (1834), with a memoir of Watts from Southey’s pen. But his poetical fame rests on his hymns.¹⁸⁰

In *Lives of the Poets*, Johnson assessed the contributions of Isaac Watts and that assessment possibly parallels what Rev. Caldwell admired about Watts and his writings. Consider the following excerpts:

He was one of the first authors that taught the Dissenters [e.g., Presbyterians] to court attention by the graces of language. Whatever they had among them before, whether of learning or acuteness, was commonly obscured and blunted by coarseness and inelegance of style. He showed them, that zeal and purity might be expressed and enforced by polished diction.

¹⁷⁸ Samuel Finley, “A Letter to a Friend, 1741,” in *The Great Awakening*, 111.

¹⁷⁹ Caldwell Jr., *Dr. Caldwell*, 25.

¹⁸⁰ www.newchristendom.com/issue7/watts.htm.

Such was his flow of thoughts, and such his promptitude of language, that in the latter part of his life he did not recompose his cursory sermons, but, having adjusted the heads, and sketched out some particulars, trusted for success to his extemporary powers.

By his natural temper he was quick of resentment; but, by his established and habitual practice, he was gentle, modest, and inoffensive. His tenderness appeared in his attention to children, and to the poor. To the poor, while he lived in the family of his friend, he allowed the third part of his annual revenue, though the whole was not a hundred a year; and for children, he condescended to lay aside the scholar, the philosopher, and the wit, to write little poems of devotion, and systems of instruction, adapted to their wants and capacities, from the dawn of reason through its gradations of advance in the morning of life. Every man, acquainted with the common principles of human action, will look with veneration on the writer, who is at one time combating Locke, and at another making a catechism for children in their fourth year. A voluntary descent from the dignity of science is perhaps the hardest lesson that humility can teach.

As his mind was capacious, his curiosity excursive, and his industry continual, his writings are very numerous, and his subjects various. With his theological works I am only enough acquainted to admire his meekness of opposition, and his mildness of censure. It was not only in his book but also in his mind that orthodoxy was united with charity.

Few books have been perused by me with greater pleasure than his *Improvement of the Mind*, of which the radical principles may indeed be found in Locke's *Conduct of the Understanding*; but they are so expanded and ramified by Watts, as to confer upon him the merit of a work in the highest degree useful and pleasing. Whoever has the care of instructing others may be charged with deficiency in his duty, if this book is not recommended.

I have mentioned his treatises of theology as distinct from his other productions: but the truth is, that whatever he took in hand was, by his incessant solicitude for souls, converted to theology. As piety predominated in his mind, it is diffused over his works: under his direction it may be truly said, *Theologiae Philosophia ancillatur*, Philosophy is subservient to evangelical instruction: it is difficult to read a page without learning, or at least wishing, to be better. The attention is caught by indirect instruction, and he that sat down only to reason is on a sudden compelled to pray.

It was therefore with great propriety that, in 1728, he received from Edinburgh and Aberdeen an unsolicited diploma, by which he became a doctor of divinity. Academical honors would have more value, if they were always bestowed with equal judgment.

He continued many years to study and to preach, and to do good by his instruction and example; till at last the infirmities of age disabled him from the more laborious part of his ministerial functions; and, being no longer capable of public

duty, he offered to remit the salary appendant to it; but his congregation would not accept the resignation.

Few men have left behind such purity of character, or such monuments of laborious piety. He has provided instruction for all ages, from those who are lisping their first lessons, to the enlightened readers of Malbranche and Locke; he has left neither corporeal nor spiritual nature unexamined; he has taught the art of reasoning, and the science of the stars.

His character, therefore, must be formed from the multiplicity and diversity of his attainments, rather than from any single performance; for it would not be safe to claim for him the highest rank in any single denomination of literary dignity; yet perhaps there was nothing in which he would not have excelled, if he had not divided his powers to different pursuits.

As a poet, had he been only a poet, he would probably have stood high among the authors with whom he is now associated. For his judgment was exact, and he noted beauties and faults with very nice discernment; his imagination, as the Dacian Battle proves, was vigorous and active, and the stores of knowledge were large by which his fancy was to be supplied. His ear was well tuned, and his diction was elegant and copious; but his devotional poetry is, like that of others, unsatisfactory. The paucity of its topics enforces perpetual repetition, and the sanctity of the matter rejects the ornaments of figurative diction. It is sufficient for Watts to have done better than others what no man has done well.¹⁸¹

Calvin Henderson Wiley (1819-1887) asserts that Rev. David Caldwell told a visitor some three-quarters of a century previously (c. 1777):

Alamance was one of the first places settled by the whites in middle Carolina. The lands are fertile, the climate pleasant, and the country healthy, and thus this section of the state early attracted the attention of emigrants. Those who came to settle here were, generally, men of character and substance, and were seeking, not so much to advance their worldly fortunes as to promote their happiness, which was intimately connected with the enjoyment of civil and religious freedom. They were mostly 'Scotch-Irish,' a race of men who, the world over, have been proved to be true to their country, to their friends, and their principles, which are always of a liberal cast. They are Presbyterians in religion, republicans in their political notions, and are ever ready to fight or go to the stake for their opinions . . . Nearly every family in the whole community was, and even now is, in independent circumstances, and some are even rich. Still there are no grades and coteries in society; no parties in politics; and no hostile religious sects warring rancorously on each other, and claiming as their object the diffusion of a spirit of Christian philanthropy. . . . Our people, as I have before intimated, would make excellent republicans, for there is among them a deep-rooted aversion, I may say detestation, of every species of tyranny, and an attachment to liberty -- real, true,

¹⁸¹ Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets: With Critical Observations on Their Works* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 142.

genuine, and well regulated liberty -- stronger than the love of life or the fear of death. They have the virtues becoming citizens of a democracy -- that first-born hope of philanthropy. . . . There is none of that restlessness, that reaching for family aggrandizement . . .¹⁸²

Alamance Presbyterian Church was founded in 1764 near its present site. The original church was a log structure that had been built around 1762 on land donated by William Cusach. Its first congregation included many people who had moved from Chester and Lancaster counties to North Carolina. They had invited David Caldwell to be their first minister. He served the church from 1768-1820.¹⁸³ The second structure was a large frame building built around 1800, which could hold up to a 1,000 people. This was replaced by a brick structure in 1844 that was smaller and stands near the present manse. In 1879 a new rectangular structure was built. In 1955 the present structure was built. The first manse was built in 1892.

The growth of the Alamance Presbyterian Church during David Caldwell's lifetime to the point that it could seat 1,000 (far more than resided within Greensboro area during his lifetime) corroborates his reputation as an effective and popular speaker. The two sermons selected for Caruthers's biography appear neither extemporaneous nor embellished, but of a highly structured nonevangelical style, "more like a lawyer's brief than a work of art."¹⁸⁴ This style makes sense if he read the same sermon to both the Buffalo and Alamance congregations. Nathan Hatch noted that, in the eighteenth century, many popular ministers, including Baptist and Methodist revivalists, preached a more extemporaneous style. He called these popular preachers "communication entrepreneurs who stripped the sermon of its doctrinal spine and rhetorical dress" and who assiduously refused to "abide by traditional theological etiquette" in any part of their sermons.¹⁸⁵ Familiar with Aristotle's treatise on Rhetoric, Rev. Caldwell's published sermons indicate that he utilized the method of persuasion recommended by Aristotle, selecting those arguments most likely to be credible to his audience.

Nathan Hatch's criticisms cannot be construed to encompass David Caldwell's published sermons. But the published sermons were not representative of the sermons addressed solely to the Alamance New Siders. Rev. Caruthers notes that after the Revolutionary War, David Caldwell usually gave extemporaneous sermons at both Buffalo and Alamance.

Biographer Ethel Stephens Arnett writes that David Caldwell's congregations "developed a democratic, individualistic, self-reliant society very different from that of the older settled coastal region. They have been characterized as having three distinct loves: religion, democracy, and education."¹⁸⁶ Caruthers's biography notes that the Buffalo congregation was made of Old Siders and the Alamance congregation was comprised of Whitefield followers and "favored revivals as a soul-saving technique." He states, "Although Dr. Caldwell was placed over

¹⁸² Calvin Henderson Wiley, *Alamance; or, The Great Final Experiment* (1885; reprint, Whitefish, Mont.: Kessinger Publishing, 2004).

¹⁸³ Rev. E. C. Murray, D.D., "A History of Alamance Church, 1762-1918," NCGenWeb Project, 10-11.

¹⁸⁴ Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954).

¹⁸⁵ Nathan O. Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 135, 138.

¹⁸⁶ Arnett, *David Caldwell*, 9.

congregations which were . . . divided in sentiment between New Side and Old Side, and under the influences of strong religious feeling, he managed to prevent a rupture or any serious difficulty. He did not profess to belong to either party, but to both.”¹⁸⁷

Differences were observed between churched Presbyterians such as David Caldwell’s congregations and the backcountry communities of loose hogs, lewd women, lay-about drunks, corn-crib chapels, and the flotsam of English and Irish prisons, stereotyped as deprived and depraved by the Anglican clergyman, Charles Woodmason. Woodmason wrote:

Among this Medley of Religions — True Genuine Christianity is not to be found. And the perverse persecuting Spirit of the Presbyterians, displays it Self much more here than in Scotland. It is dang'rous to live among, or near any of them — for if they cannot cheat, rob, defraud or injure You in Your Goods — they will belye, defame, lessen, blacken, disparage the most valuable Person breathing, not of their Communion in his Character, Good Name, or Reputation and Credit. They have almost worm'd out all the Church People — who cannot bear to live among such a Sett of Vile unaccountable Wretches.¹⁸⁸

Woodmason called the Presbyterians “ignorant, mean, worthless, beggarly Irish Presbyterians, the Scum of the Earth, and Refuse of Mankind.”¹⁸⁹ He mentioned arriving at a Presbyterian meeting house which “had a large Congregation — but according to Custom, one half of them got drunk before they went home” that evening from the service.

Woodmason found many of the inhabitants of the backcountry “living wholly on Butter, Milk, Clabber, and what in England is given to the Hogs and Dogs . . . [They] are reduc'd to the sad necessity of gathering Apples Peaches & green from the Trees, and boiling them for food.”¹⁹⁰

As to their attitude toward sex, Woodmason wrote:

The Young Women have a most uncommon Practice, which I cannot break them off. They draw their Shift as tight as possible to the Body, and pin it close, to shew the roundness of their Breasts, and slender Waists (for they are generally fairly shaped) and draw their Petticoat close to their Hips to shew the fineness of their Limbs — so they might as well be in Puri Naturalibus — Indeed Nakedness is not censurable or indecent here, and they expose themselves often quite Naked, without Ceremony —Rubbing themselves and their Hair with Bears Oil and tying it up behind in a Bunch like the Indians . . . They delight in their present low, lazy, sluttish, heathenish, hellish Life, and seem not desirous of changing it.¹⁹¹

Woodmason noted irreligiosity among the majority of southern backcountry settlers as of 1767. The majority asserted that it did not belong to any denomination. The backcountry settlers “complained of being eaten up by Itinerant Teachers, Preachers, and Imposters from New

¹⁸⁷ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 28-29.

¹⁸⁸ Woodmason, *Carolina Backcountry*, 43.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 60-61.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 30, 61.

England and Pennsylvania — Baptists, New Lights, Presbyterians, Independents, and a hundred other Sects.”¹⁹² Woodmason claimed that the Presbyterians were erecting churches in a pattern “imitating the French — who by making a Chain of Forts from Canada to Louisiana endeavored to circumscribe the English and prevent extension of their Trade.”¹⁹³

Contributions of Rachel Craighead Caldwell

Rev. McAden must have been encouraged by the enthusiasm and support provided by Rev. Caldwell’s wife, Rachel Caldwell, and her family.

In 1766, Rachel Craighead (1742–1825), age 24, the third daughter of Scotch-Irish Presbyterian pastor, the fiery Rev. Alexander Craighead (1705–1766), married 41-year-old Rev. David Caldwell (1725–1824).¹⁹⁴

Rachel’s two older sisters had married before her. It was her turn. Rachel married at an age by which the vast majority of North Carolina women were already married. The average age of marriage for females was 20.5 in the southern colonies, in contrast to a median age of 24 for those residing in the northern colonies.¹⁹⁵

David might have had a commanding physique that was part of his charisma: he was at least five feet, ten inches tall at age 90 and may well have been two inches taller when he married Rachel, his height lessening as his spinal discs desiccated and his vertebra flattened with age, explaining the stooped posture that was observed in 1811–1815 by John Motley Morehead. I do not believe this is too broad an inference to brook—his lineal descendants down to my generation have all been six feet tall or taller. David was accustomed to swinging an axe and hand sawing, all potentially contributing to broad shoulders and narrow waist.



Figure 2. Bust of Rachel Craighead Caldwell

© 2007 Michel Van der Sommen

¹⁹² Ibid., 13.

¹⁹³ Kars, *Breaking*, 87. For a more neutral description of North Carolina colonial society, see Alan D. Watson, *Society in Colonial North Carolina*, rev. ed. (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, 1996); Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish: A Social History*; and Rev. L. C. Vass, *History Of The Presbyterian Church In New Bern, N.C.* (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1886).

¹⁹⁴ Chalmers Gaston Davidson, *The Plantation World around Davidson*, The Mecklenburg Historical Association, Philadelphia Pennsylvania: Sherman & Co. Printers, 1876, reprinted by the Davidson Publishing Company, Davidson, North Carolina, 1969, p. 80.

¹⁹⁵ Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics & Behavior in the Old South*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1982, p. 203.

Other single women of the upper class may have envied Rachel. There was a scarcity of eligible men for them to marry. Gazing eyes may have fixated upon David as he rode on horseback past their cabin porches and barking dogs on his way to Rachel's house.

The strongest motivation for the marriage likely was mutual affection — each one had fallen in love, honoring and cherishing the other. David had first met Rachel when she was about four years of age, while he attended her father's church services in Lancaster County, Colonial Pennsylvania. Possibly during Rachel's teenage years they had kept in touch with one another by correspondence. Perhaps he amused her, as John Adams did to Abigail, by sending her a list of criticism: telling her she reads, talks and thinks too much. She might have written back that he is much too congenial, as Mark Twain said of Teddy Roosevelt: "Satan, how do you do? I am so glad to meet you. I have read all your books. I enjoyed everyone one of them." For a few years she resided at Windy Cove, Virginia, where her father served as a minister and lived between 1755 and 1758. David Caldwell was studying to become a minister at a Princeton, New Jersey Presbyterian seminary within a few days ride of the Windy Cove location.

Rachel's parents probably felt that the marriage was made in heaven. David and Rachel shared Rev. Alexander's evangelical belief that the Bible did not say that individuals were predestined to be saved. Rather, they preferred an interpretation that the Select, those who committed themselves to perfection of character in all aspects of their life, could avoid eternal damnation, but only with God's grace. Backsliders were doomed. David would have impressed Alexander Craighead with his adherence to principle with courage.

Rachel's parents may have read some of the correspondence that David had sent to Rachel and observed Rachel's joy and felt certain that the long courtship would inevitably lead to a lifelong marriage.

David had already established a reputation as a hard-working student: reading by candlelight even at 4 am; readily passing his examinations; noted for his effectiveness as a communicator and his mastery of the classic languages; and honored as a pallbearer at the service for New Sider, Pres. Samuel Davies of the College of New Jersey. His prospects for supporting Rachel were excellent; the congregations at Alamance and Buffalo had asked for him particularly. Since David had grown up on a prosperous farm in Pennsylvania, Alexander was convinced that his future son-in-law would be a good agriculturist. David had a sound plan for developing his North Carolina farm and his promising future as an educator assured that he would be able to supplement his meager income as a preacher.

The age difference between David and Rachel was not uncommon, although it was more common for a forty-one-year-old man to marry a woman in her thirties. Southern professional men tended to marry late while choosing young brides.¹⁹⁶

Some consideration may have given by Rachel to the belief that David would not treat her as a mere ornament or plaything but as an equal who would welcome her presence in the classroom where David taught his students and in the church where David rendered sermons to his congregation.

¹⁹⁶ Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 204.

Everything written about David indicates that he showed great respect towards a woman's talents. Bertram Wyatt-Brown wrote that Southern women were credited with restoring piety at a time when there was a strong anti-clerical tradition among the upper classes of the Carolinas. Instead of prioritizing family honor and southern gentlemen code, the women were fostering greater interest among men in Christian morality.¹⁹⁷ Likely David's own mother had never shown undue rigidity, domestic discipline, or submissiveness enveloping her mind. If David's mother regarded him as her favorite, she may have instilled in him the confidence to lead others and possess that charisma that can make even a three-month-old baby smile.

Rachel may have been comforted in knowing that David was fearless. In 1762 David turned in some scalps to the colonial government to receive the bounty. His courage would be of particular value to Rachel. During the early days of the French and Indian War, while living with her father in Windy Cove, Virginia, Rachel was almost scalped; Indians came through the front door with tomahawks as she exited from the rear.¹⁹⁸

The similarities of David to Rachel's father, Alexander Craighead, are obvious. Both were leaders, who exercised enormous influence over their congregations and who were deeply loved by their parishioners. Each had completed a seminary education. They shared markedly similar religious perspectives: both were evangelical and compassionate "New Light" or "New Side" Presbyterians concerned about the plight of the less fortunate and determined to overcome the oppression of clerks, courts, counselors, and crooks. Both encouraged the formation of the Regulators, an interdenominational group of Piedmont farmers. Historian Gary B. Nash states that the majority of Regulators in the North Carolina backcountry was influenced by the Great Awakening to resist those who oppressed because of a belief that each of them was responsible for his own salvation.¹⁹⁹

David probably gave little regard to whether or not Rachel had a dowry and she to whether he was a man of sizable wealth. His own parents had come to colonial America, gone to the frontier, acquired a 300-acre parcel, cleared the trees for crop land and grazing, prospered, and raised a family. He may have seen in Rachel some of the qualities that he admired most in his own mother.

Each likely saw the other embodying religious and conservative values: fighting for faith, family and freedom.²⁰⁰

To pay for his education, which he completed in 1761, David had received funds from his brothers, in exchange for waiving any right of inheritance to his father's farm in Drumore Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

Without incurring any debt, David acquired 500 acres of rich alluvial soil in what is now Greensboro, North Carolina, donated by his congregation to entice him to establish a ministry

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 100.

¹⁹⁸ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 27.

¹⁹⁹ Nash, *Unknown*, 76.

²⁰⁰ Jesse Clement, "Mrs. Caldwell and the Tories," in *Noble Deeds of American Women: with biographical sketches of some of the More Prominent* (New York: Orton & Mulligan, 1854), 195-200; (Online) Elizabeth Fries Ellet, "Rachel Caldwell" in *The Women of the American Revolution* 6th edition (Philadelphia: George W. Jacob & Co., 1900), 177-187. (Online)

there. He had saved enough money to build a two-story structure as an academy to supplement his income as minister.

This marriage lasted almost 60 years, with Rachel surviving her husband. This long duration of marriage was rather unusual, because of the high mortality rate associated with childbirth. David's knowledge as a country physician may have helped her survive serial childbirths.

This couple had twelve or thirteen children, the best known of whom was the firstborn, the Rev. Samuel Craighead Caldwell, born 1767, died August 25, 1824. Several children died in infancy. David's other children were: Rev. Alexander Caldwell, born 1769, died October 2, 1841; Andrew Caldwell, born 1771, educated at Princeton and a minister, died June 12, 1845; Martha "Patsy" Caldwell, born 1775, died January 27, 1826; the twins Thomas Caldwell and David Caldwell, M.D., born October 7, 1777; John Washington Caldwell, born 1780, died December 8, 1844; James Edmund Caldwell, born 1772, died July, 1836; and Robert Craighead Caldwell, born 1786. Their only daughter, Martha "Patsy" Caldwell lost her reason in 1792 and remained in a state of derangement until her death.²⁰¹ This multi-generational pattern of predominately male issue vastly increases the number of Rev. Caldwell's descendants today.

Thomas Caldwell married Elizabeth Doak on March 24, 1813 in Guilford County and died July 3, 1857. David Caldwell, M.D., married Susan Clark on July 15, 1811 in Guilford County. John Washington Caldwell married twice, first to Martha Davis in 1800; after her death, he married Margaret Cabe on October 1, 1822 in Guilford County. Robert Craighead Caldwell married in succession Maria B. Latta in 1823, Marjorie Woodburn in 1850, and Mary Clancy in 1855. James Edmund Caldwell sustained brain trauma at age 6 or 7, became deranged about the age 21, never married, and remained confined until his death in 1836.²⁰²

Rachel's son, Andrew Caldwell, a minister, never married. He sustained a mental breakdown as an adult that required that he retire, suggesting a death possibly arising from some progressive life-threatening neurological deficit. The most common delusional disorder that has its onset in early adulthood is schizophrenia of chromosomal origin.

The number of infant mortalities and adult brain dysfunctions suggests the possibility that the children may have died or sustained brain damage from either birth asphyxia associated with the mother's narrow birth canal or hydrocephalus (blockage of central spinal fluid drainage from brain ventricles with resulting enlargement of the ventricles and rise in intracranial pressure exceeding arterial pressure, causing disruption of circulation of intracranial arteries leading to fetal brain asphyxiation). Rev. Caldwell consulted with physicians who were specialists in hydrocephalus in seeking treatment for Patsy and Andrew Caldwell.

Rachel's fecundity would have added to her social status and that of her husband.²⁰³ Barrenness would have brought her shame and would have been regarded by most others in the south with either contempt or pity.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 258.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 260.

²⁰³ Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 205.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 236.

Rachel never reported unfit for duty. When a bounty was placed on Rev. Caldwell during the Revolutionary War, he sought refuge in a nearby swamp. In his absence, Rachel managed the farm, directed the college, and assisted with the functions of the church.

Caruthers recounts these times in his biography of Caldwell:

For some days before the battle at Guilford Courthouse, the army of Cornwallis was encamped within the bounds of Dr. Caldwell's congregations . . . The British and Tories, who bore him special enmity, had repeatedly harassed him; a price had been set upon his head, and a reward of two hundred pounds offered for his apprehension. On the 11th of March, while he was in Greene's camp, the army was marched to his plantation and encamped there, the officers taking possession of his house. Mrs. Caldwell was at home with her children when they arrived. They at first announced themselves as Americans, and asked to see the landlady; but a female domestic who had ascertained by standing on the fence and seeing red coats at a distance, that they belonged to the army of Cornwallis, quickly communicated her discovery to her mistress. Excusing herself by saying that she must attend to her child, Mrs. Caldwell retired within the house, and immediately gave warning to two of her neighbors who happened to be there, that they might escape through the other door and conceal themselves. She then returned to the gate. The party in front when charged with being British soldiers, avowed themselves such, and said they must have the use of the dwelling for a day or two. They immediately established themselves in their quarters, turning out Mrs. Caldwell, who with her children retired to the smoke house, and there passed a day with no other food than a few dried peaches and apples, till a physician interposed, and procured for her a bed, some provisions, and a few cooking utensils. The family remained in the smoke house two days and nights - their distress being frequently insulted by profane and brutal language. . .

After remaining two days, the army took their departure from the ravaged plantation, on which they had destroyed every thing; but before leaving Dr. Caldwell's house, the officer in command gave orders that his library and papers should be burned . . . Not even the family Bible was spared, and the house, as well as plantation, was left pillaged and desolate.²⁰⁵

Unlike the common portrayal of the ante-bellum Southern women, described by Wyatt-Brown as restricted to sitting-room conversations with women and daughters, keeping their distance from boys lest the boys become too effeminate and bring shame to their fathers, Rev. Caruthers's biography states that Rachel Caldwell's intelligence, prudence, and kind and conciliating manners were such as to secure the respect and confidence of the young men in David Caldwell's Log College, while her concern for their future welfare prompted her to use every means, and to improve every opportunity, for turning their attention to their personal salvation; her assiduity and success in this matter were such as to give rise and currency to the

²⁰⁵ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, paraphrased excerpts found at americanrevolution.org.

remark over the country that “David Caldwell made the scholars, but Mrs. Caldwell made the preachers.”²⁰⁶

Although not a nurse Rachel could have acquired nursing experience from observing her husband care for the wounded. Rachel might have acted at the direction of her husband while she attended the wounded at the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. One historian states that on the day of the Guilford Courthouse Battle, Rachel Caldwell and a number of women of the Buffalo Congregation met at the house of Robert Rankin and spent the greater part of the day in prayer.²⁰⁷ Another reference states that Rachel cared for the sick and wounded soldiers on Guilford Battleground; she inspired both soldiers and civilians to resist the British and aid in the fight for freedom.²⁰⁸

In his biography, Rev. Caruthers credits Rachel with encouraging many of the men, who had joined the ministry under her husband’s teaching; these men later became the leaders of the Great Revival in Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina between the 1790s and early 1800s. Rachel Caldwell was of the religious conviction that a person had to exhibit in his or her personal life a compassion for those less fortunate as well as a genuine acceptance of Christ as his or her savior. She chose this theme when she had Rev. Caruthers give a funeral sermon upon the death of her husband. She shared in beliefs that were the beginning of the Second Great Awakening. Barton Warren Stone’s 1847 autobiography credits Rev. Caldwell more than Rachel with encouraging frontier revivalism.

The Second Great Awakening was not limited to New Side Presbyterians, but included virtually all of the Methodists from 1772 and Separate Baptists from 1755. The Great Revival among Presbyterians was well underway in Pennsylvania by 1786 when Rev. James McGready was converted and began revivals.²⁰⁹ Substantial factors contributing to the revival were ex-soldiers who refused to put away the ways of tent life during the Revolution; the post war prevalence of gaming, card-playing, heavy drinking, and profane swearing; declining church attendance; and the apostasies of the French Revolution.²¹⁰

The Second Great Awakening also contributed to the abolitionist movement and the feminist movement.²¹¹

Rev. Caruthers’s biography singles out Rev. James McGready, one of David Caldwell’s assistant teachers at the Log College, as the individual most influenced by Rachel Caldwell. McGready wrote “A Short Narrative of the Revival of Religion in Logan County” in 1801. It was widely disseminated through two religious journals: *Western Missionary Magazine*:

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 38.

²⁰⁷ Paula Stahls Jordan, *Women of Guilford County, North Carolina: A Study Of Women's Contributions, 1740-1979* (Greensboro: Women of Guilford County, 1979), 18.

²⁰⁸ Daughters of the American Revolution, *75 Years of Service, History of National Society Daughters of American Revolution of North Carolina or The First One Hundred Years 1898* (Raleigh (?): 1998), 124. See also, Elizabeth F. Ellet, *Revolutionary Women in the War for American Independence*, ed. Lincoln Diamont (1848; revised, Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1998).

²⁰⁹ Boles, *Great Revival*, 38, fn. 6.

²¹⁰ Foote, *Sketches*, 370-72; Ebenezer Porter, *Letters on Religious Revivals* (Cambridge: Allen and Farnham, 1858), 8-9.

²¹¹ See Garry Willis, *Head and Heart: American Christianities* (New York: Penguin Press, 2007).

February 1803: 27-28; March 1803: 45-54; April 1803: 99-103; June 1803: 172-173; and *New York Missionary Magazine* 3 (1802): 156-159. It had a great impact upon evangelical Christianity.²¹² Finis Jay Caldwell Jr. argues that Barton Warren Stone was the favorite pupil upon whom Rev. Caldwell had the greatest influence as mentor.²¹³

Historian Guion Griffis Johnson (1900-1989), author of *Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History*, gathered together excerpts from prime sources to retell the beginnings of the Revival.

James McGready was the immediate forerunner of the Great Revival among North Carolina Presbyterians. When he returned to North Carolina in 1788 after completing his course of study under a Presbyterian minister of Western Pennsylvania he began at once to evangelize. McGready was born of Scotch-Irish parentage in Pennsylvania about 1760. While he was still a boy, his parents moved to Guilford County, North Carolina, and settled in Buffalo congregation where the boy came under the influence of David Caldwell. An uncle took him to Pennsylvania to study for the ministry, and it was while in school there that he had the shock that influenced his later evangelism. Since the age of seven he had never failed to pray regularly; he had never been guilty of profanity, intoxication, Sabbath breaking, or anything, which he considered sinful. Thus he had begun to think himself sanctified from birth. Yet to his great astonishment he overheard a conversation between two of his friends in which both declared that he had ‘not a spark’ of sanctification. McGready at once began to examine himself and had no rest until “his heart tasted some of the joys of the Holy Ghost.”²¹⁴

On his return to North Carolina the young preacher, who had been licensed by Redstone Presbytery in Pennsylvania, passed through places in Virginia which had recently been awakened under the preaching of the Reverend John Blair Smith and the Reverend William Graham, leaders of the revival of 1787-1789 in Virginia,²¹⁵ and he visited Hampden-Sydney College, the center of the revival movement.

Fresh from these revival scenes, young McGready began preaching along Haw River. He wanted to alarm church members and all those who long since had become comfortable in the hope of sanctification. ‘An unworthy communicant in such circumstances as yours,’ he declared, pointing his finger at members of the church, ‘is more offensive to Almighty God than a loathsome carcass crawling with vermin set before a dainty prince.’²¹⁶ This ‘Son of Thunder’ soon alarmed Piedmont North Carolina. People wept under his preaching. From Hawfields the excitement spread to Cross Roads, Alamance, Buffalo, Stony Creek, Bethlehem,

²¹² Ted Ownby, “The Logan County, Kentucky Religious Revival, 1797-1805,” senior honors thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1982, 1-11.

²¹³ Caldwell Jr., *Dr. Caldwell*, 26-30.

²¹⁴ Foote, *Sketches*, 368-369.

²¹⁵ Wesley M. Gewehr, *The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1930), 179-184.

²¹⁶ Foote, *Sketches*, 372.

Haw River, Eno, and the churches in Granville, including those along the Hycoc and the Dan rivers.²¹⁷ Other preachers joined the young evangelist in the work. The Reverend David Caldwell, the veteran revivalist, stirred his own congregations. William Hodge, ‘the Son of Consolation,’ who had attended Caldwell’s log college, joined McGready and frequently made preaching tours with him. William McGhee, a minister of Orange Presbytery, and Barton W. Stone, a licentiate, also began spreading the gospel. While these men were carrying on the revival in Orange and Guilford counties, two young evangelists from Virginia, converted during John Blair Smith’s revival, visited the congregations in Granville County. So great was their excitement that many followed them into Virginia to hear more of the Word.

Opposition soon appeared from those who had favored the Old Side during the schism. At Stony Creek in 1796 McGready’s enemies made a bonfire of the pulpit and left him a warning written in blood.²¹⁸ Shortly thereafter, McGready moved to Kentucky.²¹⁹

By 1802 the revival had spread throughout the south.²²⁰ “There was never so great a stir of Religion since the day of Pentecost,” wrote an “Old Soldier” from Caswell County in 1804 “. . . and it still goes on with rapidity throughout the union.”²²¹

After Rev. McGready and pupils of David Caldwell’s Log College established revivalist churches in East Tennessee and Kentucky, Rev. Caldwell and Rachel continued to meet with them at Buffalo and nurture the evangelist movement in the new frontier.

Rev. Caldwell persuaded strict Calvinist Rev. Samuel McCorkle to visit Cane Ridge and see for himself what was occurring. After the visit, Rev McCorkle lauded what he had seen.

Rachel’s children were devoted to her. None of them felt that she had singled out one of them as her favorite. “Rachel died June 3, 1825, her children beside her bed, just after she folded her arms over her breasts, and with next breath meekly passed away.”²²²

The Daughters of American Revolution publication, *75 Years of Service, History of National Society Daughters of American Revolution of North Carolina or The First One Hundred Years 1898*, mentions the Rachel Caldwell chapter. It was organized in 1933. It is the only DAR Chapter named after a Caldwell and still continues today, in Greensboro, North

²¹⁷ Ibid., 374.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 375.

²¹⁹ MSS, Minutes of Orange Presbytery, September 1796.

²²⁰ See Catherine C. Cleveland, *The Great Revival in the West, 1797-1805* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1916), 104-108; see generally, James McGready, *The Posthumous Works of the Reverend and Pious James McGready*, ed. Rev. James Smith (District of West Tenn.: J. Smith’s Steam Press, 1837).

²²¹ *Raleigh Register*, October 1, 1804.

²²² Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 269. For an intensive study of the Craighead family, see James Geddes Craighead, *The Craighead Family: a Genealogical Memoir Of the Descendants of Rev. Thomas and Margaret Craighead, 1658-1876* (Philadelphia: Sherman & Co. Printers, 1876).

Carolina. Rachel appears in the DAR Patriot Index and the DAR has a collection of papers relating to her.²²³

In his work, *Scotch and Irish Seeds in American Soil*, author James Geddes Craighead points out that the Presbyterians sought to separate the spheres of the Church and State and advocated disestablishment, without any dependence of the Church on civil power. This was in contrast to the Puritans who established a theocracy uniting Church and State, with a provision that no one should vote unless he had been baptized in his youth and a member of the Puritan Church.²²⁴

Rachel's younger sister Jane Craighead, born in 1743, married Patrick Calhoun and died in 1766 after the miscarriage of twins. Patrick's second wife, Martha Caldwell, daughter of a Lancaster County Andrew Caldwell (1692-1752) who is often confused with David's father, Andrew, gave birth to John Caldwell Calhoun (1782-1850), famous South Carolina statesman and orator, member of the U.S. Congress, and U.S. Vice President (1825-32) under John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson.

Rachel was the sister of Rev. Thomas B. Craighead, the founding pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Nashville, Tennessee. A 1775 graduate of Princeton College, Craighead was one of the founders of Davidson Academy, which later became Nashville University, and was the Academy's first president, holding the position from 1785 to 1806. Andrew Jackson was his close personal friend and served on his Board of Trustees. Having succeeded at Davidson Academy, Thomas B. Craighead served as president of Cumberland College from 1806 to 1809. He served as pastor of a Shiloh Kentucky congregation from 1805 to 1808. During the fifteen years at his Nashville church, Craighead was known to speak of the elect, the preordained and the predestined, but never of spiritual repentance or new birth. He was a bystander to the Kentucky Revival of 1800.²²⁵ He has been called the founder of Presbyterianism in Nashville, Tennessee.

Rachel's brother, Robert Craighead, born June 27, 1751, became one of the first settlers of Knoxville, Tennessee, and built the first jail there. There is a Craighead-Jackson house in Knoxville and there was a "Craighead Cavern" now known as the "Lost Sea" tourist attraction near Knoxville. Robert served in the American Revolution under General Sumpter.

Rachel's sister, Agnes Craighead, was born circa 1740 and died in 1831. She married John Alexander (1733-1814). The Battle of Gettysburg was fought on John's former farm. John's parents were Francis Alexander (1693-1760), son of Joseph Alexander and Abigail McKnitt, and Martha Blair, daughter of Samuel Blair and Martha C. Lyle. Samuel Blair was a high-ranking Presbyterian minister, who had accused Rachel's father, Alexander Craighead, of "irregularities before his Presbytery" in 1740.

²²³ Note that the Buffalo Presbyterian Church library in Greensboro, North Carolina, has information on David and Rachel Caldwell, as does the Greensboro Historical Museum. The Greensboro Public Library has in its North Carolina Collection a book titled "History of Rachel Caldwell Chapter, National Society of Daughters of American Revolution." It also has the pedigree charts of the Guilford County Genealogical Society.

²²⁴ James Geddes Craighead, *Scotch and Irish Seeds in American Soil* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Education, 1878).

²²⁵ E. H. Gillet, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, 2 vols., (Philadelphia: n.p., 1864), 158.

Rachel's sister, Nancy Craighead, born March 17, 1740 in Octorara, Pennsylvania, married Rev. William Richardson (1729-1771) in 1759 and George Dunlap (1736-1796) in 1772. Nancy died on November 9, 1790.

Rachel's father, Alexander Craighead, has been the subject of numerous biographies and history books covering Colonial America history; a number of websites also contain information about Craighead.²²⁶ Although a child of Rev. Thomas Craighead, Alexander was described by Thomas Hugh Spence as "a son of thunder," a preacher spiritually descended from Elijah, John the Baptist, and John Knox.²²⁷

Alexander Craighead emigrated as a child from Donegal, Ireland, arriving in Boston during the first week of October, 1714 (some say 1715), with his parents on the ship *Thomas & Jane*, of which William Wilson was Master. He served as the pastor of a Presbyterian church located at Rocky River in the eastern region of what was then Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, between 1758 and 1766. He also served at Sugar Creek, Charlotte, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, where he died and is buried at Sugaw Creek Presbyterian Church Cemetery No. 1 (Elmwood Cemetery). That cemetery is located on West Craighead Road, Charlotte, North Carolina. Although current references state that Sugar Creek Presbyterian Church is the oldest church in Mecklenburg County, Rev. Foote gave that honor to Rocky River Presbyterian Church; Foote overlooks the fact that Mecklenburg County had been subsequently subdivided. Mecklenburg County lies south of and adjacent to Rowan County and west of Cabarrus County, in which Rocky River is presently located.

In 1740, Rev. Samuel Blair, a famed pulpit orator from Londonderry Township in Chester County, accused Alexander Craighead of irregularities before his Presbytery of Donegal, but not any offence of moral turpitude; the Philadelphia Synod heard his case in 1741. Blair complained of Alexander Craighead's admiration for the teachings of Whitefield and preaching to a New London congregation contrary to the wishes of a neighboring pastor. During his trial Alexander exchanged epithets with his accusers. He renounced the authority of the Presbytery, resigned, and preached in Octorara, Pennsylvania.²²⁸ In January 1742, he led his congregation in a revival of the old Scottish Covenants. Both the National Covenant of 1580-81 and the Solemn League and Covenant of the days of the Westminster Assembly were distributed and read.

In 1743, Alexander Craighead presented a sermon that was a precursor to the Declaration of Independence.²²⁹ This sermon gave rise to a complaint to his Synod that it was full of treason, sedition, distraction and grievous perverting of the sacred oracles. Although the Synod criticized Alexander, he continued to malign the King. Alexander eventually elected to move to Virginia and served as the pastor for the Windy Cove Presbyterian congregation, Bath County, Virginia, which church celebrated its 250th anniversary in 1999. Anglicism was the official faith of

²²⁶ See Foote, *Sketches*; Thomas Hugh Spence, *The Presbyterian Congregation on Rocky River* (Charlotte: n.p., 1954); Neill Roderick McGeachy, *A History of Sugaw Creek Presbyterian Church* (Charlotte: Sugaw Creek Presbyterian Church, 1954).

²²⁷ Spence, *Presbyterian Congregation*, 7.

²²⁸ J. S. Futhy, *History of Upper Octorara Church* (Philadelphia: n.p., 1870).

²²⁹ Alexander Craighead, "Renewal of the Covenants, National and Solemn League; A Confession of Sins; An Engagement to Duties; and a Testimony; As They Were Carried on at Middle Octorara in Pennsylvania, November 11, 1743" (Philadelphia: n.p., 2nd ed., 1748, 1743), (Cerlox Bound Photocopy Series. Edmonton, AB, Canada: Still Waters Revival Books).

Virginia. Alexander was forbidden to celebrate Communion with his congregation, and an Anglican priest had to repeat his marriage ceremonies to be valid.

After the defeat of Gen. Braddock in July 1755 during the French and Indian War, the frontier was thrown to the mercy of the Indians, who were instigated to murder and plunder by the French. Since such "terror reigned throughout the valley," he moved to North Carolina, taking many members of the Windy Cove congregation with him. Eventually, Indians burned the Windy Cove church down to the ground. It was rebuilt in 1766.

Alexander Craighead was installed in 1758 as the pastor of Rocky River Presbyterian congregation and Sugar Creek congregation, later renamed Sugaw. Almost all of the Rocky River settlers were Scotch-Irish New Side Presbyterians. An appreciable number had emigrated from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. As his congregation became increasingly displeased with the uncompromising and uncomprehending British government, he became an inspiring and fiery spokesman of the people of Mecklenburg County and their protests.

Neill Roderick McGeachy stated, "Sugaw Creek Congregation loved [Alexander] Craighead . . . Time and talent both fail as we try to assess the worth and contribution of this man whose life and work set the mold for Sugaw Creek Church and whose family and descendants have extended his influence through a large part of the Southland and its institutions."²³⁰ Ethel Stephens Arnett asserted that Alexander Craighead has been cited by a number of writers as one of the foremost leaders for American Independence in North Carolina.²³¹ Rev. A. W. Miller, D.D., in a centennial discourse given May 20, 1875, in Charlotte, stated that Alexander Craighead found in North Carolina what he had been denied in Pennsylvania and Virginia -- sympathy with the patriotic views he had been publicly proclaiming since 1741.

Alexander Craighead was the son of Thomas Craighead (1669-1739). Thomas Craighead was educated as a physician in Scotland. After practicing medicine for some time, he abandoned the practice, studied divinity, and was a pastor for several years in Ireland, principally at Donegal. He immigrated to New England in 1715. He served as pastor at several churches before accepting a position as pastor of the Church at Pequea, Lancaster County, in 1733, and in 1736, at Hopewell, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania. He persuaded thousands of his countrymen and sympathizers to come to Pennsylvania.²³²

Thomas Craighead was the son of Rev. Robert Caldwell (ca.1630-1711). Rev. Robert Craighead, a Scot, went to Ireland as early as 1657 or 1658, and was pastor first at Donoughmore, where he labored for thirty years, and then at Londonderry, when the gates of the city were closed against the Papal forces of James II, whose purpose was to massacre the Protestants. He escaped during the second day of the siege and made his way to Glasgow, Scotland. He then returned to Ireland and died in Londonderry, in 1711. Thomas Craighead was the author of several volumes on practical religion and on the controversy with the prelates of Ireland.²³³

²³⁰ McGeachy, *History of Sugaw*.

²³¹ Arnett, *David Caldwell*, 12.

²³² Craighead, *Craighead Family*, 35-37.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 35, 83.

As the middle born, Rachel may have become the family mediator, an experience that could help nurture her marriage. She would have learned how to get along and share. Rachel's mother, Agnes Brown Craighead, was the second wife of Rev. Alexander Craighead. The first two daughters of Rev. Alexander Craighead were by the pastor's first wife.

The vast majority of David's male children and grandchildren willingly chose the road that he traveled, either as a farmer, minister, educator, or physician. With large families, they would have likely been disinclined to become lawyers, a profession that would require them to be away from home for weeks, while riding the Circuit.

Political Activism

Rev. McAden likely recognized that, from the beginning, Rev. Caldwell had already become a person to whom others turned with respect to redressing grievances held by the backcountry farmers against the colonial government.

David Caldwell's biographer, Rev. Eli W. Caruthers, placed a benign spin on Caldwell's early years attending to the Buffalo and Alamance congregations stated, "When once installed and permanently settled his object seems to have been to adapt himself to the circumstances and wants of his community to which his lot was cast; and to pursue such course as would, in the end, be most for their improvement and welfare."²³⁴

In actuality Rev. David Caldwell began to water the seeds of organized political dissent planted by his father-in-law, Rev. Alexander Craighead, upon his first arrival as a missionary to this region in 1765.

Shortly before his marriage to Rachel Craighead in 1766, David Caldwell lived with her father, Rev. Alexander Craighead, in Sugar Creek, North Carolina (now called Sugaw Creek), in present day Carrabus County, until establishing his Log College in Greensboro. By 1766, almost Rev. Craighead's entire congregation had become members of the Regulators. By April of 1768, two-thirds of Rev. David Caldwell's congregations at Buffalo and Alamance were members of the Regulators. Rev. Caldwell's arrival in North Carolina in 1765 would have been contemporaneous with the uproar created by Parliament's recent imposition of the Stamp Act.²³⁵

In North Carolina the Assembly rebuked the Governor for not convening the Assembly to elect delegates to meet in a congress in New York to consider petitioning the King for repeal of the Stamp Act.²³⁶ In a message to Governor Dobbs, on October 31, 1764, the Assembly expressed its objection to the "new Taxes and Impositions laid on us without our Privity and Consent, and against what we esteem our Inherent right, and Exclusive privilege of Imposing our own Taxes."²³⁷ Mobs gathered to force the Collector of Customs to clear ships despite

²³⁴ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 29.

²³⁵ Donna J. Spindel, "Law and Disorder: The North Carolina Stamp Act Crisis," *North Carolina Historical Review* 57 (April 1980): 1-16.

²³⁶ Morgan and Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*, 108.

²³⁷ *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* Vol. 1, ed. William L. Saunders (Raleigh: 1886-1890), 1261, cited in Morgan and Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*, 39.

nonpayment of taxes. The Governor wrote that the merchants of the colony were "as assiduous in obstructing the reception of the Stamps [as] any of the Inhabitants."²³⁸

In these endeavors, the Rev. Caldwell may have cooperated closely with Quakers, some of whom might have migrated to the Greensboro area from Lancaster County, Colonial Pennsylvania. The established Anglican Church in Virginia had forbidden their residence in that colony. Pennsylvania and the Carolinas were among the few colonies that not merely tolerated but encouraged immigration of nonconformists, such as Presbyterians and Quakers, to fill up the backcountry. The Quakers valued peaceable assembly and petitions to government officials seeking redresses of grievances, resorting to violent protest only as a last resort. The Scotch-Irish tended to be more prone to fight. Regulator leader James Hunter quit Rev. Caldwell's congregation because he disagreed with what he perceived as Rev. Caldwell's naiveté in hoping that the British government would ever reform when its self-interests were at stake.

In 1768, the same year that Rev. David Caldwell became the minister of the Buffalo and Alamance congregations, Philadelphia physician Benjamin Rush persuaded Rev. John Witherspoon, then a minister at Beith, Scotland, to become President of the College of New Jersey at Princeton. Rush had met Witherspoon while Rush attended medical school at the University of Edinburgh. Using a letter of Benjamin Franklin, Rush convinced Witherspoon that his services would be appreciated. Rev. Witherspoon had gained fame in Scotland for lampooning moderates who had labeled the Westminster Confession as outdated.

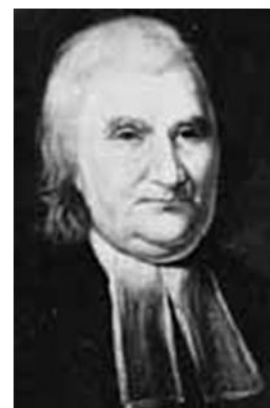


Figure 3. George Witherspoon

Rev. Witherspoon became one of the foremost minister-educators advocating political activism in America. Among his pupils were James Madison, fourth U.S. President, ten cabinet officers, sixty congressmen and senators, and over one hundred future Presbyterian ministers. He trained his pupils and encouraged Presbyterian ministers to persuade their congregations to oppose British dominion of the American colonies. During the Revolutionary War, the British militia destroyed much of the College and its library, consuming whatever correspondence might have been sent between Rev. Witherspoon and Rev. Caldwell. Historian Robert Calhoon is of the view that Rev. Witherspoon had a profound influence upon Rev. Caldwell, shifting him from political moderate ideas, positioned between Lockean ideals of the social compact and pragmatism, towards a more radical and rebellious ministry.²³⁹ But unlike Witherspoon, Rev. Caldwell never was a Federalist. Caruthers's biography barely mentions Rev. Witherspoon.

Rev. Witherspoon was the only minister to sign the U.S. Declaration of Independence. At that opportune moment, he urged the Continental Congress, with these words, to consider the

²³⁸ *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* Vol. VII, ed. William L. Saunders (Raleigh: 1886-1890), 1261, cited in Morgan and Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*, 189.

²³⁹ Robert M. Calhoon, "Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and Political Moderation," *Journal of Scotch-Irish Studies* (2002).

strategic importance of the crucial decision before them: whether to sign the Declaration of Independence that morning of July 4, 1776, or not:

To hesitate is to consent to our own slavery. That noble instrument upon your table . . . should be subscribed this very morning by every pen in this house . . . For my own part, of property I have some, of reputation more. That reputation is staked, that property is pledged, on the issue of this contest; and although these gray hairs must soon descend into the sepulcher, I would infinitely rather that they descend thither by the hand of the executioner than desert at this crisis the sacred cause of my country.²⁴⁰

In place of British rule, Rev. Witherspoon called for a confederacy of states to preserve the union. He exhorted his fellow patriots to imitate the cantonal autonomy of the Swiss confederacy. Rev. Caldwell espoused similar ideas at the North Carolina convention debating whether or not to ratify the U.S. Constitution.

Like Rev. John Witherspoon, David Caldwell was renowned for his sense of good humor and knack for getting along with people of diverse creeds, convictions and communities. This may in part be due to an upbringing in Lancaster County at the time that it became one of the leading cosmopolitan centers in colonial America, with rapid influx of settlers of distinct creeds, faiths, nationalities, and languages, sharing common hopes and circumstances. Indian attacks had compelled them to set aside differences and forge communal ties in their defense. Both men possessed a rich supply of anecdote, both amusing and instructive.

The personal characteristics that had endeared Rev. Witherspoon to others were also found in David Caldwell. Both men were “affectionate husbands, tender parents, kind masters, and a sincere friend.”²⁴¹

Princeton Education

David Caldwell was among the best educated and best read individuals in the colony of North Carolina.

After a 3R’s English education, David Caldwell served an apprenticeship to a house-carpenter until age 21 and subsequently was self-employed as a carpenter until age 25, when he decided to become a Presbyterian minister. He attended Rev. Robert Smith’s classical school in Lancaster County, and the Log College founded by William Tennent Sr. at Neshaminy, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, before attending the College of New Jersey at Princeton, New Jersey. Robert Smith had been converted at age 15 by George Whitefield and espoused New Side beliefs. For more than two decades William Tennent Sr. drilled students in the ancient languages of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, the classics (e.g., Caesar’s *Commentaries* and Virgil’s *Aeneid*), John Knox’s *Westminster Confession of Faith*, and the Bible (as John Knox had encouraged

²⁴⁰ Leroy J. Halsey, *Scotland’s Influence on Civilization* (Philadelphia: The Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1885), 228.

²⁴¹ See Gordon L. Tait, *The Piety of John Witherspoon: Pew, Pulpit, and Public Forum* (Louisville: Geneva Press, 2001), 5, online at Colonialhall.com.

clergy to do). He trained pupils with evangelical zeal not only to become ministers of the gospel as envisioned by the Great Awakening teachings of George Whitefield (1714-1770), but also to become the next generation of educators to pass on Presbyterian revivalist theology and methodology. As said by Rev. Richard Webster, Tennent possessed “a rare gift of attracting to him youth of worth and genius, imbuing them with his healthful spirit, and sending them forth, sound in the faith, blameless in life, burning with zeal, and unsurpassed as instructive and successful preachers.” In Rev. Caruthers's biography, Rev. Caruthers mentions that Rev. Caldwell had all of these qualities.

William Tennent Sr. and other leaders of the Log College at Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, had been expelled from the New Brunswick Synod in 1741. This Synod adhered to the “Old Side” theological orthodoxy, rooted in the stricter Presbyterianism of Scotland and favored by more recent immigrants who arrived directly from Scotland and North Ireland. Tennent joined the Synod of New York, formed in 1744. The New York Synod favored a “New Side” form of Presbyterianism.

David Caldwell graduated from the College of New Jersey (renamed Princeton University in 1896) in 1761, at age 36, the year in which the college's President Samuel Davies died. David Caldwell was one of the pallbearers. Samuel Davies has been called the father of Southern Presbyterianism and leader of the Great Awakening among the Presbyterians in Virginia.²⁴² Subsequently David Caldwell maintained a correspondence with fellow students at least up through the Revolutionary War, many of whom became historically prominent, particularly his friend, Benjamin Rush.

After graduating, David Caldwell was engaged as a teacher for a year at Cape May and briefly at a few other places. He then returned to Princeton and acted as assistant teacher in the college, in the Department of Languages. It was during the period of 1761-1765 that commencements at the College of New Jersey became politically focused and critical of the British Parliament. While the 1640 Civil War of England had established the supremacy of parliament, the academics at the College of New Jersey were raising concerns about the consent of the governed. Taxation without consent was criticized as a threat to property.

Rev. Caruthers noted that, as part of his examination for the ministry, David Caldwell was required to lecture on the 87th Psalm.²⁴³ No document provides any evidence about what David Caldwell said. I can only speculate. In the King James Version, the word “dancers” had been substituted for “players of instruments,” reflecting a then prevailing view at the beginning of the 17th century (when the King James Version was first published) that musical instruments should not be played in church and that only singing would be permitted. Instruments had been used in the early Church history but had been criticized by Thomas Aquinas as being too Judaic and not appropriately Christian. By the 18th century, many Presbyterians had adopted the view that no one but the apostles were authorized to interpret the Psalms. In the absence of any criticism expressed by them of musical instruments, many Presbyterians favored reinstating the original words, “singers and players of instruments,” for church gatherings. This receptivity

²⁴² See Samuel Davies, *Sermons on Important Subjects*, ed. Albert Barnes (New York: Robert Carter, 1845); Samuel Davies, *The Reverend Samuel Davies Abroad: The Diary of a Journal to England and Scotland* (n.p.:1753-55).

²⁴³ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 21.

likely contributed to the popularization of Negro spirituals and church hymns accompanied by piano.

As part of his examination on September 2, 1762, David Caldwell was also asked to give an exegesis on the meaning of 1 Peter 1.15: "In your hearts set apart Christ as Lord and holy."²⁴⁴ Likely David would have said this verse means that a deep commitment must be made: Christ must be honored, revered, and obeyed, and never profaned. This verse is similar to Isaiah 8:12-13 v.15: "Set apart the Lord himself, and fear him."

Rev. Caruthers reports that on May 10, 1763, David Caldwell was asked to give a sermon on the meaning "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature." (2 Cor. v 17)²⁴⁵ While Caruthers does not report what David Caldwell said, it likely would parallel what David later said in one of the sermons related to Rev. Robert Archibald. The prevailing teaching among New Side Presbyterian preachers of the 18th century was that this verse meant that one does not receive Christ's redemption simply by outward profession of accepting Christ, but must undergo a genuine conversion and inward change, "a true and lively faith." Mere baptism with water would not suffice. This particular verse was the principal subject of sermon No. 49 of Rev. George Whitefield. Whitefield recognized that this notion of conversion (being "born again") was not as readily accepted as orthodox statements, such as there is only one God, and that ministers had to convince their congregation of the need for this conversion. Rachel Caldwell had Rev. Caruthers touch upon this theme in his sermon at David's funeral.

Rev. David Caldwell was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, June 8, 1763.

In 1794, Rev. Caldwell gave a sermon titled "Universal Salvation Unscriptural," appended to Rev. Caruthers's biography of Rev. Caldwell. The intent of that sermon was to defend the decision of the Orange Presbytery to defrock the Rev. Robert Archibald, minister of the Rocky River church. Rev. Archibald advocated the belief that all could be redeemed through God's grace, even those of unrepented pride, not solely those whose lives, piety, and testimony confirmed their conversion.²⁴⁶ Rev. Caldwell spoke to Archibald's former parishioners:

We would fondly appeal to this large and attentive congregation whether they will risk their everlasting welfare on . . . the scheme of universal salvation . . . or whether they will embrace the present salvation which is offered to them and in doing which they will run no risk. . . . If sin is evil, you need to be delivered from it now; if holiness is necessary at any point in your existence, it is necessary now; if the hopes and consolations of the gospel are ever desirable, they are desirable now.²⁴⁷

Rev. Caruthers sets forth an anecdote relating to Rev. Archibald's embracing and propagating the notion that future punishment after death would not be eternal, but only of limited duration:

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Spence, *Presbyterian Congregation*, 27-28; Calhoun, "Scotch-Irish Presbyterians."

²⁴⁷ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 285.

In one of his rambles . . . he met with a shrewd old Irish lady, between whom and himself some dialogue as the following is said to have taken place: Lady — ‘I’m tauld, sir, you preach that a’ men will be saved. Is that your opinion?’ Mr. A. — ‘Yes, I think that, after enduring some punishment, all will at last be saved.’ Lady — ‘D’ye you think that some will gae to hell, and stay there for a while, and then come oot again?’ Mr. A. — ‘Yes: that is my opinion.’ Lady — ‘And d’ye expect to gae there yourself?’ Mr. A. — ‘Yes: I expect to go there, for a time.’ Lady — ‘Ah man! Ye talk strangely: ye’re a guid man, and a minister. I wad think ye couldna gae there. But what will you gae there for?’ Mr. A. — ‘I expect to go there for preaching against the truth.’ Lady — ‘Ah man! That’s an unco’ bad case. And hoo lang d’ye expect to stay there?’ Mr. A. — ‘Just as long as I preached against the truth.’ Lady — ‘And hoo lang was that?’ Mr. A. — ‘About fifteen years.’ Lady — ‘Ye’s be a pretty singed deevil, to come oot, after being in sae lang!’²⁴⁸

Rev. David Caldwell’s son, Rev. Alexander Caldwell, replaced Robert Archibald at the time of his ordination on October 3, 1792. Dr. Foote described him as of “superior endowments . . . portly gait, engaging manners, and eminent Christian character.”²⁴⁹ Unfortunately, Rev. Alexander Caldwell suffered a mental breakdown and was relieved of his duties in 1797.²⁵⁰

The fact that David Caldwell’s early education was by Presbyterian clergy with college degrees reflects the importance that early American Presbyterianism placed on providing a clergy-taught education so that pupils would, in their view, know the grace of God as well as God’s work of creation and providence. This was in keeping with the philosophy of Calvin and Knox that men had to be converted from their natural sinful predisposition and from a belief that college-educated clergy were the best men for that task.²⁵¹

The emphasis upon education and evangelism gave Presbyterian New Side clergy an advantage as propagandists, enabling the pastors to walk among and address their congregation as a shepherd among his flock, guiding and inspiring them. A disproportionate number of U.S. Presidents have been Presbyterians.

After spending some time as a missionary in North Carolina, David Caldwell was ordained at Trenton, New Jersey, July 6, 1765 and assigned to the New Hanover Presbytery of Virginia, which had jurisdiction over the territory of North Carolina. He served as a missionary to North Carolina for one year, beginning in 1765.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Foote, *Sketches*, 481.

²⁵⁰ Spence, *Presbyterian Congregation*, 31.

²⁵¹ See Douglas Sloan, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the American College Ideal* (New York: New York Teachers College Press, 1971); Elwyn Allen Smith, *The Presbyterian Ministry in American Culture: A Study in Changing Concepts, 1700-1900* (The Westminster Press, 1962).

Family History Regarding Disputed Portrait of Rev. David Caldwell

In 1953 and again in the mid-1960s, my great-aunt Caroline Caldwell, born in the 1880s, accompanied in 1953 by my aunt, Minna Caldwell Harrison, then residing in Charlotte, took me to Greensboro and showed me the above portrait at the Alamance or Buffalo Presbyterian Church – I do not recall which church. When I returned in the mid 1960s, my great-aunt Caroline explained that the portrait had been painted after Rev. David Caldwell's death, using one of Caldwell's sons, Dr. David Caldwell, as a model. My great-aunt Caroline told me the portrait was altered based on description to match more closely Rev. Caldwell's appearance. While I gave this family history some evidentiary weight, the story lacks corroboration – such as contemporary publicity or a last will and testament identifying the portrait as that of Rev. Caldwell. I see in this portrait a close enough resemblance to myself, my father, and especially to a photograph of my paternal grandfather to convince me of its genuineness as a fair resemblance to Rev. David Caldwell. The portrait has David Caldwell dressed in the apparel typical of a Southern gentleman of the nineteenth century. The clean-shaven face provides a clue as to when the portrait was painted. In the Minutes of Orange Presbytery, 1830, p. 45, mention is made that shaving, a common practice after the Revolution, had come under the ban of the Presbyterian churches. The Orange Presbytery instructed the church sessions under its care “to institute an inquiry as to the practices of the communicants . . . on this subject, proceed to such measures, as Christian prudence may dictate, to correct this evil.” Another way to date the painting is to examine the portraits of other individuals painted in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, such as Archibald Murphey.²⁵²

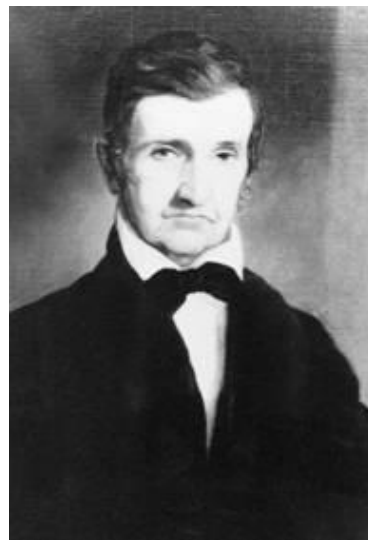


Figure 4. Portrait of Rev. David Caldwell's son, David Caldwell, MD

The high cheekbones and lean and sinewy facial characteristics resemble those seen in portraits of Scotch-Irish John Caldwell Calhoun and Andrew Jackson and stand in marked contrast to the portraits of David Caldwell's adversary, plump and powdered British Lt. General, Lord Charles Cornwallis.

The portrait shows the subject wearing a cotton shirt. This may have been Sea Island cotton that grew wild in and was cultivated in North Carolina. The cotton shirt symbolizes the transformation of David Caldwell from a buckskin frontiersman. In the 1760s James Hargreaves and Richard Arkwright had developed a spinning machine that greatly reduced the labor required to turn cotton hairs into thread. In 1765 only one half million pounds of cotton was spun in England; however, by 1784 sixteen million pounds were produced annually. In 1794 Eli Whitney patented his invention of a mechanical gin for separating the cotton hairs from seed. What before would require a laborer a day to gin a pound of cotton could be processed fiftyfold. These two inventions heralded the industrial revolution. Ironically, these labor-saving devices greatly

²⁵² See *The Papers of Archibald Murphey*, ed. William Henry Hoyt, vol. 2 (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1914) and online.

increased the demand for labor as cotton fabric became affordable and contributed to the ante-bellum plantation slave economy of the Deep South.

Orange Presbytery

Orange Presbytery was established at Buffalo in March 1770 to serve as a general body organized for the entire state. The founding members were David Caldwell, Hugh McAden, Henry Patillo, James Cridswell, Hezekiah Balch, Hezekiah James Balch, and Joseph Alexander. Eastern Tennessee was within its bounds and even South Carolina was originally included. The early records of the Orange Presbytery, predating November 18, 1795, were consumed in a fire on January 1, 1827. A single volume, containing the minutes of proceedings for 1795-1812, was saved.²⁵³

In the Minutes of Orange Presbytery for 1861, a record is made of David Caldwell's grandson, Rev. Cyrus K. Caldwell, voting in favor of the establishment of an independent Presbyterian Church in the southern states that had withdrawn from the union. Rev. Caruthers and numerous other ministers abstained.

Principled Patriot

In the pew, pulpit, and public forum, Rev. David Caldwell is closely linked to the shedding of the first American blood by the British. Considerable sectional hostility arose between western small farmers and the coastal planters of North Carolina as a greater percentage of newcomers settled in the western counties. In 1750 only one-third of the population of the Province lived in the western counties. By 1770, almost two-thirds resided there, many of them squatters without legal title to their homes and farms, who were regarded as social inferiors by the eastern planters.

Through malapportionment of the assembly, the coastal counties held onto political dominance. The eastern planters viewed the western settlers "as sheep to be shorn by colonial officials."²⁵⁴ The western settlers complained of excessive taxes, abusive courts, patronage, inefficient and dishonest local government in Orange, Granville, Halifax and Anson counties and grew discouraged over failure to resolve matters by peaceful means. This included what is now Guilford County, formed in 1771 from part of Orange and Rowan counties. Long before the Revolutionary War, North Carolina colonials were protesting "taxation without representation."²⁵⁵ They also complained that the royal governors and officials were spending public revenues that appeared to the westerners unnecessary luxuries that only the easterners could enjoy. Petitions expressing their grievances were largely ignored.²⁵⁶

²⁵³ Vass, *History of Presbyterian*, i.

²⁵⁴ William R. Polk, *Polk's Folly* (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 109.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 110.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 111.

In 1759 a group of armed men seized a government collector and forced him to refund what he had taken illegally. Other groups began terrorizing officials. Governor Arthur Dobbs had the leaders jailed, but a mob set them free. Dobbs reported to his superiors in London that he discerned “a republican spirit of independence rising in the Colony.”²⁵⁷ In 1767 Gov. Tryon expressed the opinion that “the sheriffs have embezzled more than one-half of the public money ordered to be raised and collected by them.”

The very month of Rev. Caldwell's installation, farmers convened meetings to protest the news that a huge amount of tax money — enough to buy 100,000 acres — had just been appropriated to build a palace for Governor Tryon. Paintings show the palace as truly grandiose. Carriages would approach by passing through an iron-gate and travel circumferentially around a landscaped area as large as a football field to reach the main entrance of a three-story mansion, comparable in size to San Francisco's City Hall, a magnet today for tourists struck by its grandness. The settlers were further distressed by official Edmund Fanning's denial of their right as English subjects to know how their tax money was being spent. The farmers avowed not to pay any future taxes.

The Regulator Association, with substantial Scotch-Irish participation, was formally organized in March 1768, arming itself with Bibles, bullets, beans and bandannas. The Regulators differed from vigilantes in that the focus of their attention was not common criminals but corrupt officials; the Regulators interfered with court proceedings and threatened those who administered the law.

On April 8, 1768, one of the Regulators on route to Hillsborough had his mare seized for collection of back taxes. Some 100 Regulators overtook the sheriff and took back the mare. County official Edmund Fanning characterized these farmers as “rebels, insurgents, &c, to be shot, hang'd, &c, as Mad Dogs & c.” Governor Tryon ordered them to quit using “the borrowed Title of Regulators, assuming to themselves Powers and Authorities unknown to the Constitution.”

This Regulator Movement led to riots at Granville in 1769. Judge Richard Henderson described the events of September 24, 1770 at Hillsborough:

Early in the morning the town filled with a great number of these people, shouting, hallooing and making a considerable tumult in the streets. After eleven o'clock the Court was opened, and immediately the house filled as close as one man could stand by another, some with clubs, others with whips and switches, few or none without some weapon. When the house became so crowded that no more could well get in, one of them (whose name I think is Fields) came forward and told me he had something to say before I proceeded to business. Upon my informing Fields that he might speak on, he proceeded to let me know that he spoke for the whole body of people called Regulators. That they understood that I would not try their causes, and their determination was to have them tried, for

²⁵⁷ Arthur Dobbs, “Report of Governor Arthur Dobbs to Board of Trade, December 1761,” in *North Carolina History Told By Contemporaries*, ed. Hugh Talmage Lefler (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 76. [possible source of quote; author uncertain]

they had come down to see justice done and justice they would have, and if I would proceed to try these causes it might prevent some mischief.

After spending upwards of half an hour in this disagreeable situation the mob cried out, 'Retire, retire, and let the court go on.' Upon which most of the Regulators went out and seemed to be in consultation in a party by themselves. In a few minutes Mr. Williams, an attorney of that court, was coming in and had advanced near the door when they fell on him in a most furious manner with clubs and sticks of enormous size, and it was with great difficulty he saved his life by taking shelter in a neighboring Store house.

Mr. Fanning was next the object of their fury, him. [T]hey seized and . . . dragged by the heels out of doors, while others engaged in dealing out blows with such violence that I made no doubt his life would instantly become a sacrifice to their rage and madness. However Mr. Fanning by a manly exertion miraculously broke holt and fortunately jumped into a door that saved him from immediate dissolution. During the uproar several of them told me with oaths of great bitterness that my turn should be next.

Messrs. Thomas Hart, Alexander Martin, Michael Holt, John Litterell (Clerk of the Crown) and many others were severely whipped. Col. Gray, Major Lloyd, Mr. Francis Nash, John Cooke, Tyree Harris and sundry others persons timorously made their escape.

In about four or five hours their rage seemed to subside a little and they permitted me to adjourn court and conducted me with great parade to my lodgings. Col. Fanning, whom they made a prisoner of war in the evening, was permitted to return to his own house on his word of honour to surrender himself by the next day. At about ten o'clock that evening, I took an opportunity of making my escape by a back way.

Next morning when Judge Henderson's escape was discovered, Fanning was again whipped by the mob. Surging on to the despicable clerk's home, they burst in the door, hacked the furniture to pieces, carried Fanning's clothing and papers into the street and burned them, and proceeded to the wine cellar, where they poured out all of the stock they could not drink. That afternoon they wrecked several other hordes in Hillsborough, including the house of Isaac Edwards, the Governor's secretary.²⁵⁸

The "Fields" referenced here was either William Field Jr. or one of his brothers: John, Robert, Jeremiah, or Joseph.²⁵⁹ John Field Pankow writes that their father William Field (c. 1698-1748) had died in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and his widow Jane and her seven children moved to North Carolina after William's death, sometime before 1755.

²⁵⁸ Walter E. Whitaker, *Centennial History of Commerce* (Burlington, N.C.: Burlington Chamber of Commerce, 1949).

²⁵⁹ John Field Pankow, private correspondence, Dec. 20, 2004.

The Field brothers cast their lot with the Regulators, and . . . were among the more outspoken of them. After the Battle of Alamance . . . they were forced to swear an oath of allegiance to the King. William Field Jr. wrote that, when the Revolution began, he felt compelled by honor, because of the oath he had made, to remain loyal, and he wound up as a Colonel in the British army, of all unlikely things.²⁶⁰

A 1769 Regulator petition to the General Assembly noted the chief complaints of the Regulators:

1st Disproportionate taxation;

2nd The lack of a law providing for payment of taxes in produce;

3d That the lawyers, clerks &c., extort exorbitant fees;

4th That a man can be sued out of his district;

5th That all unlawful fees taken from a defendant acquitted (however customary) is an oppression;

6th That the Extortion of Lawyers, clerks and others is an oppression;

7th That the violation of the King's instructions to his delegates, &c., is an oppression...

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As event followed event, the Governor got the Legislature to declare what amounted to martial law in February 1771.

On May 16, 1771, Gov. William Tryon, with 1,400 troops under his command, confronted about 2,000 Regulators. The Regulators had no leader, no artillery, and many were unarmed or lacked ammunition. They were divided as to whether do battle or merely make a show of resistance. “[R]eflecting an aversion to social chaos . . . as strong as his love for order,” Rev. David Caldwell and Alexander Martin (who later became Governor of North Carolina) fruitlessly sought to mediate the hostilities between the two groups but could not prevent the Battle of the Alamance.²⁶² Gov. Tryon opened fire with artillery and ordered in his infantry, set fire to the woods in which wounded remained who were too disabled to flee, defeated the insurgents, and brought an end to the War of Regulation.

²⁶⁰ Personal correspondence from John Field Pankow to author, 2004.

²⁶¹ See Christopher Graham, “Reading the Regulators,” *Journal of Backcountry Studies*, Volume III, Issue 1 (Spring 2008): 1-6. For a fuller account of the attack on Hillsborough, see James J. Broomall, “Making a Considerable Tumult in the Streets: Protest and Place in the North Carolina Regulation,” *Journal of Backcountry Studies*, Volume III, Issue 1 (Spring 2008): 1-19.

²⁶² Robert M. Calhoon, “Religion and the American Revolution in North Carolina,” North Carolina Bicentennial Pamphlet Series: North Carolina in the American Revolution (Raleigh: North Carolina State University Graphics, 1976), viii, 7; see generally, William S. Powell, *The War of the Regulation and the Battle of Alamance, May 16, 1771*, 6th printing, 1976.

Each side in the Battle at Alamance lost the lives of at least nine men on the day of the two-hour skirmish. Rev. Caruthers reports that there were conflicting accounts about the number of casualties.²⁶³ According to the Concise D.A.H., the Regulators suffered 20 casualties; however, a large number of Regulators were wounded — perhaps as many as 150 — and an unknown number died later of infection. The British had at least 61 wounded.²⁶⁴

Gov. Tryon took about fifteen prisoners, hanged a boy, and later executed six other prisoners, under a recent act of the Assembly that converted the offence of riot to treason. Rev. Caldwell traveled forty-six miles to attend the trial of the prisoners — although none belonged to his churches — for the purpose of testifying to the character of each of them as he personally knew, and to be present, as a minister, to intercede on their behalf. Among the six that were executed were Robert Matear and Robert Thompson, both of whom had accompanied David Caldwell in a visit to Gov. Tryon's camp the morning of the battle and were seized by Gov. Tryon and charged with treason. Gov. Tryon was determined to decapitate the Regulator movement. According to Rev. Caruthers, Matear had never committed any overt act and was not a member of the Regulators.

Just before he was hanged from the gallows for treason, in June 1771, James Pugh, a hero of the Battle of Alamance, exclaimed: "The blood that we have shed will be as good seeds sown in good ground — which soon shall reap a hundredfold!" He recapitulated the causes of the late conflict; asserted that the Regulators had neither taken the life of no man previous to the battle nor had they aimed at anything other than a redress of grievances; and charged the governor with having brought an army among them to murder the people instead of taking sides against a set of dishonest Sheriff's clerks and roguish sheriffs and being a friend to the people whom he was appointed to govern. When he said that Col. Edmund Fanning was unfit to hold any office, Fanning had a soldier turn over the barrel on which Pugh was standing and he was hanged.²⁶⁵

After the Battle, three other ministers and Rev. David Caldwell helped mediate a settlement between Gov. Tryon and the opposing Presbyterians. The Regulators failed in their attempt to achieve reform in their local government. Many moved to other regions; those who stayed made an oath of allegiance to the government. They resented the seaboard plantation class who had suppressed them. The battle served as an object lesson for the later outbreak of the Revolutionary War; the colonies recognized that they would need a well trained militia or continental army under the command of an officer, not simply a motley assembly of farmers and congregation members turned soldiers for the day. Rev. Caruthers expressed the opinion that it was fortunate that the British won the Battle of Alamance. "If the regulators had been victorious, it would have brought on the province the whole power of the British government, before the other provinces were prepared to make common cause with it; and in that case, the consequences must have been still more unhappy."

When Gov. Tyron initially refused to pardon those Regulators from the Rocky River congregation who had disguised themselves as Indians by discoloring their faces and who intercepted General Waddell's wagons loaded with ammunition and blew up supplies, the signature of a David Caldwell appears in a petition presented to the Governor. The petition

²⁶³ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 149-150.

²⁶⁴ Powell, *North Carolina*, 146-149.

²⁶⁵ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 165.

began: "That whereas a Certain No of young men, riotously Assembled in a wicked manner" and proceeded to attribute the destruction of the powder, not to a commendable patriotism, but at least partially to an overindulgence in spirituous liquors.²⁶⁶ This was not the distinct signature of Rev. Caldwell but of someone else of the same name affiliated with the Rocky River congregation.

On May 29, 1880, a simple granite monument was placed to mark the site of the Battle of Alamance, six miles southwest of Burlington on N. C. Highway 144. Carved on the monument are these words: "Here was fought the Battle of Alamance May 16, 1771 between the British and the Regulators," and, on the reverse side, the single word, "Liberty." Alamance Battleground State Historic Site (Alamance vicinity) has been a National Registered Historic Site since February 26, 1970.

While some historians have viewed this Battle of Alamance as the first battle of the American Revolution,²⁶⁷ others have observed that it was not a battle for independence, but rather, a protest against oppression of unjust officials and violation of their inherited rights. Among those who signed the Oath of Allegiance after the battle, many fought on the side of the Tories during the later battles of the Revolutionary War.²⁶⁸

After the Battle of Alamance, Tryon was transferred to the Governorship of New York, and he left North Carolina to his and the people's mutual satisfaction. He declared in a dispatch to his Government that "not all the wealth of the Indies could induce him to remain among such a daring and rebellious people. This region is surely not of earth."²⁶⁹ A key difference between Tryon and Rev. Caldwell was that Tryon came to North Carolina because he saw an opportunity to get rich; Rev. Caldwell just saw an opportunity.

Mecklenburg Resolutions and Convention

In August of 1774 North Carolina organized a Provincial Congress to plan resistance against the Crown. When shooting broke out at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts in 1775, North Carolina's last Royal Governor fled and the Provincial Congress took over. The British made no attempt to reoccupy North Carolina for several years. They hoped that the Scot Highlanders who had immigrated to Cape Fear region of North Carolina would side with them, as many did.

Walter Whitaker gives the following excerpted account:

²⁶⁶ *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, Vol. IX, 98-99, cited in Spence, *Rocky River*, 25.

²⁶⁷ See W. E. Fitch, *Some Neglected History of North Carolina Being an Account of the Revolution of the Regulators and of the Battle of Alamance, the First Battle of the American Revolution* (New York: W. E. Fitch, 1914).

²⁶⁸ Walter Whitaker, *Centennial History of Alamance County 1849-1949* (Charlotte: Burlington Chamber of Commerce, 1949).

²⁶⁹ John Hill Wheeler, *Reminiscences and Memoirs of North Carolina and Eminent North Carolinians* (n.p.: Columbus Printing, 1884), 41. See also pages 187 and 278 where Wheeler summarizes what Rev. Caruthers wrote of David Caldwell, D.D.

A lone courier rode into the village of Charlotte in Mecklenburg County on May 19, 1775, bringing news of the Battle of Lexington, which had occurred a month earlier in far-off Massachusetts. Like wildfire the word spread-war! Early the next day a large group of Mecklenburg citizens gathered in the village to discuss this startling but not unexpected report. The majority of them were in sympathy with the New England Patriots, and someone suggested that they let the Continental Congress in Philadelphia know of this feeling. The result was an important set of resolutions that they called the Mecklenburg Declaration, and which stated:

‘That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people; are, and of right ought to be a sovereign and self-governing association, under the control of no power, other than that of our God and the general government of the Congress; to the maintenance of which independence we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual co-operation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor.’

As Alamance had been the birthplace of the Revolution, Mecklenburg thus became the birthplace of Independence. It was not until six weeks later that the Continental Congress signed Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence.

Among those at the Mecklenburg Convention were a few Regulators. The scars of the Battle of Alamance were still fresh in their minds, and when the Declaration was passed to them they did not sign it. They wanted no part in Revolution.²⁷⁰

No record remains indicating whether Rev. David Caldwell attended the 1775 Mecklenburg Convention in which certain North Carolina colonialists declared their severance of all ties to England and proclaimed their independence on May 20, 1775 by stating “Resolved That we the citizens of Mecklenburg County do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us to the mother county and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British Crown. . . .” This was the first such declaration of independence among the American colonies. The minutes of the proceedings of the Mecklenburg Convention were lost when the residence in which they were stored went up in flames. Had they been preserved, they likely would have had as much historical importance as the Federalist Papers. Perhaps the memoirs of others who attended the convention or editions of *The North Carolina Gazette* in New Bern, which printed the Mecklenburg Resolves on June 16, 1775, reveal what contributions David Caldwell made, if any, at the Mecklenburg Convention.

The Mecklenburg Resolves stated that all laws and commissions derived from royal or Parliamentary authority were suspended and that all legislative or executive power henceforth should come from the Provincial Congress of each colony, under the Constitutional Congress. In Article XX, the Resolves directed the purchase of 300 lbs. of powder, 600 lbs. of lead, and 1,000 flints, for the use of the militia of the county.

There were hundreds of local groups about the same time passing resolutions demanding independence throughout the colonies but the Mecklenburg Resolves are the most famous.

²⁷⁰ Whitaker, *Centennial History*, 69.

The members of the Mecklenburg committee immediately sent one of their members, Captain James Jack, to Philadelphia to present the Resolves to North Carolina's delegates to the Continental Congress. At that time the Continental Congress was seeking accommodation from the king and did not want anyone to disrupt this olive branch diplomacy. While published elsewhere, the Resolves were never presented to the delegates of the other colonies in Philadelphia, and word was sent back to North Carolina not to take any immediate action.

When the 3rd North Carolina Provincial Congress met in August 1775 to prepare a plan "for internal peace, order, and safety" and, at the same time, enacted a test to be signed by all members, "professing our Allegiance to the King," the Congress set up simultaneously a Committee of Secrecy to gather and encourage the production of war materiel.²⁷¹

Call for Independence

Rev. Caruthers describes Dr. Caldwell's initial call for independence:

After the difficulties became serious, and especially after the meeting of the continental congress, Dr. Caldwell often preached on the subject of existing difficulties between England and the American colonies; and although he was a great lover of peace, and would make any reasonable sacrifices to maintain it, yet when fundamental principles or important interests were at stake, and he saw any prospect of success, he was decided, firm, and persevering. Hardly a Sabbath passed in which he did not allude to the subject in some way or other; and while he denounced, in the strongest terms, the corruptions and oppressions of the existing government, he exhorted his hearers, with equal energy and zeal, to value their liberties above all else; and to stand up manfully in their defense; but although he preached so much on the subject, and at that period generally wrote his sermons, only one remains, and that is somewhat mutilated.²⁷²

Sometime in early 1776, possibly before the February 27 skirmish at Moores Creek Bridge, which is not mentioned in his sermon, or as late as June 1776, Rev. Caldwell told his congregation:

We have therefore come to that trying period in our history in which it is manifest that the Americans must either stoop under a load of the vilest slavery, or resist their imperious and haughty oppressors . . . our foes are powerful and determined on conquest; but our cause is good; and in the strength of the Lord, who is mightier than all, we shall prevail.²⁷³

This is the "The Character and Doom of the Sluggard" sermon appended to Caruthers's biography of Rev. David Caldwell. Perhaps it would have been better remembered had Rev. Caldwell named it "We Shall Overcome." The sermon argued that scripture supported

²⁷¹ Polk, *Polk's Folly*, 116-117; see generally, George Washington Graham, *The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, May 20, 1775, and Lives of its Signers* (New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1905).

²⁷² Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 183.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 283.

independence; history supported independence; and reason supported independence. Robert Calhoun has noted that the sermon recited classical, British and colonial history as a background of the present crisis; discussed the applicability of Proverbs 12:24 (“the slothful shall be under tribute”); and provided analogies to persuade the congregation to exercise greater vigilance and effort to avoid captivity and ruin. Rev. Caldwell warned them not to expect God’s miracle to rescue them from bondage. Calhoun further pointed out that Rev. Caldwell invoked an oft-quoted Biblical curse favored by Calvinist clergy: “Curse ye bitterly . . . because you did not come to help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty” (Judges 5:23). Calhoun describes it as a “7,000 word Jeremiad detailing the sinfulness of political indifference and the wickedness of cowering before a tyrant.”²⁷⁴ It cannot be determined from the Sluggard Sermon whether Rev. Caldwell was of the view, as was John Locke,²⁷⁵ that, for the majority of people, a rational apprehension of what is right suffices to motivate them to do what is morally right; for those that refuse to be led by reason, most of them may be led to obey and constrained by fear of punishment and anticipation of pleasure. By combining fear of punishment with rational apprehension of what is right, many Protestant clergymen sought to convey to their congregations the idea that self-denial in the cause of liberty, zealotry for the common good, and a refusal to profit personally by the upheaval of the times were Christian duties. Only then might God consider them worthy of His assistance against British tyranny.

Rev. Caldwell made a quick transition from what was in it for his listeners (avoidance of burdensome taxes) to an infinitely more inspiring possibility – how to best serve God. He urged them to be winners, not sinners. Once the listeners contemplated and accepted this goal, Rev. Caldwell hoped that they would be less hesitant and more confident. Rev. Caldwell did not say that the outcome would justify the means, but that the means were morally justified by scripture, tradition, history, reasoning, prudence, experience, and principled patriotism.

On January 10, 1776, Thomas Paine published “Common Sense,” a fifty-page pamphlet that sold more than 100,000 copies — some sources say 500,000 — within a few months. This pamphlet touches upon several of the arguments presented in David Caldwell’s sermon, even citing the Old Testament, but emphasizes mostly the economic advantages of independence. “We are not the little People now, which we were sixty years ago . . . It is repugnant to reason, to the universal order of things, to all examples from the former ages, to suppose that this continent can longer remain subject to any external power.” The plain title gave no hint of the passion, ferocity and invective in the text. He wrote of the British monarchy that “it rested on a rascally original. It certainly had no divinity in it.” His pamphlet “turned hearts less by pragmatic argument than from its pulsing excess.”²⁷⁶ The passionate appeal for patriotism by down-on-his-heels Thomas Paine, who had been a failure in previous business endeavors, may have given rise to Englishman Samuel Johnson’s remark that patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel.

Historian Frank Lambert writes that only ten percent of American political pamphlets and treatises in the late 18th century cited Biblical references in support of independence. He argues that the American Revolution was primarily secular and economic in origin.²⁷⁷ The flaw in

²⁷⁴ Calhoun, “Scotch-Irish Presbyterians.”

²⁷⁵ John Locke, *Essays on Nature*, (n.p.: n.p., 1664), 131.

²⁷⁶ A. J. Langeth, *Patriots: The Men Who Started the American Revolution* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989), 340.

²⁷⁷ Lambert, *Founding Fathers*, 246.

Lambert's argument is that ministers communicated to their congregations chiefly by extemporaneous oral sermons, not writings. Jon Butler finds significant the description of the Revolutionary War as a thoroughly secular event by historians David Ramsay and George Bancroft.²⁷⁸ This view overlooks the need of school boards and teachers to use school texts that avoid any discussion of denominational controversies.

David Caldwell's sermon preceded the famous sermon of John Witherspoon on the congressional Day of Fasting, May 17, 1776, "The Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men," which expounded the same themes of resistance to leaders who forego justice, liberty, common humanity and which proclaimed God's ability to bring good out of the unrestrained excesses of British tyranny.

The "Sluggard Sermon" likely was triggered by a visit of Presbyterian ministers Elihu Spencer and Alexander McWhorter in December 1775 to North Carolina. They had been sent by a committee of the Continental Congress concerned that backcountry Piedmont farmers were disaffected and unsympathetic to the talk of armed rebellion against the British. Spencer and McWhorter were hopeful that Rev. David Caldwell could deliver a sermon that would arouse the sympathies of his congregation to the Patriot's cause. Many of his parishioners were former Regulators, who had sworn an oath of loyalty to the Crown after the Battle of Alamance of 1771.

Historian Calhoun is of the view that David Caldwell was part of an intercolonial movement coordinated by Presbyterian itinerant ministers such as Spencer and McWhorter. Caldwell's ability to inspire his congregation was crucial to North Carolina's willingness to join in signing the Declaration of Independence. Calhoun further believes that the "Sluggard Sermon" was autobiographical. Rev. Caldwell must have painfully recalled the executions of Regulators in May and June 1771. The McWhorter-Spencer intervention rekindled his political activism.²⁷⁹

By analyzing the "Sluggard Sermon," Calhoun advances the opinion that Rev. Caldwell likely had used his Princeton reading notes on English history as sources for his sermon, probably from Paul de Rapin-Thoyras, the Huguenot historian and author of the *History of England* (1725-1731) and the *Dissertation on the . . . Whigs and Tories* (1717). Additionally, Calhoun contends that Rev. Caldwell likely looked at everything he had on the impact of the Coercive Acts on Boston in 1774 and the two Continental Congresses in Philadelphia in September and October 1774, the Declaration of Rights and Grievances issued in October 1774 by the First Continental Congress on the Sugar Act (1764), the Stamp Act (1765), expanded Vice Admiralty Jurisdiction Act (1767), and infringement on trial by jury in the Administration of Justice Act of 1774.²⁸⁰ Calhoun does not provide analysis, citations, or any particulars as the basis for this opinion. Bernard Bailyn discusses the sources and traditions most often cited in the speeches, pamphlets, newspapers, broadsheets, and books of 1775-1776 in favor of the American Revolution and invites consideration of a number of possible sources other than those listed specifically by Calhoun.²⁸¹ Rev. Caldwell's sermon might have been inspired in part by a speech made by James Otis Jr. in 1764 and a pamphlet, "Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and

²⁷⁸ Butler, *Awash*, 195.

²⁷⁹ Calhoun, "Scotch-Irish Presbyterians."

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁸¹ Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967).

Proved,” against the Stamp Act and writs of assistance (search warrants) issued without any judicial finding of probable cause. Otis insisted that no distinction could be made between internal taxes or external taxes; in either case, the Parliament had no authority to levy them. Without American representatives, Parliament had no more right to tax Americans than to make two plus two five. The Massachusetts House of Representatives listened to Otis’s statements again and again and sent a representative to London with a letter expressing the same views. John Adams, then a lawyer and later the second President of the United States, described it in these words:

Otis was a flame of fire. With a promptitude of classical allusions, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glance of his eye into futurity, and a torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away everything before him. American independence was then and there born; the seeds of patriots and heroes were then and there sown, to defend the vigorous youth. Every man of a crowded audience appeared to me to go away, as I did, ready to take arms against writs of assistance. Then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there the child Independence was born.²⁸²

The “Sluggard Sermon” displays all of the character traits that would have made Rev. Caldwell credible as a charismatic leader. Amid the chaos when the primary self-interest was to survive, he transformed the need and values of his followers from self-interest to collective interest. The sermon confirms that Rev. Caldwell was visionary, inspirational and influential; he articulated a vision; focused on distant rather than proximate goals; manifested high expectations of his followers’ performance; and exuded confidence.

Rev. Caruthers described David Caldwell as “judicious, vigilant, firm, and uncompromising in defense of whatever he regarded as important to the present or future benefit of mankind.”²⁸³ I concur with this assessment, especially in light of the debate between James Iredell and David Caldwell over the proposed U.S. Constitution, discussed hereinafter.

Rev. Caruthers claims widespread support among members of the Buffalo and Alamance congregations for the patriot cause, although some historians surmise that church attendance must have dropped after a bounty was offered for David’s capture. “Although a large proportion of the men of Dr. Caldwell’s congregations were not only Regulators, but took an active part in that conflict (the battle of Alamance, 1771) yet so far as the writer has been able to ascertain, none of them became Tories, nor is it known that there was a single Tory belonging to these congregations during the war.”²⁸⁴ Samuel Meek Rankin has observed that the high number of companies, each comprised of 30 to 40 men, formed under officers from these congregations (Col. John Paisley; Capt. John Donnell, Capt. Daniel Gillespie, Col. John Gillespie, and Capt. Arthur Arbis), substantiate this contention.²⁸⁵

²⁸² Harvey, *Bloody Noses*, 60.

²⁸³ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 201.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 170.

²⁸⁵ Samuel Meek Rankin, *Rankin and Wharton Families and their Genealogies* (Greensboro: Stone, 1931), citing Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 171, 232.

On February 27, 1776, the 4th North Carolina regiment²⁸⁶ — many of which were from David Caldwell's congregations — gained success over Loyalist troops — composed mostly of newly arrived Highlanders — at Moores Creek Bridge.²⁸⁷ Only a few hundred soldiers were involved in this skirmish, but it gained historical significance because it ended the hopes of Loyalist supremacy in North Carolina. The Loyalists were identified and could not return home.²⁸⁸ The Patriots initially had dug trenches parallel to the road approaching the bridge instead of across it. The trenches were situated between the road and the creek, leaving the Patriots no room for a retreat. They then built trenches on the opposite side of the road and waited for the arrival of the Loyalists. When the Loyalists came upon the trenches between the road and creek, they assumed that the Patriots had fled. The Patriots took the Loyalists by surprise.

A Fugitive With a Price on His Head

Although many Presbyterian ministers suffered during the War, Gen. Cornwallis singled out Rev. David Caldwell and offered a £200-reward for his capture. Strong efforts were made to overtake and arrest him when he had fled for his life. The British soldiers plundered his house and burned his library and furniture. All the livestock were killed except one goose. Ramrods were driven into every square foot of ground around the house looking for buried valuables. His wife and eight children were forced by a British commander to confine themselves to a smokehouse for two days. They fed themselves by eating dried peaches that Rachel hid in her clothing. A fighting companion of David Caldwell, Thomas McCuiston, stampeded some cattle across a bridge, at a bend in the road that could not be seen from David Caldwell's house, creating a great deal of noise that frightened the soldiers away from the house. During this time David Caldwell hid in a hut in a swampy area alongside Buffalo Creek about two miles north of his home. To trick Rachel into disclosing his whereabouts, Tories went to her and said that they needed David's services to attend to the wounded. After she told them where he was hiding, she realized that she had been tricked. She prayed all night for his safety. David moved from his hut early the next day and escaped being caught by the British. Many in the community thought that he had been saved by divine intervention.²⁸⁹

Rev. Caldwell's success in eluding capture possibly may have contributed to the selection of this area as the location of the first Underground Railroad depot in 1818 by his Quaker neighbor, Vestal Coffin, for transportation of fugitive slaves north.

Although Rev. Caruthers's biography described the efforts to capture Rev. Caldwell as the "harshes," that is not really the case; his wife and children were unharmed. Many others suffered greater violence.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁶ For a list of Patriot participants, see B. G. Moss, *Roster of the Patriots in the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge* (Blacksburg, S.C.: Scotia-Hibernia Press, 1992).

²⁸⁷ "The Moore's Creek Bridge Campaign, 1776," *North Carolina Historical Review* 30 (January 1953): 23-60.

²⁸⁸ Polk, *Polk's Folly*, 136.

²⁸⁹ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*; Jordan, *Women*, 18.

²⁹⁰ William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, 7 vols. (New York: n.p., 1859).

The war in the south was largely a civil war between Loyalist and Patriot former neighbors, and was characterized by brutality and cruelty on both sides. Massacres such as General Tarleton's British Legions execution of Patriots attempting to surrender at Waxhaw in the Carolinas, and the killing of Loyalist and British prisoners of war by the Patriot Forces after the battle of King's Mountain came to overshadow the conflict. The whole region appears to have been in a state of anarchy, and an Irish officer on the British side observed that the 'violence and passions of these people are beyond every curb of religion and humanity.' He left a graphic account of conditions prevailing in the Carolinas: 'They are unbounded and every hour exhibit dreadful wanton mischiefs, murders and violence of every kind, unheard of before. We find the country in great measure abandoned, and the few who venture to remain at home are in hourly expectation of being murdered, or stripped of all their property.'²⁹¹

Halifax Convention

On April 12, 1776, the 4th North Carolina Provincial Congress, in the first such act by a colony, authorized its Continental Congress delegates to vote for independence. North Carolina became the first of the colonial governments to call for total independence. Among the substantial factors contributing to this outcome is the inspiration provided by David Caldwell.

The 83 delegates at the Halifax Convention unanimously voted to accept the Halifax Resolves, which were recommendations directed to all colonies and their delegates assembled at the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, and which read:

The Select Committee taking into Consideration the usurpations and violences attempted and committed by the King and Parliament of Britain against America, and the further Measures to be taken for frustrating the same, and for the better defense of this province reported as follows, to wit,

It appears to your Committee that pursuant to the Plan concerted by the British Ministry for subjugating America, the King and Parliament of Great Britain have usurped a Power over the Persons and Properties of the People unlimited and uncontrolled and disregarding their humble Petitions for Peace, Liberty and safety, have made divers Legislative Acts, denouncing War Famine and every Species of Calamity daily employed in destroying the People and committing the most horrid devastations on the Country. That Governors in different Colonies have declared Protection to Slaves who should imbrue their Hands in the Blood of their Masters. That the Ships belonging to America are declared prizes of War and many of them have been violently seized and confiscated in consequence of which multitudes of the people have been destroyed or from easy Circumstances reduced to the most Lamentable distress.

²⁹¹ Robert A. McGeachy, "The American War of Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell of Inverneill," 2001, citing Christopher Hibbert, *Redcoats and Rebels* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002).

And whereas the moderation hitherto manifested by the United Colonies and their sincere desire to be reconciled to the mother Country on Constitutional Principles, have procured no mitigation of the aforesaid Wrongs and usurpations and no hopes remain of obtaining redress by those Means alone which have been hitherto tried, Your Committee are of Opinion that the house should enter into the following Resolve, to wit

Resolved that the delegates for this Colony in the Continental Congress be empowered to concur with the other delegates of the other Colonies in declaring Independency, and forming foreign Alliances, resolving to this Colony the Sole, and Exclusive right of forming a Constitution and Laws for this Colony, and of appointing delegates from time to time (under the direction of a general Representation thereof to meet the delegates of the other Colonies for such purposes as shall be hereafter pointed out.²⁹²

Rev. David Caldwell was a member of the convention at Halifax that formed the Constitution of the State of North Carolina, in 1776²⁹³ and took an active interest in the political concerns of the country, “his opinion always carrying with it great weight.”²⁹⁴

Battle at Guilford County Courthouse

In moving to Guilford County, North Carolina, expecting to avoid the Indian attacks of western Pennsylvania and Virginia, Rev. David Caldwell was to find himself ironically at the center of one of the greatest battles of the Revolutionary War, the Battle at the Guilford County Courthouse.²⁹⁵ Lieutenant General Charles Cornwallis’s more than 2,000 British troops had been pursuing American General Nathanael Greene’s ragged 4,400 militia for months and achieved a Pyrrhic victory in March of 1781, when Greene was compelled to withdraw. Cornwallis suffered more than 500 dead and wounded, constituting one-fourth casualties among his own troops. Greene sustained about 300 dead and additional wounded, but the losses did not cripple his ability to continue fighting. The casualties of Cornwallis contributed to his defeat seven months later at Yorktown, Virginia. The Battle of Guilford Courthouse was the clash that turned the tide of the Revolution.

²⁹² The Halifax Resolves is the name later given to a resolution adopted by the Fourth Provincial Congress of the Province of North Carolina on April 12, 1776.

²⁹³ Stephen E. Messingill, *North Carolina Votes on the Constitution: a Roster of Delegates to the State Ratification Conventions of 1788 and 1789* (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1988).

²⁹⁴ John Hill Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina, from 1584 to 1851* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Company, 1851), 181.

²⁹⁵ See John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse: The American Revolution in the Carolinas* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1997); John Hairr, *Guilford Courthouse* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2002); Lawrence E. Babits and Joshua B. Howard, *Long, Obstinate, and Bloody: The Battle of Guilford Courthouse* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

The muskets fired lead slugs that left huge gaping wounds or mangled limbs. Many of the wounded were bayoneted, stripped of their boots and coats, and left naked.²⁹⁶ Charles Stedman wrote of the horrors of the battle:

The night was remarkable for its darkness, accompanied with rain, which fell in torrents. Near fifty of the wounded, it is said, sinking under their aggravated miseries, expired before the morning. The cries of the wounded and dying, who remained on the field of action during the night exceeded all description. Such a complicated scene of horror and distress, it is hoped, for the sake of humanity, rarely occurs, even in a military life.²⁹⁷

While surgeon general at Valley Forge, physician Benjamin Rush had met Nathanael Greene and regarded him as “timid, speculative, without enterprise.”²⁹⁸ British Lt. Col. Cornwallis saw another side of Greene and described him as a formidable and elusive adversary. Greene summed up his own abilities in a letter to French Minister, the Chevalier La Luzerne: “We fight, get beat, rise, and fight again.”²⁹⁹ As stated by Janie B. Cheaney:

If all the generals on both sides of the Revolutionary conflict were piled up and evaluated, Nathanael Greene should probably emerge at the very top for all-around generalship. Benedict Arnold was a better field commander; Sir William Howe may have had him beat for overall strategy; for sheer moral presence and character, nobody tops George Washington. But Greene combined all these qualities with practicality and shrewdness.³⁰⁰

The Guilford Courthouse National Military Park, in the vicinity of Greensboro, has been a National Registered Historic Site since 1966. Located on the grounds is the Allen House, a log dwelling constructed about 1780 that is typical of the dwellings used by the early settlers. A Caldwell monument is erected along historic New Garden Road between the Visitor Center and the Guilford Courthouse.³⁰¹

²⁹⁶ Polk, *Polk's Folly*, 119.

²⁹⁷ Quoted in Thomas E. Baker, *Another Such Victory: The Story of the American Defeat at Guilford County Courthouse That Helped Win the War of Independence* (Fort Washington, Penn.: Eastern National, 1981), 76.

²⁹⁸ Hibbert, *Redcoats and Rebels*, 313; Charles Bracelen Flood, *Rise, And Fight Again: Perilous Times Along the Road to Independence* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1976).

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁰ Janie B. Cheaney, Nathanael Greene, 1998 (online), citing Charles Bracelen Flood, *Rise and Fight Again: Perilous Times Along the Road to Independence* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1976); John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Court House: the American Revolution in the Carolinas* (New York: Wiley, 1997).

³⁰¹ Thomas E. Baker, *The Monuments of Guilford Courthouse National Military Park*.

Hillsboro Convention

Rev. David Caldwell also attended a North Carolina convention that met in a Presbyterian church in Hillsborough beginning on July 21, 1788. Its purpose was to determine, deliberate and take under consideration the ratification of the U.S. Constitution, recommended by the General Convention at Philadelphia, to be adopted 17 September, 1787.³⁰² He was the one of the leaders of the anti-federalist Republican Party that favored the interests of small farmers in the western counties who sought a weak central government and a Bill of Rights to prevent government oppression.³⁰³ The Federalists represented the interests of the eastern counties dominated by large plantation owners and merchants.³⁰⁴

David Caldwell opposed ratification of the new Constitution unless it contained a Bill of Rights. He also objected to the phrase, "We the People," rather than "We the States," pointing out that when the Treaty of Paris ended the Revolutionary War, it cited each of the thirteen states separately, not the United States. The anti-federalists opposed the power to Congress to levy direct taxes. The scarcity of currency in North Carolina's western counties was used as an argument against this provision. The anti-federalists expressed concern that reserving impeachment to the Congress would deprive the States of the ability to impeach their own representatives to Congress. Also of concern was a clause giving Congress control over the times, places and manner of holding elections. The anti-federalists feared consolidation of the States. The anti-federalists denounced the clause preventing suppression of the slave trade until 1808. Some historians claim that diverse economic interests shaped the interpretation of the Constitution.³⁰⁵ The Federalists conceded that some of the criticism was valid but stated that it would be better to adopt the Constitution first and amend it afterward. Ratification was defeated by a vote of 184 to 84. The convention voted to recommend a Bill of Rights and 26 other amendments. When a subsequently elected government took office, it voted to ratify the Constitution in 1789, the twelfth colony to do so.³⁰⁶ During the time that North Carolina had been a holdout, some newspapers of other colonies that had already ratified the Constitution referred to North Carolina as a "foreign country."

One historian supportive of David Caldwell's anti-federalist views said of David Caldwell's role in the convention: "No wiser or better man was known and his addresses were a tower of strength to any cause he favored."³⁰⁷ Another historian — failing to disclose that David Caldwell was one of the leaders of the anti-federalist views that ultimately prevailed at the first convention and ignoring the possibility that everyone's mind was made up before the second Convention that ratified the Constitution — stated that David Caldwell's performance at the

³⁰² John W. Moore, *History of North Carolina* (Raleigh: Alfred Williams & Co. 1880), 382; see generally, *Proceedings and Debates of the Convention of North Carolina, convened at Hillsboro, to which is prefixed the said Constitution* (Edenton: Hodge and Wills, 1789).

³⁰³ Moore, *History*, 385.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 381.

³⁰⁵ Charles Austin Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (1913; reprint, n.p.: Free Press, 1986). A number of historians challenged Beard's view as a misinterpretation and have identified a multitude of interests that required delegates to bargain. See Forrest McDonald, "Colliding with the Past," *Reviews in American History* 25.1 (1997): 13-18.

³⁰⁶ Louise Irby Trenholme, *The Ratification of the Federal Constitution in North Carolina* (1932; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1967).

³⁰⁷ Moore, *History*, 385, quoting Wheeler, *Reminiscences*, 131.

second convention, “acquainted with books, rather than with men and the times, could not make much headway against men of more practical experience.”³⁰⁸

Rev. Caruthers wrote in his biography of Rev. Caldwell that the federalists seemed to have all the eloquent speakers but Rev. Caldwell had the majority of votes in the first convention, but not in the second, which ratified the Constitution, notwithstanding Rev. Caldwell’s opposition. Shortly afterwards, the Bill of Rights, drafted by James Madison, was added to the U.S. Constitution. Madison has been given the credit, but David Caldwell’s determination was crucial in having the Bill of Rights adopted.

During the debates of the first convention, the Federalists, led by the eloquent speaker, James Iredell, soon to be one of the Justices to the U.S. Supreme Court appointed by President Washington, argued that the power of the federal government was limited by its enumerated powers, none of which permitted it to restrict the right of peaceable assembly, freedom of speech, religion, or redress of grievances. The federalists argued that a Bill of Rights was not necessary to guarantee that the federal government would not deprive the people of such rights. Recognizing that the anti-federalists had an uncertain majority of votes and hoping to persuade those who were undecided or weak in their opposition to swing their vote toward ratification of the proposed Constitution, as had been accomplished by federalists in Massachusetts, the federalists insisted that the individual provisions be discussed one by one.

Rev. David Caldwell’s principal comment was that each provision must be assessed by seemingly innocuous criteria that served as a springboard for others to launch into criticism of ambiguities — real or imaginary — that would invite abuse of power. He stated:

Mr. President, the subject before us is of a complicated nature. In order to obviate the difficulty attending its discussion, I conceive that it will be necessary to lay down such rules or maxims as ought to be the fundamental principles of every free government; and after laying down such rules, to compare the Constitution with them, and see whether it has attended to them; for if it be not founded on such principles, it cannot be proper for our adoption.

Mr. Chairman, those maxims which I conceive to be the fundamental principles of every safe and free government, are — 1st. A government is a compact between the rulers and the people, 2d. Such a compact ought to be lawful in itself. 3d. It ought to be lawfully executed. 4th. Unalienable rights ought not to be given up, if not necessary. 5th. The compact ought to be mutual. And, 6th. It ought to be plain, obvious, and easily understood. Now, sir, if these principles be just, by comparing the Constitution with them, we shall be able to judge whether it is fit for our adoption.³⁰⁹

Mr. Iredell was the first to respond:

³⁰⁸ Trenholme, *Ratification*.

³⁰⁹ “Debates in the Convention of the State of North Carolina, on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, July 24, 1788,” in *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, ed. Jonathan Elliot 2d ed.; 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: n.p., 1836).

[I] am convinced we shall be involved in very great difficulties if we adopt the principles offered by the gentleman from Guilford. To show the danger and impolicy of this proceeding, I think I can convince the committee in a moment, that his very first principle is erroneous. In other countries, where the origin of government is obscure, and its formation different from ours, government may be deemed a contract between the rulers and the people. What is the consequence? A compact cannot be annulled but by the consent of both parties; therefore, unless the rulers are guilty of oppression, the people, on the principle of a compact, have no right to new model their government. This is held to be the principle of some monarchical governments in Europe. Our government is founded on much nobler principles. The people are known with certainty to have originated it themselves. Those in power are their servants and agents; and the people, without their consent, may new-model their government whenever they think proper, not merely because it is oppressively exercised, but because they think another form will be more conducive to their welfare. It is upon the footing of this very principle that we are now met to consider of the Constitution before us. If we attempt to lay down any rules here, it will take us as much time to establish their validity as to consider the system itself.³¹⁰

Mr. Goudy sided with Rev. Caldwell after one other federalist had expressed support for Mr. Iredell's reply:

Mr. Chairman, I wonder that these gentlemen, learned in the law, should quibble upon words. I care not whether it be called a compact, agreement, covenant, bargain, or what. Its intent is a concession of power, on the part of the people, to their rulers. We know that private interest governs mankind generally. Power belongs originally to the people; but if rulers be not well guarded, that power may be usurped from them. People ought to be cautious in giving away power. These gentlemen say there is no occasion for general rules: every one has one for himself. Every one has an unalienable right of thinking for himself. There can be no inconvenience from laying down general rules. If we give away more power than we ought, we put ourselves in the situation of a man who puts on an iron glove, which he can never take off till he breaks his arm. Let us beware of the iron glove of tyranny. Power is generally taken from the people by imposing on their understanding, or by fetters. Let us lay down certain rules to govern our proceedings. It will be highly proper, in my opinion, and I very much wonder that gentlemen should object to it.³¹¹

Mr. Iredell:

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman who spoke last mistook what the gentleman from Wilmington and myself have said. In my opinion, there ought to be a line drawn, as accurately as possible, between the power which is given and that which is

³¹⁰ "Debates in the Convention of the State of North Carolina, on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, July 24, 1788," in *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, ed. Jonathan Elliott, 2nd edition (Washington, D.C.: n.p., 1836) 4:199.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*

retained. In this system, the line is most accurately drawn by the positive grant of the powers of the general government. But a compact between the rulers and the ruled, which gentlemen compare this government with, is certainly not the principle of our government. Will any man say that, if there be a compact, it can be altered without the consent of both parties? Those who govern, unless they grossly abuse their trust, (which is held an implied violation of the compact, and therefore a dissolution of it,) have a right to say they do not choose the government should be changed. But have any of the officers of our government a right to say so if the people choose to change it? Surely they have not. Therefore, as a general principle, it can never apply to a government where the people are avowedly the fountain of all power. I have no manner of objection to the most explicit declaration that all power depends upon the people; because, though it will not strengthen their rights, it may be the means of fixing them on a plainer foundation. One gentleman has said that we were quibbling upon words. If I know my own heart, I am incapable of quibbling on words. I act on as independent principles as any gentleman upon the floor. If I make use of quibbles, there are gentlemen here who can correct me. If my premises are wrong, let them be attacked. If my conclusions be wrong, let me be put right. I am sorry that, in debating on so important a subject, it could be thought that we were disputing about words. I am willing to apply as much time as is necessary for our deliberations. I have no objection to any regular way of discussing the subject; but this way of proceeding will waste time, and not answer any purpose. Will it not be in the power of any gentleman, in the course of the debates, to say that this plan militates against those principles which the reverend gentleman recommends? Will it not be more proper to urge its incompatibility with those principles during that discussion, than to attempt to establish their exclusive validity previous to our entering upon the new plan of government? By the former mode, those rules and the Constitution may be considered together. By the latter, much time may be wasted to no purpose. I trust, therefore, that the reverend gentleman will withdraw his motion.³¹²

Rev. Caldwell expressed concern that the Constitution permitted a standing army that potentially might weaken or even lead to elimination of the state militia. "Those things which can be, may be."³¹³ In 2008, the U.S. Supreme Court summarized how this concern supported formulation and adoption of the Second Amendment, with its Preamble.³¹⁴

One cause of its rejection by this Convention was a letter of Thomas Jefferson, which was read in the Convention; that while the most philosophic of our statesmen were desirous that

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Bailyn, *Ideological Origins*, 340. For further discussion of concerns about standing armies, see Stephen Halbrook, *The Founders' Second Amendment: Origins of the Right to Bear Arms* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee Press, 2008) and *District of Columbia v. Heller* (2008) 544 U. S. ---, 128 S. Ct. 2783; 171 L. Ed. 2d 637; 2008 U.S. LEXIS 5268; 76 U.S.L.W. 463.

³¹⁴ *District of Columbia v. Heller*.

nine states should ratify, and thus secure the new government, still he recommended that four should reject, and thus ensure the proposed amendments.³¹⁵

The ambiguity in the Constitution that Rev. Caldwell feared would leave federal power unchecked today is viewed by most constitutional scholars as one of the Constitution's virtues, by allowing adaptation to changing needs. The first amendment, encompassing the right of free speech, assembly, and practice of religion, has lived up to its objective as a major restraint of governmental power. The scope of the second amendment is highly disputed. The U.S. Supreme Court has rejected limiting its scope to arms in existence at the time amendment was ratified, but likely would deem as absurd a proposed interpretation encompassing an individual's right to own, possess, carry and bear a surface-to-air missile. The third amendment, dealing with quartering of soldiers in the homes, did not prohibit the practice, but merely stated that it must be done pursuant to law. The fourth amendment, relating to governmental searches and seizures, has been so watered down by the courts, that it is news when the Supreme Court unexpectedly renders a decision strengthening it. Because of a number of Supreme Court opinions rendered in the last fifty years, the fifth and sixth amendments' provisions, intended to ensure a fair judicial process, have never so strongly limited governmental power as they do today. Although the colonialists commonly despised lawyers, the Supreme Court has declared that the purpose of the 6th and 14th Amendment is optimally advanced as a guarantee of a right to an attorney for the indigent at trial. The seventh amendment secures the right to a fair and impartial jury trial. The eighth amendment's bar upon cruel and unusual punishment continues as an effective restraint of limited applicability. The ninth Amendment states: "The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." Courts have not interpreted the ninth amendment as a source of rights, but merely a prescription how to interpret the constitution.³¹⁶ Some legal scholars regard the tenth amendment, reserving to the States the powers not expressly granted to the federal government, as unable to pass the giggle test, but it has recently been strengthened by Supreme Court conservative justices favoring diversity among the states (federalism) as a restraint upon congressional power. The Court retreated from past decisions that went far in upholding an enumerated congressional power to regulate any activity "affecting" interstate commerce. The Constitution's checks and balances have well served to prevent abuses of executive power, yet permitted the expansion of executive power that Rev. Caldwell sought to avoid.³¹⁷

Virtually all of the arguments that Rev. Caldwell presented at the debates were previously published by Richard Henry Lee, a signatory to the Declaration of Independence and, before Patrick Henry, the leader of the House of Burgesses in Virginia.³¹⁸

³¹⁵ Wheeler, *Reminiscences*, 324.

³¹⁶ See Kurt T. Lash, *The Lost History of the North Carolina Amendment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

³¹⁷ For further discussion of the Bill of Rights, see Edwin Meese III, Matthew Spalding, and David Forte, *The Heritage Guide to the Constitution* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 2001), 302-375.

³¹⁸ Richard Henry Lee, "The Observations of the Federal Farmer" in *The Anti-Federalist*, ed. Herbert J. Strong (1787; reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 26-30, and Forrester McDonald, ed., *Empire and Nation* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: 1962), 110-111, 120.

Presbyterian Church

In 1788, as a preliminary step to establishment of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, the Synod³¹⁹ of the Carolinas was established, which included Rev. David Caldwell and others. Caruthers declared: “These learned and godly men had been without exception, active agents in procuring the liberties of America.”³²⁰

In 1789, the Synod enjoined heads of families to provide religious instruction of slaves and to teach them to read the Bible.

In 1800, the Presbyterian General Assembly appointed John Chavis, a “free negro,” to work in North Carolina and Virginia to serve as a missionary to other African-Americans.

In 1812, the Presbytery of Fayetteville was formed by a division of the Presbytery of Orange. Within seven years this presbytery grew from eight to thirty-two congregations, but the number of ministers only grew from eight to eleven.

The Synod of North Carolina was organized at Alamance Church on October 7, 1813. The first pastor, Dr. David Caldwell, served as the first Moderator of the Synod of the Carolinas and served as the host pastor when the Synod of North Carolina met at Alamance Church. This was the precursor to the Presbyterian Church of the United States. This event occurred at a time when the United States was engaged in debate over whether or not slavery should be permitted in territories seeking admission as states.

In 1818, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church declared in a unanimously adopted report:

We consider the voluntary enslaving of one part of the human race by another . . . utterly inconsistent with the law of God . . . and . . . totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the Gospel of Christ . . . It is manifestly the duty of all Christians who enjoy the light of the present day . . . as speedily as possible to efface this blot on our holy religion, and to obtain the complete abolition of slavery throughout Christendom, and if possible, through the world.³²¹

Freely admitting the dangers of immediate emancipation, the report exhorted Presbyterians to increase their exertions for a “total abolition of slavery” and cautioned against the danger of the demand for delay being used as a “cover for the love or practice

³¹⁹ The Presbyterian Church is a hierarchal church organization, with the local congregation governed by the minister and a body of ruling electors elected by the congregation; a group of local churches is in turn governed by a presbytery or classis; the presbyteries are subject to general superintendence by a regional governing body, called the Synod, and nationally, by the General Assembly. The Congregational form of church organization does not have any hierarchy. See discussion, Presbyterian Polity, Wiki encyclopedia; Samuel Miller, *An Essay, on the Warrant, Nature and Duties of the Office of the Ruling Elder, in the Presbyterian Church* (New York: Jonathan Leavitt; Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1831). (Online)

³²⁰ Moore, *History*, 404.

³²¹ George Bourne, *Picture of Slavery in the United States of America* (Middleton, Conn.: E. Hunt, 1834),

of slavery, or a pretence for not using efforts that are lawful and practicable to extinguish the evil.”³²²

In 1825, the Assembly commended the increasing attention of the Presbyterian Church to the religious instruction of the slaves: “No more honored name can be conferred on a minister of Jesus Christ than that of Apostle to the American slaves. . . .”³²³

The Presbyterian Church congregations became increasingly divided over the issue of slavery. A resolution before the Presbyterian Assembly in 1835 stated that the Church should take no position on such a divisive question.³²⁴

Enslaver or Abolitionist?

Rev. David Caldwell was brought up in a family that did not own slaves.

David’s father, Andrew Caldwell, died in 1757, survived by his wife, Martha, and four sons, David, Andrew, Alexander, and John Caldwell, all residing in Drumore Township, Lancaster County, Colonial Pennsylvania. Lancaster County was to become a major source of the abolitionist movement by 1775.

Assessor’s returns reveal all the heads of households of Drumore Township, Pennsylvania, and the acreage they held for the years 1759, 1769, and 1780. In 1759 Alexander Caldwell, the third son of Andrew and Martha Caldwell, is listed as the head of the household of a 300-acre farm. His oldest brother, David Caldwell, is listed as a freeholder.³²⁵

As shown by the 1759 Lancaster County survey, more slaves were held by Scotch-Irish in Drumore Township than by anyone else anywhere in Lancaster County. Yet, none were owned by any of the Caldwells in Lancaster County as of 1759. Other sources, the Lancaster County Septennial [every seven years] Census, have the same conclusion. The 1780 Lancaster census does not show any slaves owned by John and Andrew Caldwell.³²⁶

The return for 1780 listed Andrew and John Caldwell (the second and fourth son of Andrew and Martha Caldwell) as owning 400 acres, making them the largest landowners in Drumore Township. By then purchase of slaves had been outlawed in Pennsylvania, and the existing ownership of slaves was expected to fade away within a generation. The cotton gin, yet to be invented, would greatly decrease the cost of cotton but increased the demand for slave

³²² Lewis G. Vander Velde, *The Presbyterian Churches and the Federal Union* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), 25.

³²³ *Ibid.*

³²⁴ *Ibid.*; Edmund Moore, *Robert J. Breckinridge and the Slavery Aspect of the Presbyterian Schism of 1837* (Chicago: n.p., 1935); Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Synod of Kentucky, *An Address to the Presbyterians of Kentucky, proposing a Plan for the Instruction and Emancipation of Their Slaves, by a Committee of the Synod of Kentucky* (Cincinnati: Taylor and Tracy, 1835).

³²⁵ Ellis Evans, *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, vol. 2, (n.p., 1883).

³²⁶ See handwritten copy of the 1780 Slave Register for Lancaster County, n.d., Manuscript collection of the Lancaster County Historical Society, MG-240, “The Slave Records of Lancaster County Collection,” Box 1, Folder 2.

Rev. David Caldwell, while living in what is now known as Greensboro, North Carolina, is known to have owned 8 to 9 slaves, according to the 1790 and 1820 U.S. census. The number had not decreased even with the closing of the Academy. The price of one slave was approximately equal to 100 acres in 1800. It is not precisely known what his reasons for owning slaves were. Perhaps indentured servants and a plentiful supply of labor were unavailable or slaves were far more economical. An alternative reason might have been to own slaves so that he could allow them as much liberty as the law would allow. The so-called slaves were in actuality free to leave should they express that desire. In 1808, Greensboro Quakers were prosecuted and convicted for liberating slaves but not compelling them to leave the State, as required by statute. Thereafter, the Quakers, and many in David Caldwell's congregations, owned slaves, but treated them as family and allowed them as much freedom as they desired. Families of slaves were not broken up.³²⁸ Any who wanted to leave for a free state could. The majority of David Caldwell's congregations adopted this practice.

About 100,000 slaves fled to the North during the War of Independence from Georgia, the Carolinas, Maryland, and Virginia, but apparently David Caldwell's slaves stayed with him. Possibly his slaves may not have wanted to flee, especially if they were aged, their work duties were light, or Rev. Caldwell treated them with respect and kindness. Observers noted that black Americans were more integrated with the whites in the South than in the North. In the South, white and black Americans could be seen working alongside one another, whereas in the North, the blacks would be shunned by their white counterparts.

Mere ownership of slaves did not necessarily mean that David Caldwell was not critical of slavery and unwilling to work toward its abolition. It was not uncommon for prominent slave owners, such as George Washington, James Madison, and Thomas Jefferson, to own slaves and yet denounce the institution of slavery. Virginia was the first colony to prohibit the importation of slaves. Jefferson wrote that he feared the abolition of slavery would lead to a race war. The master-servant relationship provided no assurance of support for blacks in their old age. Free black Americans had far greater unemployment than similarly situated whites. Jefferson might be regarded as an antidisestablishmentarian, a term used in reference to individuals in England who had opposed the establishment of a state-religion but rejected its immediate abolition on the grounds sudden disestablishment would be too disruptive. Jefferson offered bounties in newspapers for the capture and return of runaway slaves and is said to have had them flogged. In contrast to Washington, he did not free his slaves upon his death, except the children of one of his servants. DNA evidence has established that Jefferson fathered these children. No evidence has ever been revealed that Rev. Caldwell ever offered a reward for the return of a runaway slave, much less that any had fled him.

Rev. David Caldwell may well have held the same view as expressed by the 1818 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church; his son, Rev. Samuel Craighead Caldwell, a slave owner, was also known to have voiced criticism of slavery.

³²⁸ Paul Johnson, *The Birth of the Modern: World Society 1815-1830* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992), 303-305.

In 1818, Quaker Vestal Coffin organized the Underground Railroad, setting up the first depot in the thicket behind David Caldwell's farm, to transport refugee slaves to the free states north of Kentucky. Levi Coffin, his cousin, was the leader of the national organization.³²⁹

Levi Coffin describes some incidents in his youth that were significant in forming his anti-slavery belief. One of these involved Rev. David Caldwell. During his younger years he lived about a mile and half from Rev. David Caldwell's farm in Greensboro. He recalls that the Rev. Caldwell decided to make a present of a slave Ede (owned by a third person) to his son, Rev. Samuel Craighead Caldwell, a Presbyterian minister, who resided about 100 miles away, in Charlotte. The change in ownership meant that Ede would be forced to leave her husband, who was owned by yet another master, and three of her four children, taking only the youngest, a baby a few months old. Upon learning of the impending separation, Ede ran away and hid in the woods, taking her baby with her. After provisions ran out within a few days, she made her way to the house where Levi Coffin resided. Faced with penalty of death for harboring a slave, Levi Coffin returned her to her master, but pleaded for leniency. The master relented and Ede was not sent away. Shortly afterwards, the Underground Railroad was established.

Levi Coffin reports that the thickets between Caldwell's farm and that of Coffin's father thereafter served as a "good hiding place for fugitive slaves."³³⁰ Coffin states that Caldwell's slaves helped the fugitives with supplies while they remained hidden in the woods.

In 1821 Levi Coffin decided to teach slaves to read.

We knew that the Caldwell family — the old doctor, and two or three of his sons who lived on their own plantations — and a few other slaveholders, were lenient and would have no objection to our teaching their slaves to read the Bible. Their desired permission was obtained. He quotes a prayer at one of these Bible classes from Uncle Frank, one of Thomas Caldwell's slaves: 'Oh, Lord, teach us to be good servants, and touch our massas' hearts and make 'em tender, so dey will not lay de whips to our bare backs, and you, great Massa, shall have all de glory and praise. Amen.' The Bible teaching was discontinued when other slave-owners objected, and 'threatened to put the law in force against us.'³³¹

Rev. Coffin writes, "Strange as it may seem to us now, there were then no Sabbath schools in that part of the country, either among Friends or other religious denominations."³³²

In actuality, by 1818, Rev. Samuel Craighead Caldwell had set up Sunday schools at almost every church in Mecklenburg "at which Black people are taught to read."³³³ In his last will and testament, Rev. Caldwell provided funds for the education of the slaves that he gave to his surviving wife and children.

³²⁹ See Coffin, *Reminiscences*.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 56.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, 71.

³³² *Ibid.*

³³³ Letter of Samuel C. Caldwell, September 22, 1818, reprinted in *Religious Intelligencer*, Nov. 14, 1818, p. 377, cited in Ernest Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South*, vol. 1 (n.p.: John Knox), 206.

Levi Coffin mentions perplexity that whenever searches were made of the thicket looking for fugitive slaves, they were nowhere to be found. Recent excavations revealed a 120-foot long tunnel west of the house foundation of the Rev. David Caldwell's Log College. Perhaps this tunnel served as temporary shelter for refugee slaves.

An outspoken local advocate of the abolitionist movement was a Greensboro resident and Quaker, William Swaim (1802-1835), editor of the *Greensboro Patriot*.³³⁴ His publishing company eventually published David Caldwell's biography in 1842.

Rev. David Caldwell's close friend and mentor, Benjamin Rush, M.D. was a prominent abolitionist. Rush published a pamphlet on the inequity of the slave trade in 1773, titled "An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements in America upon Slave Keeping," in which he claimed that the black American was not racially inferior — his skin color was a mere adaptation to the climate — and, with the aid of education, religious training, and founding of Negro churches, would reach the same level of achievement as any white man of similar opportunity. In 1774 Dr. Rush helped organize a society for abolition of slavery and served as its President in 1803 and for several additional years.³³⁵ Rev. Caruthers's biography states that whenever Dr. Rush published a book, Rev. Caldwell obtained a copy.

During the time that Rev. John Witherspoon served as President of the College of New Jersey, he had both a black and an American Indian enrolled as pupils. He advocated equality of opportunity regardless of race.

Rev. David Caldwell had been a colleague of Rev. Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, D.D. (1751-1819), who served as President of the College of New Jersey (renamed Princeton University) from 1795 to 1812. David Caldwell had graduated from that College in 1761. Dr. Smith's teachings included the idea that slavery was incompatible with the Bible and a mortal sin.³³⁶

Many of the New Side Presbyterian churches in East Tennessee welcomed blacks into their churches, provided schooling, and supported the abolitionist movement, including Underground Railroad stations.

Among this circle of friends, Rev. Caldwell may well have expressed sympathies to the abolitionist cause.

Since David Caldwell was not a large plantation owner growing crops for export, but what I would affectionately characterize as a Piedmont pea-picker growing only for consumption on his farm, he had a minimal, if any, economic stake in preserving slavery, and his congregation

³³⁴ Coffin, *Reminiscences*, 73-74; see generally, Ethel Stephens Arnett, *William Swaim: Fighting Editor; the Story of O. Henry's Grandfather* (Greensboro: Piedmont Press, 1963); *The Friends of Liberty and Equality, Address to the People of North Carolina on the Evils of Slavery* (Greensborough: William Swaim, 1830).

³³⁵ See Donald J. D'Elia, "Dr. Benjamin Rush and the Negro," in *The American Enlightenment*, ed. Frank Shuttelton (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 1993), 116-125.

³³⁶ See George Bourne, *The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable, with Animadversions upon Dr. Smith's Philosophy* (Philadelphia: J. M. Sanderson, 1816); Mark A. Noll, *Princeton and the Republic: The Search for a Christian Enlightenment in the Era of Samuel Stanhope Smith* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

of small farmers were predisposed to avenge perceived injustices attributed to large plantation owners.

Familiar with John Locke's writings justifying slavery, Rev. Caldwell would likely have recognized how Locke had cleverly demonstrated that no government or People would ever be able to meet the criteria that Locke defined. In the *Second Treatise on Government*, Locke had argued that slavery was justified only for those conquered in a just war.

Rev. Eli Washington Caruthers succeeded Rev. David Caldwell as pastor at the Buffalo and Alamance Presbyterian Church. Rev. Caruthers, born in Rowan County, had graduated from Princeton in 1817. He served as pastor of the Alamance Presbyterian Church from 1821 to 1861 and is believed to have had his employment terminated because of his opposition to slavery.³³⁷ He avoided all discussion in his biography of David Caldwell about David's attitudes towards slavery and whether David ever had an African-American congregation.

As a successor pastor to David Caldwell, Rev. Caruthers possibly may have himself been a participant in the Underground Railroad. His stovepipe hat helped him resemble Abraham Lincoln. Descriptions of him as unkempt, shabbily dressed, and smelly, suggest he was a loner. He wrote a book advocating abolition of slavery that he never published, titled "American Slavery and the Immediate Duty of the Slaveholders." He quoted Matthew 25:35-40 (duty of providing food, drink, clothing, and shelter) and Deuteronomy 25:15-16 (forbidding returning escaped slaves to masters). When the Underground Railroad was established, he would have been only twenty-six years old, just one year after graduation from Princeton, idealistic, and deferential to Rev. Caldwell. Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, making it illegal to assist escaping slaves, but it was widely defied by abolitionists who deemed it as anti-Biblical.

Attitudes towards African-Americans became harsher after the death of David Caldwell and his son, Samuel Craighead Caldwell. In 1830-1831, the North Carolina legislature voted to prohibit teaching slaves how to read. In his book opposing slavery, Rev. Caruthers strongly criticized this legislation. The North Carolina Constitutional Convention of 1835 voted to abolish "free Negro" suffrage.³³⁸ Among reasons for the increased hostility towards African-Americans may have been the fears attendant to a greatly increasing number of slaves between 1790 and 1830. The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 coupled with increased migration into the territory west of the Alleghenies had increased production of cotton and the demand for slave labor.

The Presbyterian Church became increasingly divided over the issue of slavery.³³⁹ The congregations in western North Carolina tended to be much more anti-slavery than those of the east coast.

The national assembly of the Presbyterian Church made several formal declarations against slavery between 1787 and 1836, culminating in the 1837-1838 schism in which the southern congregations formed their own southern branch, distinct from the northern

³³⁷ See John Spencer Bassett, *Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1898).

³³⁸ See generally, Thomas D. Morris, *Southern Slavery and the Law, 1619-1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

³³⁹ Velde, *Presbyterian Churches*, 32; Moore, *Breckinridge*; Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., *An Address*; Velde, *ibid.*

organization. Today these branches have reunited and are known as the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A).

Country Doctor

Biographer Rev. Caruthers reports that David Caldwell practiced medicine as a “country doctor,” though not formally trained as a physician, and became commonly known as Dr. Caldwell, long before he acquired the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1810. A visiting physician, Dr. Woodside, had died and bequeathed his books to David Caldwell. His close friend, Benjamin Rush, a physician, served as his consultant in complex cases and supplied him with the leading textbooks. Rev. Caruthers states that David Caldwell read all of the medical books he could obtain and sought to learn as much as he could of medicine because there was no physician nearby to serve his congregation.³⁴⁰

It is unknown what happened to Rev. Caldwell’s collection of medical books upon his death. There were several kin with interest in these books. One of his sons, David Caldwell, was a physician and resided in Greensboro. In 1815, this son took over Rev. Caldwell’s medical practice. David Caldwell, M.D., married Susan Clark on July 15, 1811 in Guilford Co. Perhaps they became part of the collection of his grandson, David Thomas Caldwell, a resident of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. The University of North Carolina has a special collection of papers related to David Caldwell, as well as the medical journals and family correspondence of David Thomas Caldwell.

David Thomas Caldwell received his early education from his father Samuel Craighead Caldwell at the classical school at Sugar Creek. He attended and obtained an A.M. Degree from the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. He obtained a M.D. from the State University of Pennsylvania circa 1820, studying under Dr. McKenzie and served as one of Mecklenburg County's few doctors.

Harriet and David Thomas Caldwell’s son, Dr. William Davidson Caldwell (1829-1868), was a surgeon in the Confederate Army. He married Abigail Dunlap. Their daughter, Miriam Abigail Caldwell (1860-1927) married James Hall in 1884.

Eighteenth-century doctors did not know of effective treatment for cholera or tuberculosis, but they had learned how to treat smallpox. Jesuit Peruvian Bark, which contained the agent quinine, was found to work. Medicine had not yet recognized the need to avoid high cumulative doses, associated with delayed onset of severe loss of hearing (hypoacusis) in later life. By 1808 the first vaccines were coming into use.

³⁴⁰ There are numerous books delving into Colonial American medicine: e.g., Oscar Reiss, *Medicine and the American Revolution* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, 2005); Zachary B. Friedenberg, *The Doctor in Colonial America* (Danbury, Conn.: Rutledge Books, 1998); Oscar Reiss, *Medicine in Colonial America*, (n.p.: University Press of America, 2000); Guy Williams, *The Age of Agony: The Art of Healing, 1700-1800* (Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 1975); Morris Harold Saffron, *Surgeon to Washington, Dr. John Cochran, 1730-1807* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977); Susan Neiburg Terkel, *Colonial American Medicine* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1993); C. Keith Wilbur, *Revolutionary Medicine 1700-1800* Second Edition, (Old Saybrook, Conn.: The Globe Pequot Press, 1997), 10-13.

The medical books of the late eighteenth century attributed malaria to swamp water. Typical of available medical texts used by country practitioners was that of William Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*.³⁴¹ There had not yet been recognition of the role of the mosquito.

In his 1785 textbook, *Domestic Medicine*, William Buchan wrote:

Agues [malaria] are occasioned by effluvia from putrid stagnating water. This is evident from their abounding in rainy seasons, and being most frequent in countries where the soil is marshy, as in Holland, the Fens of Cambridgeshire, the Hundreds of Essex, &c. This disease may also be occasioned by eating too much stone fruit, by a poor watery diet, damp houses, evening dews, lying upon the damp ground, watching, fatigue, depressing passions, and the like. When the inhabitants of a high country remove to a low one, they are generally seized with intermitting fevers, and to such the disease is most apt to prove fatal. In a word, whatever relaxes the solids, diminishes the perspiration, or obstructs the circulation in the capillary or small vessels, disposes the body to agues.³⁴²

The Continental Congress purchased quinine in 1776 to protect George Washington's troops from malaria.

Rev. David Caldwell might have been among the few doctors who recognized the symptoms and knew how to treat opium addiction.

Medical knowledge of midwifery or obstetrics was very limited. The leading textbook was by William Smellie (1697-1763), a native of Lanark, Scotland, who first began to teach midwifery in 1741 and is considered the founder of modern day obstetrics. The first volume of *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Midwifery* was published in 1742, with the third volume of the fourth edition appearing in 1764.

During Rev. David Caldwell's lifetime, only arsenic and mercury, in the form of vapor baths, ointment, and orally, were available for treatment of syphilis. These agents proved effective if given early enough. More effective potassium iodide did not become available until more than a decade after David Caldwell's death. The antibiotic properties of Penicillin remained undiscovered for more than a century.

When Rev. David Caldwell began practicing medicine, the notion that clinical practice should be based upon evidence of the efficacy of the practice rather than tradition had already taken root. James Lind, a ship's surgeon, had conducted a clinical trial in 1747, testing whether the dreaded disease of scurvy could be cured. He divided twelve seamen into six groups, each receiving different treatment. The group that ate two oranges and one lemon daily was cured after six days, a far better outcome than achieved with any of the alternate treatments.

The oldest known clinical trial is described in the Bible, in Daniel 1:11-15:

Daniel then said to the guard whom the chief official had appointed over Daniel, Hannah, Mishael and Azariah, 'Please test your servants for ten days: Give us

³⁴¹ The text is available at <http://americanrevolution.org/medicine>.

³⁴² Ibid.

nothing but vegetables to eat and water to drink. Then compare our appearance with that of the young men who eat the royal food, and treat your servants in accordance with what you see.' So he agreed to this and tested them for ten days. At the end of the ten days they looked healthier and better nourished than any of the young men who ate the royal food.

Morphine became available as a painkiller at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Although drug addiction was a common ailment among physicians, there is no hint that the Rev. David Caldwell ever abused the substance or became addicted.

Rev. David Caldwell might have subscribed to the *Philadelphia Medical and Physical Journal*.

Rev. David Caldwell corresponded often with Dr. Benjamin Rush, a Professor of Chemistry at the School of Medicine at the College of Philadelphia, whom he had first met at the College of New Jersey.³⁴³

Dr. Rush had grown up nearby and had attended West Nottingham Academy in what is now Rising Sun, Maryland, and probably knew a lot of the first members of the Buffalo Church congregation who had migrated from Rising Sun to what is now Greensboro, North Carolina.

Dr. Rush was a man of contradiction: he practiced the backward art of bloodletting and purging, yet was far ahead of his time in the treatment of the mentally ill. He served a year as Surgeon General of the Middle Department of the Army during the Revolutionary War but resigned in 1778 when Gen. George Washington did not support his complaint that his superior was mismanaging military hospitals. Rev. Caruthers reports that Dr. Rush treated one of David Caldwell's daughters, who had some undefined brain pathology. It might have been hydrocephalus, a congenital or acquired disorder in which cerebrospinal fluid accumulates within the ventricles of the brain and applies increased pressure against the adjacent brain tissue, gradually depriving it of its blood supply. Dr. Rush was considered the leading authority on hydrocephalus.

Dr. Rush wrote the first American textbook on psychiatry, *Medical Inquiries and Observations upon the Diseases of the Mind*, 1812. The American Psychiatric Association has designated him as the "Father of American Psychiatry." The association's official seal bears his portrait.

Dr. Rush founded the Philadelphia Dispensary for the relief of the poor, the first of its kind in the United States. He founded Dickinson College in 1783, a Presbyterian sectarian college, and thereafter served as one of its trustees. He was a Professor of Chemistry at the medical school of the College of Philadelphia (known today as the University of Pennsylvania).

Dr. Rush is credited with discovering that alcoholism is a disease. He called for restriction of alcohol and tobacco use. He worked to treat the sick during the outbreak of Yellow Fever in 1793 in Philadelphia, successfully applying certain medications, but was censured for

³⁴³ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 41.

his debilitating practice of bloodletting. He resigned his position from the College of Physicians in 1793 because of a dispute over this practice.

Dr. Rush published a pamphlet on the inequity of the slave trade and in 1774 helped organize and a society for abolition of slavery and served as its President in 1803 and for several additional years. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Provincial Convention in 1776 that advocated independence, the Continental Congress in 1776, and was one of the signatories of the Declaration of Independence. President Adams appointed him Treasurer of the Mint, an office that he held until his death. He was a vigorous proponent of prison and penal reform (including attacks on capital punishment, and advocating replacement of public punishment with solitary confinement), free public schools, and other social progress.³⁴⁴

The curriculum of the College of Philadelphia, which included practical studies and science, may have influenced the curriculum of David Caldwell's Academy. The College of Philadelphia was the first college in the United States that introduced a curriculum not derived from a medieval tradition or intended to serve a religious purpose, but reflected instead the ideas of the Enlightenment. The College supported professorships of mathematics, physics, medicine, and chemistry.

Without application for it, but in recognition of his knowledge of medicine, David Caldwell received a medical diploma from the medical department of the College of Philadelphia, now known as the University of Pennsylvania.³⁴⁵ The University's library collection includes correspondence between Dr. Rush and David Caldwell.

I have no information on how successful Rev. Caldwell was in treating patients. If we give substantial weight to his near 100 years of life, we would have to say he knew well how to maintain his own health. Rev. Caruthers states that Rev. Caldwell regularly exercised two hours a day with a spade. Perhaps he avoided the bloodletting favored by Dr. Rush and practiced by one of Dr. Rush's disciples so as to drain an excessive volume of blood that brought about cardiovascular shock culminating in the death of President George Washington. The disciple had used leeches to drain the blood, a technique that did not allow the physician to measure how much blood had been drained. Dr. Rush had zealously advocated draining up to 4/5 of a patient's blood, a controversial practice that placed the patient in high risk of lethal cardiovascular shock.

Dr. Benjamin Rush was never charged with murder, witchcraft, vampirism, or quackery. But he did realize that the procedures he favored — bleeding, blistering, purging, and vomiting, all intended to counter what he suspected or presumed was the cause of illness, overstimulation — were being strongly challenged. He defended his practices thusly:

Bleeding was usually the initial treatment. It consisted of venesection (opening up a vein), scarification (using a spring-loaded instrument to produce a series of small cuts), or cupping (placing a warmed glass cup over a cut which filled with blood as the pressure inside dropped). Blistering involved placing hot plasters onto the skin to raise blisters, which were then drained. The most common

³⁴⁴ Alexander Leitch, *A Princeton Companion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

³⁴⁵ Ethel Stephens Arnett, *Greensboro North Carolina, The County Seat of Guilford* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 343-344.

purgative was Calomel, a form of mercuric chloride which worked as a laxative in small doses, but usually was prescribed in large doses to purge the system.³⁴⁶

Dr. Rush favored bloodletting as treatment during a time in which the ability of a doctor to make an accurate diagnosis for purposes of selecting a specific effective treatment was extremely limited.

Today any favorable response to such treatment would be attributed to the placebo effect, which for some illnesses may improve the outcome or quality of life in up to 30% of the patients.

The placebo effect is particularly helpful in treatment of chronic pain. In the eighteenth century, the only pain relievers were willow bark, alcohol and opium; addiction induced by prescribed opium was a common problem.

Because of the risks of infection associated with bloodletting at a time when eighteenth-century practitioners did not recognize the need for sterilization of their instruments, the risks of bloodletting arguably outweighed the anticipated benefits. In the case of George Washington, the cardiovascular shock likely would have been averted if simple measures had been taken to prevent loss of more than two liters of blood.

As scientific medicine advanced, improved diagnostics and more effective treatments became available which ultimately led to the demise of bloodletting.

Today the FDA will allow certain pharmaceutical drugs -- especially those intended to treat cancer -- to be approved as effective because the illness is life-threatening, no more effective treatment is known, and evidence has been presented that the drug under investigation shows a significant improvement in survival over the placebo effect. There is no requirement that the drug be effective in the majority of patients or improve the quality of life. Drugs with a response rate as little as 10% have been approved for treatment of certain malignant cancers.

In the eighteenth century, many more illnesses were life threatening with no known effective treatment for the majority of patients. In this context, it is understandable why bloodletting was accepted and also why country doctors, such as Rev. David Caldwell, were esteemed.

David Caldwell likely inoculated himself, his wife, children and many of his patients, with a live virus against smallpox. The virus was attached to a thread and laid in an open wound.

Historians have surmised that the greater church attendance in America in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, compared to the twentieth century, was due in part to the inadequacy of medicine. Deaths of fetuses and newborn, children, and teenagers, were more common. Many more marriages ended during childbirth. Anesthetics were unavailable to alleviate pain of surgery. The high morbidity might have fostered greater concern about mortality and the meaning of life.

³⁴⁶ Benjamin Rush, *Medical Observations and Inquiries*, (Philadelphia: J. Conrad & Co., 1805); (<http://www.cl.utoledo.edu/canaday/quackery/quack2.html>)

Greensboro

In 1808 the Commissioners of Guilford County, which included David Caldwell's son, David Caldwell, a physician, determined the site of the new county seat, as near as practical to the exact center of the county. They had to avoid a duck pond and swamp. On December 15, 1808, the General Assembly passed a decree designating the new county seat "Greensborough," in honor of General Nathanael Green. There was not a single dwelling. In 1829 there were five retail stores, three liquor stores, and one licensed stud horse. The county had a population of 369 in the town limits and 115 just outside. The change in spelling to "Greensboro" was gradual. The U.S. post office began use of the spelling Greensboro in 1810, but the town did not officially change the spelling until decades later. As of 1842, when Rev. Caruthers's biography of Rev. Caldwell was published, the publisher used the spelling, "Greensborough."

Legacy

David Caldwell lived 7 months short of the age of 100 and remained actively engaged for more than a half century as a teacher and pastor until age 95. Rev. Caruthers wrote of David Caldwell being so frail by age 85 to 90 that he needed assistance climbing the courthouse steps, but remained so vigorous in intellect and inspirational in a courthouse speech to the youth of Greensboro that they ceased their reluctance and exceeded a quota of volunteers sought to defend Virginia from invasion by British forces during the War of 1812.³⁴⁷ His first son, Samuel Craighhead Caldwell, who died at age 57, did not inherit his longevity.

Upon David Caldwell's death, the *Raleigh Star*, the *Western Carolinian* of Salisbury, the *Hillsboro Recorder*, and possibly other newspapers eulogized him.³⁴⁸ Rev. Caruthers concludes his biography of Rev. David Caldwell with these words:

It is said that [David Caldwell] was never known to be in passion, to show a revengeful spirit, or to lose his self possession; but the most striking trait in his character, perhaps, was that of overcoming evil with good; and so much was this a habit with him as to give rise and currency to the remark that no man ever did Dr. Caldwell an injury without receiving some expression of kindness in return. Such a man could not live in vain: and he, being dead, yet speaketh.³⁴⁹

Rev. Caruthers delivered the funeral sermon. It is preserved among his papers at Duke University. He began by saying that death brought rest to one who had labored to carry out God's work, yet that work will still live.

David Caldwell outlived his friend, Benjamin Rush, M.D. (1745-1813). Had Dr. Rush delivered a eulogy for Rev. Caldwell, he likely would have said that Rev. Caldwell was an apostle and guardian of public virtue who had not a smidgen of self-interest in his patriotic heart. Dr. Rush likely would have praised Rev. Caldwell's belief that the rights of man to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness were spiritual, confirmed by scripture, not derived from Natural Rights

³⁴⁷ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 266.

³⁴⁸ Caldwell Jr., *Dr. David Caldwell*.

³⁴⁹ Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*.

as Thomas Jefferson defined them. With a Great Awakening background, schooled in the teachings of Jonathan Edwards, Samuel Finley, and Samuel Davies, modulated by the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment, and the classic Greek and Roman sages, Dr. Rush would have thought highly of Rev. Caldwell's politics as a manifestation of a true Whig. Dr. Rush would have acknowledged that Rev. Caldwell did not merely aid in a War of Independence, but ensured success of an American Revolution that was transformative.

David Caldwell's background first as a carpenter and then as an itinerant missionary into the wilderness, teacher, healer, and minister, defiant of the Empire, suffering great personal loss but forgiving of his enemies, is richly symbolic. David's prime function was to be a bearer of a radical tradition of individual liberty free of government oppression and a person who revitalized the democratic process in America through the committed philosophy of participatory democracy and individual rights. His family history explains how he acquired an intensity of protest and positivism that overshadowed the American landscape. His death occurred at a time when the South was changing "from a position of great power in national affairs to the position of a conscious minority."³⁵⁰ By viewing the civil war as a breakdown of political moderatism and growth of southern nationalism, we can better appreciate the political contributions of David Caldwell.

By helping to achieve a separation of church and state, David Caldwell ensured that religion had to become competitive in America and meet the needs of the congregation.³⁵¹ In serving the diverse needs of his two congregations in Buffalo and Alamance, David Caldwell displayed this flexibility. In educating future ministers, he taught them to emphasize practical ideas in their sermons and let metaphysical theological questions "take care of themselves." The diversity of religious creeds and sects that developed during Rev. Caldwell's lifetime has been identified as a salient feature of American church history.

David Caldwell's ideals of moderation, liberty and justice helped create a nonviolent democracy free of the murder, mayhem, and turmoil that infected the French Revolution. The U.S. Minister to France, Gouverneur Morris, explained why the French and American Revolutions diverged: "[The French] have taken Genius instead of Reason for their Guide, adopted Experiment instead of Experience, and wander in the dark because they prefer Lightning to Light."³⁵²

Robert McCluer Calhoun identifies Rev. Caldwell as one of the best models of political moderation among politicians, preachers, and pedagogues of the eighteenth century, applying prudence and principle, compassion, and historically grounded political ethics, avoiding zealotry and extremism. He sees Rev. Caldwell not as a tepid centrist but as a passionately persistent moderate whose approach to politics can be traced back to classic Greek history when city-states had to reconcile their disputes.³⁵³

³⁵⁰ East Tennessee Historical Society, *The East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, 1991, p. 123.

³⁵¹ See generally, Jack Cady, *American Writer*, 69.

³⁵² See generally, R. D.W. Connor, "Historical Foundations of Democracy in North Carolina," (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission Publications, Bulletins 10-15).

³⁵³ Calhoun, *Political Moderation*, 120-129, 144, 160-161, 174, 193.

Many American Presbyterian clergymen (including David Caldwell) were recognized as important contributors to creation of an American nationalism, democratic principles embodied in the U.S. Constitution and the rebellion against the King and British Government. Resettlements in new lands, all day gatherings at Church on Sundays, and non-denominational communal camp meetings broke down social barriers. Having helped to make productive the land they lived in, the Scotch-Irish came to regard themselves as self-made men. Perhaps the isolation of homes on the American frontier, in contrast to the more crowded pattern of settlement in Ulster, and long distance of the frontiersmen from the Anglican Church ministers who preferred to live in the coastal counties rather than reside in the back country, contributed to a sense of independence.

In 1778 an unknown Hessian officer recorded his observations on the war. "Call this war by whatever name you may, only call it not an American Rebellion: it is nothing more or less than a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian Rebellion." As the late Chalmers Davidson of Davidson College once wrote, "The seeds of resistance to British authority were sown in the Presbyterian Churches that made captains and colonels out of deacons and elders." One noted English historian of the nineteenth century later remarked that "Throughout the revolted colonies . . . the foremost, the most irreconcilable, the most determined in pushing the quarrel to the last extremity, were the Scotch-Irish. . . Presbyterians."³⁵⁴ Even George Bancroft, the great religious historian of the late nineteenth century once claimed that "the first voice publicly raised in America to dissolve the connection with Great Britain came, not from the Puritans of New England, nor the Dutch of New York, nor the planters of Virginia, but from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians." A significant portion of the words and ideas found in the United States Constitution and Declaration of Independence derive from the Arbroath Declaration of 1320 (under Robert the Bruce) and of Scotland's National Covenant.

Max Weber, in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904-1905), argues that Calvinism espoused by the Presbyterians played an essential part in creating conditions favorable to growth of capitalism.

Some historians are of the view that Calvinist views of predestination (first addressed in the writings of St. Augustine centuries before John Calvin) contributed to ethnic and race-based claims.³⁵⁵ The split among Presbyterian churches about slavery establishes the attenuated nature of any such claim. In the frontier many Presbyterian ministers expressly rejected the theology of predestination or redefined it as the salvation for those who had lived a life of perfection and received God's grace.

In 1800, 85% of all Christians were found in North America, Europe and Russia. By 1900, 40% of all Christians resided in other parts of the world. By 2000, 60% of all Christians resided in Africa, Asia and Latin America.³⁵⁶ The largest Presbyterian church congregation in the

³⁵⁴ James Anthony Proude, *The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1888), 2:141.

³⁵⁵ Joseph R. Washington, *Puritan Race, Virtue, And Values, 1620-1820: Original Calvinist True Believers' Enduring Faith and Ethics Race Claims in emerging Congregationalist, Presbyterian, and Baptist Power Denominations* (New York: P. Lang, 1987).

³⁵⁶ John Taylor, "The Future of Christianity," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity*, ed. John McManners, (Oxford University Press, 1990), 637.

world today is located in Korea — 500,000 members. To a large degree this shift can be credited to the impact of missionaries from Europe and America. Some of the graduates of David Caldwell Log College were among the first of these missionaries.

One of David Caldwell's legacies, shared with southern Protestant clergy in general, is that "southern Protestantism and southern culture are as inseparable as bourbon and fruitcake."³⁵⁷ As stated by Charles S. Sydnor, the South stands out both as discernable cultural entity and as an equally unique religious region. Indeed it is the most religious and Protestant region of an extraordinarily religious nation.³⁵⁸

Some historians are of the opinion that "Baptists and Methodists were more adaptive to frontier conditions than Presbyterians and Episcopalian competition and thereby became the dominant organizations and remain so today."³⁵⁹

In 1860, the Baptists and Methodists each had respectively 65,000 and 61,000 members in their North Carolina congregations, and the Presbyterians had about 15,000 members.³⁶⁰

If we were to have visited David Caldwell's world we would have seen much of the modern age: buttered toast and pancake breakfasts, two-party politics, partisan newspapers, paper currency, a national debt, bookstores, roadside taverns and inns, Sunday picnics, cooling walks through the shaded gardens, dogs napping on the front porch, Congregationalists fanning themselves, and friends sipping estate bottled Jamaican rum. None of these observations would have alerted us to North Carolina's relative isolation and backwardness as of 1824, with the smallest per capita wealth of any state in the nation, poorly maintained roads, a rarity of bridges, no public services, migration of one-third of the population to other states between 1815 and 1850, especially, Alabama, Tennessee, and Ohio, and a much higher illiteracy than found in the North. The 1850 U.S. Census showed that only eight out of ten native whites in the South were literate, while in the North, practically everyone could read and write. In North Carolina, the statistics were worse: one-third of the whites could not read and write. On the other hand, the planters, defined as those owning twenty or more slaves, were completely literate and were more likely to have attended college than men in any other part of the country. These people were less likely to study science or technology than their northern counterparts and were more apt to focus on the classical world. Some historians have concluded that a factor contributing to these problems was North Carolina's rural isolation, agrarian philosophy, and individualism.³⁶¹ Whether a small homestead comprised of a single family or a large plantation resembling an English medieval manor, all of the farms and plantations were largely self-sufficient. North Carolina residents resisted any efforts to impose or collect taxes. When tax collectors from North Carolina came to collect taxes from residents along the border, they would say they lived in

³⁵⁷ Charles S. Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1935).

³⁵⁸ Dennis E. Coven, "Protestantism," in *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, eds. Charles Regan Wilson and William Ferris (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 1302; "Protestantism is to the South as Islam is to Iran and Judaism is to Israel," in Patrick Gerstes, "Religion and Mythology," *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, 1122.

³⁵⁹ Dennis E. Coven, "Protestantism," 1302.

³⁶⁰ Powell, *North Carolina*, 326.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 247.

South Carolina. When the South Carolina tax collector came, they said they resided in North Carolina.

By emphasizing the importance of the classics and scripture to pursue what could be known about God, Rev. Caldwell utilized an approach that differs markedly from prehistoric man, whose earliest manifestations of worship coincided with development of imagery, music, and symbolic mysticism reflective of an awe of what could not be known.

I am a great-great-great-great grandson of Rev. David Caldwell and his wife, Rachel Craighead, and blood descendant of David's son, Rev. Samuel Craighead Caldwell, and grandson, Rev. John McKnitt Madison Caldwell, as well as a descendant of Rev. Alexander Craighead and Rev. Thomas Craighead, the father and grandfather of Rachel Craighead, all prominent figures in Colonial America history. I cannot claim to be a disinterested observer in offering praise about Rev. David Caldwell. Rev. David Caldwell captured my interest because his life appears so honorable and fulfilling. "He found greatness by doing good. Friends of religion heralded his work among Presbyterians, and friends of liberty cheered his contributions to their cause."³⁶² As a Pennsylvania pioneer, Princeton pupil, Presbyterian pastor, Piedmont professor, and principled patriot, he was wholly American. His incurable rebelliousness against British tyranny was American. Above all, he was an American in his curious mixture of piety and politics, his mingling of religion and revolution, his reconciliation of revelation and reason, and his rejection of a life of preferment, promotion, and privilege. History has made him a legend, although he just wanted to be a man doing the best at what he chose to do.

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³⁶² This apt phrase, describing Rev. Witherspoon, was authored by Mark A. Noll, *Princeton and the Republic, 1768-1822: The Search for a Christian Enlightenment in the Era of Samuel Stanhope Smith* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).