

# THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

**VOLUME 107 • 2006**

Publication of this volume is made possible in part  
by the Frederick Horner Bunting Publication Fund  
and by the Post and Courier Foundation

(ISSN 0038-3082) • (USPS 502360)  
PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE  
SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
FIREPROOF BUILDING  
100 MEETING STREET  
CHARLESTON, SC 29401-2299  
PHONE (843) 723-3225 • FAX (843) 723-8584

THE  
SOUTH CAROLINA  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOLUME 107 • 2006

ARTICLES

<b>"The Problem of South Carolina" Reexamined: A Review Essay</b> by James Haw	9
<b>The Local Origins of Allegiance in Revolutionary South Carolina: The Waxhaws as a Case Study</b> by Peter N. Moore	26
<b>Henry Laurens: The Southern Man of Conscience in History</b> by Joseph P. Kelly	82
<b>"An Ornament to Our City": The Creation and Recreation of the College of Charleston's Campus, 1785–1861</b> by Robert Russell	124
<b>Standing Guard at the Door of Liberty: Black Populism in South Carolina, 1886–1895</b> by Omar H. Ali	190
<b>"To Speak When and Where I Can": African American Women's Political Activism in South Carolina in the 1940s and 1950s</b> by Cherisse Jones-Branch	204
<b>"A Faithful Ambassador": The Diary of Rev. William Hutson, Pastor of the Independent Meeting in Charleston, 1757–1761</b> edited by Daniel J. Tortora	272
<b>The Palmetto Leader's Mission to End Lynching in South Carolina: Black Agency and the Black Press in Columbia, 1925–1940</b> by Kerstyn M. Haram	310

BOOK REVIEWS	42, 147, 225, 334
RECENTLY PROCESSED MANUSCRIPTS	68, 173, 256, 360
MEMORIALS	72, 179, 261, 366
AWARDS	180
INDEX, VOLUME 107	367

**"A FAITHFUL AMBASSADOR":  
THE DIARY OF REV. WILLIAM HUTSON,  
PASTOR OF THE INDEPENDENT MEETING IN  
CHARLESTON, 1757-1761**

EDITED BY DANIEL J. TORTORA\*

**WILLIAM HUTSON, A NINETEEN-YEAR-OLD ACTOR LOOKING** for entertainment, to satisfy his curiosity, or perhaps to scoff, made his way to a sermon given by the Reverend George Whitefield on an evening in late April or early May 1740 in New York City. Young Hutson had quit his legal training in London and recently arrived in America with little more than the clothes upon his back and a miniature portrait of his mother. Struggling to find his way in a new land, Hutson, like thousands of others in New York who listened to the words of the great evangelist, was "melted down exceedingly." He found great inspiration in the preacher's message and resolved to pursue a career in the ministry.

The next morning, reluctant to appear on the stage and still deeply affected by his experience, Hutson sought Whitefield's advice. Counseled to fulfill his commitment to the theater troupe and complete his next scheduled performance, the preoccupied thespian, perhaps overwhelmed by the change he felt within himself, performed poorly that evening. Following his heart, Hutson quit the troupe and, likely with Whitefield's help, soon made his way to the South. He met two friends of Whitefield, wealthy planters Hugh and Jonathan Bryan from St. Helena Parish, South Carolina, moved in with Hugh Bryan's family, and began his new life in the lowcountry.<sup>1</sup>

By August 1740, with Whitefield's encouragement, the Bryan brothers had started a school for the slaves on their plantations and attracted a small following of other whites disenchanted with the Anglican Church. Hutson

\* Daniel J. Tortora is a doctoral student at Duke University. He wishes to thank Walter Edgar, Peter N. Moore, Timothy D. Hall, Robert Mackintosh, Mike Hutson, Paula Simmons, and Pat Spaulding. He also is grateful for the assistance of the South Carolina Historical Society and the South Caroliniana Library and appreciates the suggestions of the anonymous readers for the *South Carolina Historical Magazine*. Funding from The Columbia Committee of The National Society of The Colonial Dames of America in The State of South Carolina and the Department of History at the University of South Carolina made this project possible.

<sup>1</sup> George Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, Vol. 1 (Columbia, S.C.: Duffie and Chapman, 1870), 248-249; *George Whitefield's Journals* (Guildford and London: Billing & Sons, Ltd., 1960), 415-417, 450. Whitefield spoke in New York ten times from April 29 to May 4, 1740. He writes that Hutson met Jonathan Bryan in Georgia, but Howe, drawing on family history, claims that Hutson met Hugh Bryan while wandering the streets of Charleston.

Jacqueline G. Moore  
 Memorial to Stephen P. Earls  
 Dr. William A. Myers III  
 John Light Napier  
 Joanne Woodward Newman  
 William Pelham  
 Mr. & Mrs. Robert V. Royall  
 Mr. & Mrs. Robert M. Silliman  
 Mr. & Mrs. Robert S. Small

Mr. & Mrs. Jack Stripling  
 Mr. & Mrs. William B. Ten Eyck  
 Sydney M. Timmons  
 Mr. & Mrs. Fred Wichmann  
 Mark and Barbara Wheless  
 RADM & Mrs. Arthur M. Wilcox  
 Joseph and Terese Williams  
 Mr. & Mrs. John Winthrop

### *Sponsors*

George Smith Adams  
 Rt. Rev. & Mrs. C. F. Allison  
 Edward M. Armfield, Jr.  
 Mr. & Mrs. Robert M. Baldwin  
 Paul Gervais Bell, Jr.  
 Spotswood Box  
 Mr. & Mrs. Mark W. Buyck, Jr.  
 Wilkins L. Byrd  
 Mr. & Mrs. Zim Cannon  
 Mr. & Mrs. Walter M. Cart  
 Mr. & Mrs. James A. Cathcart III  
 Wayland H. and Marion Rivers Cato  
 Fund of the Coastal Community  
 Foundation of South Carolina  
 Mr. & Mrs. Charles E. Caughen  
 Col. & Mrs. H. G. Charles  
 Derek S. Close  
 Mrs. William H. Cogswell III  
 Jim and Peggy Cordovano  
 Mr. & Mrs. Thomas C. Coxe III  
 Edward E. Crawford  
 Mr. & Mrs. David Bertram Cutler  
 Mr. & Mrs. John H. Daniels  
 Mr. & Mrs. Hugh G. Dargan, Jr.  
 Dr. & Mrs. W. Eric Emerson  
 J. Henry Fair, Jr.  
 Mr. & Mrs. Fred Faircloth III  
 Mr. & Mrs. Caleb C. Fort  
 Rev. & Mrs. David A. Fort  
 Jean and Jim Fort  
 Mr. & Mrs. H. Laurence Fritz, Jr.  
 Mrs. Alester G. Furman III  
 Mr. & Mrs. Frank Walker Glenn  
 Maj. Gen. James A. Grimsley, Jr.  
 Mr. & Mrs. C. Michael Harrington  
 Nancy D. Hawk  
 Eaddy Williams Hayes  
 Mr. & Mrs. Robert H. Hood  
 Mr. & Mrs. Samuel W. Howell

Mr. & Mrs. Calvert W. Huffines  
 Mr. & Mrs. Michael J. Hutson  
 Dr. William A. James  
 Dr. George H. Khoury  
 Mr. & Mrs. Randolph W. Kirkland  
 Elizabeth B. Leavell  
 Frank B. Lee, Sr.  
 Mr. & Mrs. John Franklin McCabe, Sr.  
 Dr. J. Stuart McDaniel  
 David and Margaret McCormack  
 Pierre Manigault  
 Mr. & Mrs. David Maybank, Jr.  
 Mrs. James B. Moore  
 Steve and Gail Morrison  
 Mrs. William W. Old III  
 Mrs. Wallace Pate  
 Elise R. Pinckney  
 Frances Haskell Porcher  
 John M. Rivers, Jr.  
 Mr. & Mrs. Joseph L. Rivers  
 Lawrence S. Rowland  
 Mrs. Robert Sample  
 Mr. & Mrs. Mikell R. Scarborough  
 Jane C. Scott  
 Mr. & Mrs. Albert R. Simonds  
 Mr. & Mrs. John Gettys Smith  
 Gene L. Spence  
 Mr. & Mrs. Roland A. Stebbins  
 Mr. & Mrs. H. Simmons Tate, Jr.  
 Dr. & Mrs. C. James Taylor  
 Eric Porcher Teeter  
 Thomas S. and Nina Tisdale  
 Mary Elizabeth Van Every  
 Charles and Andrea Volpe  
 Shawn D. Wallace  
 Mr. & Mrs. Mack Whittle  
 Mr. & Mrs. Roy B. Williams III  
 Mr. & Mrs. F. Preston Wilson  
 Mrs. Henry C. Zenke

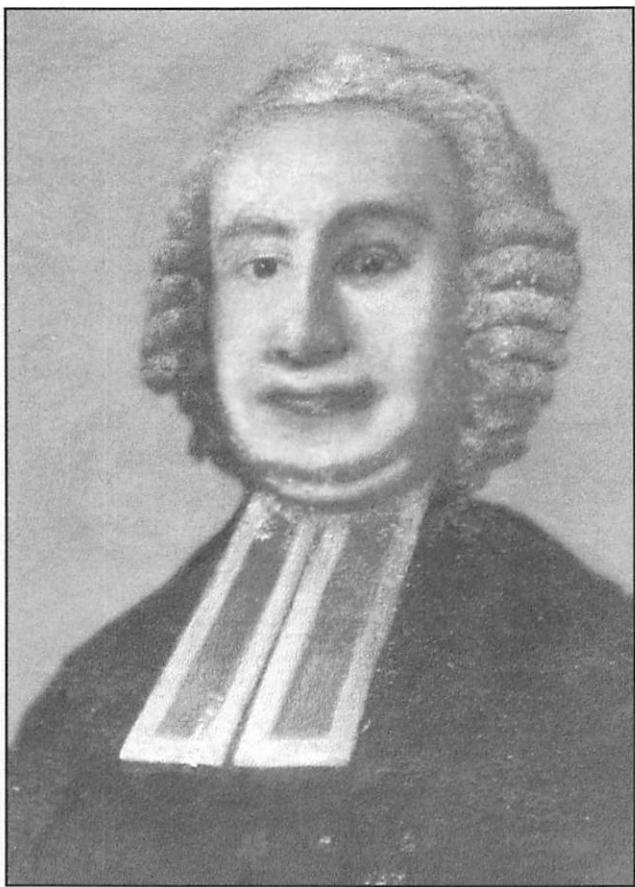
became the school's first teacher and, for the next three years, also tutored Hugh Bryan's children and pursued religious training. On occasion he traveled to Whitefield's Bethesda Orphan House near Savannah, Georgia, where he preached his first sermon.<sup>2</sup> The Bryans became increasingly outspoken and radical in their criticisms of the Anglican Church. Just months after the Stono slave rebellion, and following a devastating fire in Charleston, Hugh wrote that the events had been divine retribution for the sins of the white populace. Rumors swirled that he had tried to incite slaves in the lowcountry to revolt, and he had reportedly vowed to part a river like Moses. Though Hutson was never implicated in the controversies, he watched as his friends became increasingly alienated from and disillusioned with the Anglican church. Authorities shut down the slave school and briefly jailed the Bryans.<sup>3</sup>

In 1743 the man whom Whitefield had pegged "to be a door-keeper in the house of God" got his first opportunity to preach full-time. Seeking a "shepherd for the flock," the Bryans and several of their followers called Hutson, then twenty-three years old, to serve as pastor of a new church, the Stoney Creek Independent Presbyterian Church, which they established along the Pocotaligo River in Indian Land (northwest of Beaufort, between present-day Pocotaligo and Sheldon). The newly ordained Hutson must have found his past experience helpful; as Harvey Jackson has asserted, he had the logic and persuasiveness of a lawyer, the emotional range of an actor, and the zeal of a recent convert—he seemed ideal for the job.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> George Whitefield to the Rev. Mr. C— (Letter CCXLI), January 1, 1741, in *The Works of the Reverend George Whitefield, M.A.*, Vol. 1 (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1771), Library of American Civilization, 21966 (microfiche); Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, 248-249; Harvey H. Jackson, "Prophecy and Community: Hugh Bryan, George Whitefield, and the Stoney Creek Independent Presbyterian Church," *American Presbyterians: Journal of Presbyterian History* 69 (Spring 1991): 15-16.

<sup>3</sup> Harvey H. Jackson, "Hugh Bryan and the Evangelical Movement in Colonial South Carolina," *William and Mary Quarterly* 43 (October 1986): 601-612; *South Carolina Gazette* (hereinafter cited as SCG), October 16-23, 1740, November 13-20, 1740, January 1-7, 1740, June 21, 1742; Alan Galloway, "The Origins of Slaveholders' Paternalism: George Whitefield, the Bryan Family, and the Great Awakening in the South," *Journal of Southern History* 53 (August 1987): 383-389; Galloway, *The Formation of a Planter Elite: Jonathan Bryan and the Southern Colonial Frontier* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 30-54; Leigh Eric Schmidt, "'The Grand Prophet,' Hugh Bryan: Evangelicalism's Challenge to the Establishment and Slavery in the Colonial South," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 87 (October 1986): 239-250.

<sup>4</sup> Stoney Creek Independent Presbyterian Church (McPhersonville, S.C.) Papers, 1722-1910, South Carolina Department of Archives and History Private Records, P900264; Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, 249-250; George Whitefield's *Journals*, 450; Jackson, "Prophecy and Community," 17; John Reynard Todd and Francis Marion Hutson, *Prince William's Parish and Plantations*



William Hutson (1720–1761). This image of Hutson, from an oil-on-canvas portrait in the collections of the South Carolina Historical Society, was adapted for publication by Shanna M. McGarry.

---

That summer, by mid July 1743, Hutson wed Mary Woodward, a close friend of Eliza Lucas and the widow of prominent Charleston merchant Isaac Chardon.<sup>5</sup> The couple and Mary's six- or seven-year-old daughter settled at Cedar Grove Plantation on the Huspa Neck, between the Combahee and Pocotaligo Rivers in modern Beaufort County. Of the seven

(Richmond, Va.: Garrett and Massie, 1935), chap. 6. The original church was located between Sheldon and Pocotaligo, but was rebuilt in McPhersonville.

<sup>5</sup> Mary Woodward wed Isaac Chardon on November 6, 1735. SCG, November 8, 1735. The following year, she gave birth to a daughter, Sarah. Isaac Chardon died

children born into the Hutson family during its thirteen years in Indian Land, six would outlive both of their parents.<sup>6</sup> By the summer of 1755, Hutson had begun to make plans to leave Stoney Creek; the following winter, he moved his family to Charleston and began to preach to a large congregation of Presbyterians and Congregationalists at the Independent Meeting (later known as the Circular Congregational Church). Rev. Archibald Simpson, a young, Scottish-born minister who preached at the Bethel, or Pon Pon, Presbyterian Church in Jacksonboro, assumed the pastorate at Stoney Creek.<sup>7</sup> On February 13, 1757, the Independent Meeting elected Hutson to join Rev. James Edmonds as a full-time co-pastor, a position he held until his death in April 1761. Seventeen years after he had arrived in America as the black sheep of his family, Hutson took watch over one of Charleston's largest non-Anglican congregations.<sup>8</sup>

From 1757 to 1761, Hutson kept a diary, which has never before been published in its entirety. While his entries consist largely of religious introspection, and some aspects of his life still remain a mystery, the Hutson Diary nonetheless offers valuable insight into the workings of the dissenting church in eighteenth-century South Carolina, provides clues about life in

in January 1737. SCG, January 15, 1737. The letters of Eliza Lucas Pinckney suggest that the two, both about the same age, shared a close friendship in the early 1740s. See Eliza Lucas to [Miss Bartlett], [1742?], in Elise Pinckney, ed., *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1739-1762* (1972; reprint, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), 34; Lucas to Miss B[artlett], [1742?], *ibid.*, 46; Lucas to Mrs. [Mary Woodward] Chardon, [1743], *ibid.*, 68.

<sup>6</sup> The Hutsons' fourth child, William, died as an infant in October 1754. Mrs. R. W. Hutson, ed., "Register Kept by the Rev. Wm. Hutson of Stoney Creek Independent Congregational Church and (Circular) Congregational Church in Charles Town S.C. 1743-1760" (hereafter cited as "Hutson Register"), *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 38 (January 1937): 31 (October 26, 1754); Joseph W. Barnwell, "Dr. Henry Woodward, the First English Settler in South Carolina, and Some of His Descendants," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 8 (January 1909): 37.

<sup>7</sup> For more on Simpson, see Thomas J. Little, "'Adding to the Church Such As Shall Be Saved': The Growth of Evangelicalism in Colonial South Carolina, 1740-1775," in Jack P. Greene, Rosemary Brana-Shute, and Randy J. Sparks, eds., *Money, Trade, and Power: The Evolution of Colonial South Carolina's Plantation Society* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001), 366-368; Archibald Simpson Journals and Sermons, 1748-1784, Charleston Library Society, 51-155. The reasons for Hutson's departure remain unknown.

<sup>8</sup> Patricia P. Spaulding, ed., "The William Hutson Family in 18<sup>th</sup> Century Beaufort, Colleton, and Charleston Counties of South Carolina" (Privately published by the author, 1989), 8. For more on Edmonds, see the February 27, 1757, diary entry and note below, from the William Hutson Diary, 1757-1761, South Carolina Historical Society (hereinafter referred to as the diary); J. R. Witherspoon, "A Brief Memoir of the Rev. James Edmonds, of Charleston, South Carolina," *Southern Presbyterian Review* 8 (July 1854): 134-141. Sarah Chardon had already married and thus did not accompany her mother and stepfather to Charleston.

Charleston during a time of great adversity, and illuminates the experiences of a remarkable, yet historically overlooked, man, husband, father, and pastor. Other sources, including letters, colonial records, diaries, and newspaper articles from the era, reveal more about Hutson and show that he took an interest in African American and Native American conversion and that he cultivated connections beyond South Carolina.

The diary shows that the Independent Meeting met every Thursday night for worship and three times—morning, afternoon, and evening—on Sundays, the “Lord’s Day.” Other days Hutson performed baptisms, marriages, and funerals, and probably oversaw family and personal business. As required by law, all churches observed public days of prayer, of fasting and humiliation, or of thanksgiving, depending upon the status of current colonial events. Every other month, the congregation observed the Lord’s Supper. Like other evangelical congregations of the era, the Independent Meeting did not follow a liturgical calendar and did not celebrate Christmas or Easter.<sup>9</sup> While Edmonds and Hutson split the vast majority of the preaching duties at the Independent Meeting, the semi-retired Rev. Josiah Smith, Edmonds’s predecessor, remained influential and continued to write and publish sermons. Though he suffered from the lingering effects of a series of debilitating strokes and may have been almost unintelligible, he still preached on occasion.<sup>10</sup>

The diary includes the topics of nearly 200 sermons given by Hutson, and it is clear that his favorite verses came from the Old Testament books of Psalms and Isaiah and from John, Matthew, Hebrews, and the letters of Paul in the New Testament. Sometimes, he tailored his sermons for his intended audience; for instance, he once expounded on a passage from the Scriptures directed at a congregation of predominantly young listeners.<sup>11</sup> Though he frequently exhorted listeners to repent their sins and

<sup>9</sup> Examples of “Family Worship” sessions in the diary include June 26, 1757, January 15, 1758, March 18, 1759, May 6, 1759, November 23, 1760. For some public days of thanksgiving, see the diary entries for February 7, 1759, October 3, 1760, November 26, 1760. For some of the colony-wide days of fasting, prayer, and humiliation, see April 1, 1757, January 6, 1758, June 1, 1759. Twice yearly the Charleston Presbytery met, but Hutson’s diary contains no mention of these events.

<sup>10</sup> Smith spoke at the Independent Meeting on several occasions. See the diary, November 11, 1759, August 26, 1759, March 9, 1760, May 25, 1760. For more on Smith, see David Ramsay, *The History of the Independent or Congregational Church in Charleston, South Carolina, from its Origin Till the Year 1814* (Philadelphia: J. Maxwell, 1815), 11-16; Thomas S. Kidd, “A Faithful Watchman on the Walls of Charlestown’: Josiah Smith and Moderate Revivalism in Colonial South Carolina,” *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 105 (April 2004): 82-106. See also the diary, August 26, 1759, and note.

<sup>11</sup> See the diary, June 1, 1760.



live more pious lives, his sermons consisted less of fire and brimstone than of hope.<sup>12</sup> Hutson himself often appears to have lacked optimism and confidence, however. Like many other dissenting ministers of the period, he used his diary for religious introspection, and the entries thus consist of lengthy passages that express his sense of self-doubt as both a pastor and a Christian and his gratefulness for God's favor. He wondered "that so much & vile a Creature has past this Life with so much undesired Regard hitherto" and often denigrated himself: "O the unmerited Goodness of my God to me."<sup>13</sup> He regretted that his "Frame," his degree of focus and commitment to prayer or preaching on any given day, seemed lackluster, and he frequently felt "dead & lifeless." In dealing with these obstacles (which he perhaps exaggerated), he persevered in his ministry and remained strong in his faith.

Many evangelical clergymen in the eighteenth century lived mobile lives; as Thomas A. Little has shown, it was common for pastors in colonial South Carolina to travel extensively.<sup>14</sup> The Independent Meeting opened its doors to visiting ministers from other churches; Baptist minister Oliver Hart and his student Nicholas Bedgegood, John J. Zubly and John Martin of Wando, and several others preached to the congregation in Charleston.<sup>15</sup> Likewise, Hutson frequently visited other churches throughout the lowcountry to preach and offer guidance during times of crisis. "I find it good to go abroad a little," he insisted.<sup>16</sup> He preached at the Presbyterian churches of Stoney Creek, James Island, Port Royal, and Bethel (Pon

<sup>12</sup> For sermons on the importance of repentance, see, for example: Acts 5:31 (October 22, 1757, and November 19, 1758), Revelation 2:4-5 (November 13, 1757, and December 29, 1757), Matthew 3:8 (April 27, 1760). For sermons on eternal life, see, for example: Romans 5:10 (September 11, 1757), Hebrews 6:2 (January 22, 1758), Matthew 25:46 (February 5, 1758). For sermons on the parables of Jesus, see, for example: Luke 19:14 (March 26, 1758), Luke 15:18 (September 17, 1758), Mark 4:9 (September 23, 1759).

<sup>13</sup> See the diary, May 7, 1758, March 1, 1760.

<sup>14</sup> Little, "Adding to the Church Such As Shall Be Saved," 363-382; Timothy D. Hall, *Itinerancy and the Reshaping of the Colonial American Religious World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 6-7, 37-38, 130. The Archibald Simpson Diary, for instance, resembles the Hutson Diary in many ways, but is even more verbose.

<sup>15</sup> For some of the guests at the Independent Meeting, see the diary, September 24, 1758, November 18, 1759, January 28, 1759, July 1, 1759. See also the biographical information in the footnotes for these entries.

<sup>16</sup> See the diary, May 4, 1759. Hutson went to Wappetaw Independent Church to guide the congregation through the resignation and departure of Zubly, who announced his plans to become pastor of the Independent Presbyterian Church of Savannah. Hutson Diary, April 25, 1758; Roger A. Martin, "John J. Zubly: Preacher, Planter, and Politician" (Ph.D. diss., University of Georgia, 1976), 34.

Pon), as well as the independent congregations at Dorchester, its neighbor Beech Hill, and Wappetaw on Wando Neck.<sup>17</sup> He also crossed the denominational divide and spoke to the congregations of the four original members of the Charleston Baptist Association: James Island, Ashley River, Euhaw at Coosawhatchie, and Oliver Hart's Charleston church.<sup>18</sup>

Though South Carolina Baptist and Presbyterian churches differed on some issues—like when and how baptism should take place—they shared a number of Calvinist theological principles. Each subscribed to similar confessions of faith, and each believed that membership followed from a conversion experience, adherence to the church's confession, and acceptance of the church's covenant. Necessity also brought dispersed populations of whites from different religious persuasions together.<sup>19</sup> As Timothy D. Hall asserts, part of a larger community, linked by a shared religious experience, all united by their deep connection to the teachings of Whitefield and their identity as non-Anglicans, it seems that many ministers tried to promote cooperation between different dissenting denominations.<sup>20</sup> In a sermon delivered at Ashley River Baptist Church, Hutson aptly selected to preach on 1 John 4:11: "Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another." In a collegial atmosphere of theological fellowship, Hutson played a vital role as both guest and host.<sup>21</sup>

Hutson also promoted the ministry along South Carolina's frontiers and beyond. He took an interest in Native American conversion efforts and hosted John Martin, the first of two Presbyterian ministers from Virginia, who stopped in Charleston in 1758 on his way to evangelize among the Cherokees.<sup>22</sup> Hutson corresponded with the second missionary, William Richardson, and allowed Richardson to borrow from him to buy supplies

<sup>17</sup> For some of the Presbyterian churches where Huston preached, see the diary, May 7, 1758, June 24, 1759, May 4, 1760, June 19, 1757, August 13, 1758, April 27, 1760, June 12, 1757.

<sup>18</sup> For examples of his visits to Baptist churches, see the diary, May 4, 1759, September 16, 1759, April 1, 1760.

<sup>19</sup> The Baptists insisted upon the baptism by immersion of adult believers. Presbyterians baptized infants by pouring water over them. Most South Carolina Baptists, including members of the Charleston Baptist Association, subscribed to the Philadelphia Confession, a variant of the Second London Confession, a document derived from the Westminster Confession, which was adopted by the Presbyterians. See Leah Townsend, *South Carolina Baptists, 1670-1805* (1929; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1974), 287-289; Martin, "John J. Zubly," 25.

<sup>20</sup> Hall, *Itinerancy and the Reshaping of the Colonial American Religious World*, 6-7, 37-38, 130; Martin, "John J. Zubly," 25.

<sup>21</sup> See the diary, May 4, 1759. While the Hutson Diary suggests cooperation through shared theological understandings, a shared experience as non-Anglicans, and a commitment to conversion, points of division and limitations to this sense of trans-denominational fellowship must be explored in future scholarship.

<sup>22</sup> See the diary, February 5, 1758.

and a horse.<sup>23</sup> In addition, Hutson supported Baptist efforts to raise money to fund backcountry itinerants.<sup>24</sup> He relied upon valuable connections he had made in a 1753 visit to England<sup>25</sup> and used his membership in the London-based Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor (SPRK)—an organization founded by laymen in 1750 to distribute Bibles and other religious books to the indigent in the British Atlantic<sup>26</sup>—to acquire religious texts for the backcountry settlements. When Richardson later became pastor at Waxhaw, his mentor sent books and money and wrote to London to lobby for more aid.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Mark A. Conard, "The Cherokee Mission of the Virginia Presbyterians," *Journal of Presbyterian History* 58 (Spring 1980): 35-48. On the link between Davies and Richardson and for background on the mission, see George William Pilcher, *Samuel Davies: Apostle of Dissent in Colonial Virginia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1971), 106, 115-118. See also the entries for November 21, 1759, November 25, 1759, February 17, 1760, in "An account of my Proceedings since I accepted the Indian Mission" (hereinafter cited as the Richardson Diary), October 2, 1758-March 17, 1759, William Richardson Davie Papers, 1758-1819, Manuscripts Department, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, #1793, folder 1, box 1.

<sup>24</sup> For Hutson's ties to Baptist fundraising, see the diary, May 4, 1759, April 1, 1760; Little, "Adding to the Church Such As Shall Be Saved," 371.

<sup>25</sup> "In sundry Places here, we hear of Mr. Hudson, a good Minister that was lately here from Carolina and preached with uncommon Acceptance." See George William Pilcher, ed., *The Reverend Samuel Davies Abroad: The Diary of a Journey to England and Scotland, 1753-1755* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967), 55 (January 15, 1754); Rev. John Conder and Rev. Mr. Thomas Gibbons, eds., *Living Christianity Delineated in the Diaries and Letters of Two Eminently Pious Persons lately deceased; viz. Mr. Hugh Bryan, and Mrs. Mary Hutson, Both of South Carolina* (London: [James] Buckland, 1760), 5n; "Hutson Register," 30-31 (1753-1754).

<sup>26</sup> Benjamin Forfitt, a "cane-man" on Leadenhall Street, London, and member of Dr. William Langford's dissenting congregation, founded the society in 1750. Inspired by Whitefield and troubled by the earthquake of 1750, Forfitt gathered laymen from various churches in London and set up the SPRK, an organization to distribute Bibles and other religious literature to the indigent. The society sent books to ministers in Africa, Asia, America, England, and Wales. In the American South, the books usually funneled through Samuel Davies. See Jeffrey H. Richards, "Samuel Davies and the Transatlantic Campaign for Slave Literacy in Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 111 (October 2003): 349; Isabel Rivers, "The First Evangelical Tract Society," *Historical Journal* 50 (March 2007): 1-22; John Rippon, *A Discourse on the Origin and Progress of the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor, from Its Commencement in 1750 to the Year 1802* (London, 1803), 3-7; *An Account of the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor* (London: John Ward, 1759), 11.

<sup>27</sup> William Richardson to Joseph Forfitt, May 6, 1760, in *Letters from the Rev. Samuel Davies, and others* (London: Printed by J. and W. Oliver, 1761), 21-23. Joseph Forfitt was an apothecary and secretary of the society at the time. Richardson preached at the church in Waxhaw from 1759 until his death in 1771. Peter N. Moore, "The Mysterious Death of William Richardson: Kinship, Female Vulnerability, and the Myth of Supernaturalism in the Southern Backcountry," *North Carolina Historical Review* 80 (July 2003): 279-296.

Hutson's membership in the SPRK linked him to the transatlantic and transcolonial effort to spread the Gospel among slaves. It provided him with funds and books, funneled through Virginia's Samuel Davies, to help his ministry to South Carolina's African Americans.<sup>28</sup> An enthusiastic Hutson wrote the group's secretary, Joseph Forfitt, that he had received more requests from slaves for religious books than he could possibly meet and hoped for an additional shipment. Appreciative of the SPRK's support, Hutson wrote, "I have great reason to bless and praise God, that this Society was set up."<sup>29</sup> From his days at the Bryans' school, he had taken an active interest in preaching to slaves. At Stoney Creek, he baptized and admitted several slaves to the congregation, and while pastor at the Independent Meeting, he preached to slaves and baptized them. "What an Happiness! What an Honor!" he wrote in his diary, after learning that his efforts in 1758 in Indian Land had led to several slave conversions.<sup>30</sup>

Hutson's diary reveals that the city of Charleston faced tremendous challenges, and he tried to guide his congregation through them. During the Seven Years' War, Hutson lamented the British defeat and subsequent massacre of parolees at the hands of the Indians at Fort William Henry in August 1757. In fact, Hutson recalled that by late 1757, Charlestonians appeared ready to "give up all for gone."<sup>31</sup> Fortunately in 1758 the tide turned,<sup>32</sup> and the city celebrated with days of public "Thanksgiving and Praise" following the British victories at Louisbourg in 1758, Quebec in 1759, and after the fall of Montreal to British forces in 1760, which sealed the fate of French Canada.<sup>33</sup> Like other ministers in Charleston, Hutson preached to soldiers encamped in the city, urging them to not only serve their country

<sup>28</sup> A list of subscribers, including Hutson, a member since 1756, can be found in *An Account of the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor*, 11. See also Richards, "Samuel Davies and the Transatlantic Campaign for Slave Literacy in Virginia," 333-378; Rippon, *A Discourse on the Origin and Progress of the Society*; Pilcher, *Samuel Davies*, 105-112, 115.

<sup>29</sup> Rev. Mr. [William] Hutson to Mr. J[oseph] F[orfitt], July 11, 1758, in *Letters from the Rev. Samuel Davies*, 17; *An Account of the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor*, 29.

<sup>30</sup> Jackson, "Hugh Bryan," 605. For examples of Hutson's baptism of slaves and insight into slave membership at Stoney Creek, see "Hutson Register," 21-36. For the conversions at Indian Land, see the diary, August 14, 1758. Clearly not all slaves accepted the teachings of the evangelicals, but Hutson tended to focus on his accomplishments, rather than obstacles, in his ministry among African Americans.

<sup>31</sup> See the diary, June 19, 1757. Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 185-201.

<sup>32</sup> Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 208-218, discusses the ministry of William Pitt, whose leadership proved invaluable to the success of the British in 1758.

<sup>33</sup> For example, see the diary, June 19, 1757, October 6, 1758, December 7, 1759, November 26, 1760. On Charleston's response to individual campaigns: For Louisbourg, see SCG, September 27-October 2, 1758, October 6-October 13, 1758;

and province with distinction but also to do their part as "soldiers for God."<sup>34</sup> Aware of and deeply interested in continental and global events of vital importance, many Charlestonians relied on Hutson's leadership during trying times.

A smallpox epidemic raged through Charleston and the surrounding area in 1760 and brought a high death toll, especially for African American residents and Acadian refugees. Like many whites who could afford it, Hutson took his pregnant wife and family to James Island in an attempt to escape the "contagious Distempers" that stymied the city's business and sickened the population. During the outbreak, Rev. Smith remained in Charleston to preach to the few members of the Independent Meeting who stayed in the city, and Hutson preached on occasion to evacuees on James Island.<sup>35</sup> Residents also feared "the Incursions of the Savages," he wrote, as mounting tensions on the frontier between South Carolinians and the Cherokees escalated into a military conflict. While the diary makes no mention of the chaos, fear, and tragedy that many white and black Carolinians faced during the Cherokee War, it nonetheless would have been a trying time for Hutson and his congregation, no doubt some of whom marched off to fight the Indians.<sup>36</sup>

Hutson led a large family, but unfortunately the diary says little about his married life. While sitting by her bed through the night, a grief-stricken

Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 250-256. For Quebec, SCG, November 3-November 10, 1759, November 10-November 17, 1759; Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 344-368. For Montreal, SCG, September 20-September 27, 1760; Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 400-409.

<sup>34</sup> See the diary, March 5, 1757. Similarly, on July 17, 1757, Baptist minister Rev. Oliver Hart noted, "I preached to Col. Boquet's regiment of soldiers in Nightengale's Pasture." Loulie Latimer Owens, ed., "A Copy of the Original Diary of the Rev. Oliver Hart of Charlestown, Pastor of the Baptist Church of Charlestown" (hereinafter cited as "Diary of Rev. Oliver Hart"), *Oliver Hart Papers*, South Caroliniana Library, 3.

<sup>35</sup> See the diary, February 10, 1760. The smallpox first appeared in Charleston in January 1760, and by February 9, the *South Carolina Gazette* observed that "all Hopes of its being prevented spreading are now over." In an address to the Commons House of Assembly, Governor William Henry Lyttleton remarked that the city faced a "Time of Public Calamity." See SCG, January 8-January 12, 1760, February 2-February 9, 1760, February 9-February 16, 1760. In a letter from Charleston published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, an observer wrote that "the Small Pox is so prevalent in all Parts of this Town, which, added to the cruel Murders of the Cherokees on the Frontiers, has almost stagnated all Business." The smallpox had largely abated by mid April. See also Suzanne Krebsbach, "The Great Charlestown Smallpox Epidemic of 1760," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 97 (January 1996): 30-37.

<sup>36</sup> See the diary, March 2, 1760. For more on the impact of the Cherokee War on South Carolina, see John Oliphant, *Peace and War on the Anglo-Cherokee Frontier, 1756-1763* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001); M. Thomas Hatley, *The*

Hutson lost his first wife, Mary Woodward Chardon, on November 21, 1757.<sup>37</sup> Less than a year later, he remarried the widow of Hugh Bryan, Mary Prioleau, on October 10, 1758. She died in childbirth (the baby died, too) on James Island during the smallpox epidemic in February 1760, leaving Hutson with six children under the age of fifteen.<sup>38</sup> While it seems that both wives were pious and both often accompanied Hutson on his travels, many questions remain unanswered. What were their daily lives like? Who were their friends? What was it like to be a wealthy white woman in Charleston at the time? What was it like to be married to a pastor?

The diary and other sources also say little about the relationship between Hutson and his children, but he seems to have been a concerned father. He expressed gratitude that his six "dear Children were all kept in perfect Health" during their mother's mortal illness, "& blessed be God still continue so."<sup>39</sup> When a small child in the community died in an accident in 1757, Hutson marveled, "I have a large Family, what a mercy it is that so many mouths are fed & so many Lives spared from day to day." He often worried about the well-being of his "tender children," and even cancelled a trip because he could not bear to leave them alone. After the death of his first wife, Hutson visited his ill stepdaughter Sarah Chardon in Indian Land, who herself died shortly afterward.<sup>40</sup>

Hutson expressed concern, too, for his slaves. In February 1758, he remarked with alarm that one of the family's domestic slaves had done "her Business as usual" on Thursday and "on Fryday Morning was a dead Corpse." The unexpected death troubled the family, and Hutson wished that God would "sanctify the Dispensation to us all!"<sup>41</sup> At the time of his

*Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians through the Era of the Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). See also SCG, February 9-February 16, 1760; George Milligen Johnston, *A Short Description of the Province of South Carolina, with an Account of the Air, Weather, and Diseases, at Charles-Town* (London: John Hinton, 1763), 76-92; Rev. Mr. [William] Richardson to Mr. J[ohn] F[orfit], May 6, 1760, in *Letters from the Rev. Samuel Davies*, 20-22; Richardson to Forfitt, May 21, 1761, *ibid.*, 30-31.

<sup>37</sup> See the diary, November 21, 1757. Following his wife's death, Hutson sent copies of the letters, diaries, and religious reflections of Hugh Bryan and Mary Hutson to Dennis DeBerdt, a merchant in London. DeBerdt passed the documents on to two prominent dissenting ministers in London, who arranged for their publication. See Conder and Gibbons, *Living Christianity Delineated*, 134-135.

<sup>38</sup> See the diary, October 10, 1758, February 14, 1760. Mary Prioleau Bryan often traveled with her husband. The daughter of Col. Samuel and Magdalen Prioleau, she was the fourth wife of Hugh Bryan.

<sup>39</sup> See the diary, November 21, 1757; Barnwell, "Dr. Henry Woodward," 37.

<sup>40</sup> See the diary, February 27, 1757, December 18, 1757. Little is known about Hutson's stepdaughter Sarah Chardon. She was born in 1736, married Dr. William Simmons (b. 1730), gave birth to a son, John, in 1754, and lost her husband in 1755. She may have died sometime before William Hutson.

<sup>41</sup> See the diary, February 12, 1758.



Mary Woodward Chardon (1717–1757). From an oil-on-canvas portrait in the collections of the South Carolina Historical Society.

---

death, Hutson owned about ninety slaves, many of whom he had acquired through marriage. His diary provides few clues on his attitudes toward the institution of slavery, but like other pastors of his era, he apparently did not see a contradiction between his faith and his ownership of human chattel, between religion and racial subjugation. Still, he appears to have treated the enslaved well and supported not only their religious lives but their family lives, too. Several large African American families lived together on his properties—a plantation in Indian Land, a plantation on James Island, and a residence in Charleston—and he stipulated in his will that Peter, Paul, and Lissey be paid £20 annually as a token of appreciation for their faithful service during his life.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Will of William Hutson, South Carolina (Charleston) Wills (Court of the Ordinary), Vol. QQ (1760-1767), 96-102, South Carolina Department of Archives and History; Inventory of Rev. William Hutson, South Carolina Inventories, Vol. V (1761-1763), 5-8, *ibid.* For a discussion of other prominent mid-eighteenth-century

Despite the fact that it contains mainly religious reflections, Hutson's diary from his years as pastor of the Independent Meeting offers much information about the Hutson family, about mid-eighteenth-century Charleston, and about non-Anglican religion in the colonial South. The extent of his connections with Presbyterian and Baptist congregations throughout South Carolina and with evangelicals throughout the Atlantic World are illuminated in the diary, as is his support for missionary work among the Cherokees and ministering to the backcountry settlements, as well as his concern for African American conversion and family life.

Hutson's ministry thrived, and he kept a busy travel schedule, pressing on despite great personal and provincial hardships. Ironically, in his last entry, Hutson asked the Lord to help him "think more of the uncertainty of Life," and he wished to be "fitted & prepared to be gone when ever my Lord calls for; I know not when the time is."<sup>43</sup> A month later, on April 11, 1761, Hutson died from the effects of a stroke.<sup>44</sup> "It looks very awful . . . to have such a faithful Ambassador taken away . . . and at the very prime of his life," a "much affected" Rev. Simpson wrote upon learning the "Melancholy piece of news."<sup>45</sup> Hutson's sudden death at age forty put an end to a promising life and ministry. He left behind his six children and a deeply saddened congregation.<sup>46</sup> As a star on God's stage for the latter twenty years of his life, William Hutson's final act in Charleston ended too soon, but his diary helps to uncover his life from relative obscurity and offers many valuable insights.

#### EDITORIAL POLICY

Totaling 136 pages, Hutson's original diary, part of the collections of the South Carolina Historical Society, appears at times difficult to read, and with its shorthand and eighteenth-century abbreviations and symbols, often proves confusing to decipher. The transcription that follows aims to

Presbyterian ministers' attitudes towards slavery, see Philip N. Mulder, *A Controversial Spirit: Evangelical Awakenings in the South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

<sup>43</sup> See the diary, March 8, 1761.

<sup>44</sup> The cause of death appears in Ramsay, *The History of the Independent or Congregational Church in Charleston*, 12, 17-18. Ramsay was a classmate of Hutson's son Richard at Princeton; both were members of the Class of 1765. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 10, 1765.

<sup>45</sup> For Simpson's reaction to his friend's death, see the entries for April 16, 1761, and April 19, 1761, Archibald Simpson Diary, 1754-1761, in the Archibald Simpson Journals and Sermons, 1748-1784 (microfiche card 30, row 4, frame 7). Simpson preached a funeral sermon from Matthew 24:46 ("Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing.") on April 19.

<sup>46</sup> Ramsay, *The History of the Independent or Congregational Church in Charleston*, 12, 17-18; SCG, April 18, 1741. Hutson is buried in the churchyard of the Independent



present to those interested in religious life in the early South, Charleston in the mid eighteenth century, or the Hutson family, a useful, readable, and convenient understanding of what Rev. Hutson wrote and thought. While completely modernizing the diary for publication would have caused it to lose a sense of the feeling of the age, reproducing the diary exactly as Hutson wrote it would have puzzled and distracted the reader. Using the published Henry Laurens Papers as a guide, the text of the diary will be presented as it was written as much as possible, but will be made more readable using the following editorial policy.<sup>47</sup>

The heading and date of each entry will be reproduced as it was written, with the month or date or both in brackets if not indicated by Hutson. For clarity and quick reference, each year will be separated by a solid line, with the date of the next year centered in bold print directly beneath it. Paragraphs will appear only where Hutson intended. Verses from religious texts that Hutson indented and set off from the body of his own commentary will be likewise set off. Each individual entry will be separated.

The punctuation will be reproduced as was written in the original diary, except that a period will mark the end of each sentence. The beginning of each sentence will be capitalized, and the transcription also will retain the original capitalization used by Hutson throughout to give a fuller sense of eighteenth-century conventions. Dashes will be used frequently, as Hutson used them. Commas, semicolons, colons, and parentheses will be added or deleted to make the diary easier to read and understand.

Abbreviations in current use such as Mr., Mrs., and Rev. will remain, but ult., viz., and abbreviations for "them," "that," "the," "which," and other words will be written out in full. Spelling and grammar will not be changed. Both interlineations and superscripts will be brought down to the line, with the exception of dates, such as the "23<sup>rd</sup>."

The notation "[indecipherable]" will indicate where it is impossible to decipher one or more words in the text. When Hutson crossed out a word completely then resumed his train of thought with another word, the crossed-out word will be indicated with a solid line struck through it. If the

Meeting, now Circular Congregational Church, in Charleston, with his wives who predeceased him on either side. The Independent Meeting called Rev. Andrew Bennett, a young minister who had preached briefly at Dorchester, to replace Hutson as Edmonds's co-pastor. After only a few years, Bennett left for Bermuda in poor health. In his will, Hutson provided his children with a helpful head-start. His estate inventory, which included property in Charleston, plantations near Beaufort and on James Island, and about ninety slaves, listed assets valuing over £20,000. Hutson Will, 96-102; Hutson Inventory, 5-8. It remains unclear where Hutson's children lived after his death. For more on the family, see Spaulding, "The William Hutson Family."

<sup>47</sup> "Editorial Policy," in Philip M. Hamer, ed., *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, Vol. 1 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968), xxviii-xxxiii.

crossed-out word is itself unreadable, a line will be struck through the word "indecipherable." Words or names that are discernable based on context, previous usage in the diary, or the documentation of available sources, will be written out or placed in brackets, such as "Mr. P[elot]." If words or names remain unknown but an educated guess can be made, the item in question will be placed in brackets with a question mark.

Each diary entry will be annotated to the fullest extent possible, and the transcription will attempt to identify each person, place, and event, as well as scriptural and religious references, using a wide range of available primary and secondary sources.<sup>48</sup> All annotations will be placed at the bottom of the page. All biblical verses in the footnotes come from the King James Version.

Brief excerpts from the diary have appeared in Conder and Gibbons's *Living Christianity Delineated* (1760) and in George Howe's *History of the Presbyterian Church of South Carolina* (1870), but readers should be aware that the transcriptions in these sources and the text that follows here differ.

### THE DIARY OF REV. WILLIAM HUTSON

---

Nil disperandum, Christo Duce.<sup>49</sup>

Matthew 25:30. And cast ye the unprofitable Servant Into outer Darkness &c.<sup>50</sup> Quicken me O Lord according to thy word! Psalms 119:25.<sup>51</sup>

---

1757

Lord's Day  
February 27<sup>th</sup>

1757 Was somewhat alarmed & confused yesterday morning with something that happened today in my Family (a little Child much wounded. In the Evening it died). This may serve to make me more sensible of that mercy

<sup>48</sup> Missing or never published issues of the *South Carolina Gazette* make verification of city-wide events, such as fast days and days of thanksgiving, difficult at times.

<sup>49</sup> Latin for "Never despair, with Christ as our leader."

<sup>50</sup> Matthew 25:30: "And cast ye the unprofitable servant into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth" constitutes part of the parable of the unforgiving creditor.

<sup>51</sup> Psalms 119:25: "My soul cleaveth unto the dust: quicken thou me according to thy word."

of daily Preservation. I have a large Family; what a mercy it is that so many mouths are fed & so many Lives spared from day to day. Had some Composure afterwards in hearing Brother Edmonds<sup>52</sup>—preached in the afternoon my self from John 12:26<sup>53</sup>—Had not much Freedom either in Prayer or Preaching. My Master deals graciously with me in making me sensible of my Dependence.

March 4<sup>th</sup> This being the first Fryday in the month was observed as usual. Thanks be to God had much Freedom in Prayer, more I think than I have hitherto had upon any of these occasions & also in preaching too from Ecclesiastes 3:4.<sup>54</sup> May God be entreated of us.

Lord's Day

[March] 6<sup>th</sup> In a poor Frame yesterday & yesterday Morning, & feared I should have had a dismal dark day. But the Sun of Righteousness was graciously pleased to scatter the surrounding Clouds—was much more comfortable & had more freedom in the morning from John 12:26<sup>55</sup> than I expected & also in the Evening had some Liberty from Malachi 3:18.<sup>56</sup> My God is often better to us than my Fears & always better than my Deserts.

<sup>52</sup> Rev. James Edmonds, pastor at the Independent Meeting in Charleston from 1754 to 1767. Born in England in 1720, Edmonds's early career remains a mystery. He officiated at the church at Cainhoy, located about fifteen miles northeast of Charleston on the Wando River, and lectured at the Independent Meeting from 1753 to 1754, where he was ordained and elected pastor on December 15, 1754. Edmonds had a wife, Anna, and two children. Hutson baptized George Edmonds on September 24, 1756, and buried him on September 28, 1756; he baptized the Edmonds' daughter on November 24, 1759. According to an acquaintance, "Mr. Edmonds was, in person, rather above the ordinary size of men, weighing probably, over 200 lbs., had a full face and heavy eye brows, yet was polite, affable, dignified, and more loquacious than usual for one of his age. His manner of preaching was plain, solemn, and unostentatious. His sermons were short but practical, and altogether extempore." Edmonds resigned in 1767 from the Independent Meeting for unknown reasons. Witherspoon, "A Brief Memoir of the Rev. James Edmonds," 134-141; George N. Edwards, *A History of the Independent or Congregational Church of Charleston, South Carolina* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1947), ii, 14.

<sup>53</sup> John 12:26: "If any man serve me, let him follow me; and where I am, there shall also my servant be: if any man serve me, him will my Father honour."

<sup>54</sup> Ecclesiastes 3:4: "A time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time to mourn, and a time to dance."

<sup>55</sup> For John 12:26, see note 53 above. Hutson spoke on the same subject in his afternoon Sermon on February 27 (see diary, February 27, 1757).

<sup>56</sup> Malachi 3:18: "Then shall ye return, and discern between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God and him that serveth him not."

Lord's Day

[March] 13<sup>th</sup> Blessed be God had Freedom in my Studies the latter end of the Week, more than I have had for some time past. Had also a comfortable Day especially in the Forenoon. Preached from Hebrews 5:9.<sup>57</sup>

[March] 17<sup>th</sup> Preached the Evening Lecture from John 2:1.<sup>58</sup> Had the most comfortable Evening I had had a great while.

Lord's Day

[March] 20<sup>th</sup> Preached at Wando.<sup>59</sup> Blessed be God had some Freedom though not so much as last Sabbath—found much amiss in my wicked Heart—too much Pride there.

Lord's Day

[March] 27<sup>th</sup> Have reason to be very thankful for the Goodness of God to me this Day. Rose in but a poor Frame in the Morning. However was enabled to wrestle with God that He would not forsake me & He was pleased kindly to regard my Cry. Had a very comfortable time in Preaching in the morning from Isaiah 3:10<sup>60</sup> & had also some freedom in the Evening from the 11<sup>th</sup> verse of that Chapter.<sup>61</sup> Oh! that a Blessing might attend the word—many attend but alas! But few are prompted. O my God do Thou make me both more faithful & more successful.

[March] 31<sup>st</sup> Blessed be God had a comfortable Evening in speaking from Psalms 4:8.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Hebrews 5:9: "And being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him."

<sup>58</sup> John 2:1 concerns the wedding at which Jesus turned water in wine: "And the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee; and the mother of Jesus was there."

<sup>59</sup> Wappetaw Independent Church, located on Wando Neck, Christ Church Parish, in present-day Awendaw. John Joachim Zubly served as presiding minister from 1745 to 1760. During March 1757, Zubly traveled to Georgia to attend his father's funeral. See Martin, "John J. Zubly," 25-34.

<sup>60</sup> Isaiah 3:10: "Say ye to the righteous, that it shall be well with him: for they shall eat the fruit of their doings." In her diary, Mary Hutson recalled: "Sound, spiritual, and delivered with life and power How sweetly did the minister dwell on those words. *It shall be well with the righteous*. He also dwelt sweetly on the great and precious promises of the gospel, and methought I could lay hold on them all." See Conder and Gibbons, *Living Christianity Delineated*, 134-135.

<sup>61</sup> Isaiah 3:11: "Woe unto the wicked! it shall be ill with him: for the reward of his hands shall be given him."

<sup>62</sup> Psalms 4:8: "I will both lay me down in peace, and sleep: for thou, LORD, only makest me dwell in safety."

April 1<sup>st</sup> Our Day of Prayer but O! What a Day of Deadness & Stupidity unto me! Had no Liberty or Freedom in any Duty whether Secret or publick. Could neither pray with Reference to the affairs of our nation & Province nor to the approaching order of &c. Alas! Alas! What a poor Creature am I when my God leaves me.

Lord's Day

[April] 3<sup>rd</sup> Yesterday had my Heart more affected with a Sense of the Work I was shortly to be engaged in & rose this Morning in pretty much the same Frame though somewhat low. Was edified by Brother Edmonds's Sermon & blessed be God had a very comfortable Season at the Table.<sup>63</sup> Know not when I have had more Freedom in speaking & hope was enabled a fresh Surrender of myself to Christ. Heard afterwards that this was also a comfortable Sacrament unto many. The Lord's name be praised!

Lord's Day

[April] 10<sup>th</sup><sup>64</sup> My wicked Heart costs me Terrible more or less every day. How has it pestered me the latter End of this Week. O my God, deliver me from all Pride, vain Glory & Hypocrisy—very poorly this morning—my God more gracious to me in the Afternoon than I expected. Preached from Acts 4:13.<sup>65</sup>

Lord's Day

[April] 17<sup>th</sup> But poorly this Week; have had several opportunities of hearing the Word; but alas! My hard Heart too little affected. O why should I wonder at others, when I find so much unbelief in myself. Rose in but a poor Frame this Morning; but blessed be God found myself better when I got to work. Had a comfortable Time in preaching from Romans 5:10<sup>66</sup>—was not utterly forsaken neither in the Evening, though not so comfortable as in the Morning—preached from Hebrews 2:1.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Mary Hutson noted that she heard from Canticle of Canticles [Song of Solomon] 2:3: "As the apple tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons. I sat down under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet to my taste." See Conder and Gibbons, *Living Christianity Delineated*, 136.

<sup>64</sup> Hutson baptized "Elizabeth a Negroe Woman belonging to Mr. Daniel." See "Hutson Register," 34 (April 10, 1757).

<sup>65</sup> Acts 4:13: "Now when they saw the boldness of Peter and John, and perceived that they were unlearned and ignorant men, they marvelled; and they took knowledge of them, that they had been with Jesus."

<sup>66</sup> Romans 5:10: "For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life."

<sup>67</sup> Hebrews 2:1: "Therefore we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things which we have heard, lest at any time we should let them slip."

[April] 21<sup>st</sup> Much out of order in Body to day & not much better in Soul preached from Malachi 4:2<sup>68</sup> this Evening.

#### Lord's Day

[April] 24<sup>th</sup> Preached yesterday from 1 Corinthians 11:26<sup>69</sup> after a Preparatory Sermon, & blessed be God, was helped to speak with Freedom in the Afternoon & had a comfortable Opportunity. Preached to day from Hebrews 5:9<sup>70</sup> and administered the Lords Supper at Dorchester.<sup>71</sup> But poorly at the Table but blessed be God had much freedom in the Afternoon in preaching. Upon a whole may jot this down as a comfortable Day. There were many Hearers especially in the Afternoon. Baptised a Child William.<sup>72</sup>

#### Lord's Day

May 1<sup>st</sup> Preached to day at Ponpon<sup>73</sup> from Hebrews 5:9.<sup>74</sup> Was not single eyed enough. Found in me an evil Heart & Oh! That I could be more dead to every thing but the Glory of God.

[May] 2<sup>nd</sup> Got home safe to day. Blessed be God for the Mercies of another Journey. How does Goodness & Mercy Still follow me unworthy as I am of every Favor.

<sup>68</sup> Malachi 4:2: "But unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings; and ye shall go forth, and grow up as calves of the stall."

<sup>69</sup> 1 Corinthians 11:26: "For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come."

<sup>70</sup> Hebrews 5:9: "And being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him." Hutson spoke on this topic on March 13 (see diary, March 13, 1757).

<sup>71</sup> The Congregational church at Dorchester, on the Ashley River about twenty miles from Charleston. Rev. John Osgood served as presiding minister at Dorchester, but moved with most of his congregation to Midway, Georgia (present-day Liberty County), by 1760 or 1761. See Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, 268-270; John Tobler, *The South-Carolina Almanack, for the Year of Our Lord, 1759* (Charleston, S.C.: Peter Timothy, 1758), 33.

<sup>72</sup> "William Son of Mr. Strait." "Hutson Register," 34 (April 24, 1757).

<sup>73</sup> Bethel, or Pon Pon, Presbyterian Church, St. Bartholomew's Parish, in present-day Jacksonboro.

<sup>74</sup> For Hebrews 5:9, see note 70 above. Hutson preached on the same verse in Charleston on March 13 and in Dorchester on April 24 (see diary, March 13 and April 24, 1757).

## Lord's Day

May 8<sup>th</sup> Preached this Morning from Matthew 25:23.<sup>75</sup> But was pretty hoarse; & afterwards grew so much worse that I did not preach at all in the Afternoon. Had more Freedom than I expected—was very low & poorly in Prayer—but blessed be God somewhat better in Preaching.

## Lord's Day

May 15<sup>th</sup> Alas! for me in how poor a Frame still. This Morning arose in a lifeless Condition—my Heart not affected with my work. O for Sabbath Frames upon Sabbath Days. Went with a dead Heart to the House of God however hope I went praying—preached from Matthew 25:23<sup>76</sup> & found it not so bad with me as I deserved. Mr. H[ar]t<sup>77</sup> preached in the Evening—found my heard very wicked—O wretched man &c.<sup>78</sup> O my Christ remember me in mercies & send Deliverance.

[May] 19<sup>th</sup> Thanks be to God had more freedom this Evening than I have had for some time. My Burden seemed to be taken off & I had Liberty in

<sup>75</sup> Matthew 25:23: "His lord said unto him, Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy lord."

<sup>76</sup> Hutson spoke on the same subject the previous week (see diary, May 8, 1757).

<sup>77</sup> Rev. Oliver Hart served as pastor of the Charleston Baptist Church from 1750 to 1780. Hart was born in Warminster, Pennsylvania, in 1723. He was baptized in 1741 at age seventeen, became a member of a Baptist church in 1746, and was ordained in 1749 in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Looking to become a pastor in the South, he "providentially" arrived in Charleston in December 1749 on the very day that the minister of the Baptist church in Charleston died. Hart became the pastor of the church within months. He founded the Charleston Baptist Association in 1751, the first Baptist association in the South and the predecessor to the Southern Baptist Convention. He presided over a Baptist revival in South Carolina in 1754 and founded an organization to raise funds for backcountry ministers and the education of pastors in 1755. He received an honorary degree from the College of Rhode Island (now Brown University) in 1769. An ardent patriot, Hart and his family left Charleston during the British occupation in 1780 and moved to Hopewell, New Jersey, where he served as pastor of a Baptist congregation until his death in 1795. Hart had ten children by his marriages to Sarah Brees (d. 1772) and Anne Grimball (m. 1775). See Townsend, *South Carolina Baptists*; David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination, and Other Parts of the World* (Boston: Lincoln and Edmands, for the author, 1813), 323-330; Loulie Latimer Owens, *Oliver Hart, 1723-1795: A Biography* (Greenville, S.C.: South Carolina Baptist Historical Society, 1966); Owens, "Diary of Rev. Oliver Hart," and the rest of the Oliver Hart Papers, South Caroliniana Library.

<sup>78</sup> Romans 7:24: "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of) this death?"

Speaking from Malachi 4:2.<sup>79</sup> O Sun of Righteousness arise, arise upon me I pray thee with Healing under thy wing's!

#### Lord's Day

[May] 22<sup>nd</sup> Alas! for me am very low again. My hours of refreshing are but for a Season, a short Season indeed & ~~in truth~~ much out of order in Body today & as bad in Soul—However, blessed be God, it was better with me than I expected in preaching from Matthew 25:30.<sup>80</sup>

#### Lord's Day

[May] 29<sup>th</sup> Know not when I have been more puzzled for a Text than this week. Was obliged ah to pitch upon Ephesians 4:30.<sup>81</sup> A poor week I have had—& a poor Sabbath also, my Heart not suitably affected either in speaking or hearing. O for quickening Grace!

#### June 5<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day How miserable it is to live at this Rate. I miss so much without God in the World—without his comfortable Presence—His favor surely is Life, & his Loving kindness better than Life; what then must his Absence be? To day was our Sacrament. But Oh! What a poor Sacrament to my Soul How cold & dead both in preaching & at the Table. Blessed be God for a better Righteousness than my own! Preached from Psalms 132:15.<sup>82</sup>

June 10<sup>th</sup> This day set apart as a Day of Solemn Humiliation thro the Province.<sup>83</sup> Ostensibly it was kept very strictly in this Town. But alas! What will this avail if our Hearts & Lives remain unaffected? Is it Just a Fast as I have chosen a Day for a man to afflict his Soul? &c. Blessed be God had some Liberty & Freedom in the discharge of the Duties of the day—particularly in

<sup>79</sup> Malachi 4:2: "But unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings; and ye shall go forth, and grow up as calves of the stall." Hutson preached on this verse on April 21 (see diary, April 21, 1757).

<sup>80</sup> Matthew 25:30: "And cast ye the unprofitable servant into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth."

<sup>81</sup> Ephesians 4:30: "And grieve not the holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption."

<sup>82</sup> Psalms 132:15: "I will abundantly bless her provision: I will satisfy her poor with bread."

<sup>83</sup> Mary Hutson wrote, "This being a day appointed by the government for a solemn and public fast, I cannot but cry to God, that he would humble us under his mighty hand. The sword of war is drawn and hangs over our guilty heads; both in England and America." See Conder and Gibbons, *Living Christianity Delineated*, 139.



praying & preaching in the former part of it from Psalms 65:2.<sup>84</sup> O! That He who heareth Prayer, may graciously regard us.

[June] 12<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day Came over to Wando<sup>85</sup> today upon a Matter of Importance relating to the Church—was led to ask for the Wisdom from above. Blessed be God was carried through as well as could be expected, & it was brought to a Favorable [indecipherable] Blessed be God. Had also freedom in preaching to day from Matthew 3:8 in the morning.<sup>86</sup> Isaiah 5:4 in the Afternoon.<sup>87</sup> Have Reason to be very thankful for the divine Goodness. But Oh! the Sins of my Duties! Alas for me when I come to look back what reason have I to be ashamed. ~~When I~~ What should I do if there was not a Fountain opened to wash me from the Sins of my Duties.

A guilty weak & helpless Worm  
On thy kind arms I fall,  
Be thou my Strength & Righteousness  
My Jesus & my all.<sup>88</sup>

[June] 19<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day Our Inhabitants have been much alarmed this week. Some were ready to give up all for gone! What an unspeakable Pro[position]: to have something in a better World! That Joy & Peace—that Happiness & Honor Which no man can take from one. Preached to day at Dorchester,<sup>89</sup> & blessed be God, had a good Day; know not when I have had more Freedom. My God has not utterly forsaken me—preached in the morning from Matthew 3:8.<sup>90</sup> In the Afternoon from Isaiah 5:4.<sup>91</sup> May God water the Seed sown with the Dew of his heavenly Blessing!

<sup>84</sup> Psalms 65:2: "O thou that hearest prayer, unto thee shall all flesh come." Mary Hutson attended the sermon. See Conder and Gibbons, *Living Christianity Delineated*, 140.

<sup>85</sup> See note 59 above.

<sup>86</sup> Matthew 3:8: "Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance."

<sup>87</sup> Isaiah 5:4: "What could have been done more to my vineyard, that I have not done in it? wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?"

<sup>88</sup> Isaac Watts, "Faith in Christ, for pardon and sanctification," lines 25-28, in Watts, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs, Book II* (Boston, 1720), 237-238, Early American Imprints, 1st Series, no. 39733 (microfilm).

<sup>89</sup> See note 71 above. Hutson last preached at Dorchester on April 24 (see diary, April 24, 1757).

<sup>90</sup> For Matthew 3:8, see note 86 above. Hutson preached on this topic on June 12 (see diary, June 12, 1757).

<sup>91</sup> For Isaiah 5:4, see note 87 above. While at Wappetaw Independent Church the week before, Hutson gave a sermon on the same verse (see diary, June 12, 1757).

[June] 26<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day      Spent most part of this Week in visiting in which, blessed be God, have had some Assistance. Rose this Morning in but a poor Frame & was particularly dead in Family Worship. Seemed struck so all at once just as I was going to begin Prayer, insomuch that I began to fear I should have but a poor day. However my God was, as He has often been already, was better to me both than my Fears & Deserts. Know not when I have had a more comfortable time or enjoyed more Liberty & Freedom than I did in preaching this Morning from Psalms 2:12.<sup>92</sup> 'Tis pleasant working for Jesus Christ when He is pleased to vouchsafe his gracious. But alas! How heavily do I draw or drag rather when He takes off my Chariot Wheels.

July 1<sup>st</sup>      This being our Day of Prayer, desired & endeavoured to humble my Soul before God. But alas! Did not find myself affected in the Means I would have wished. But blessed be God, had much Liberty & Freedom in preaching from Amos 4:12.<sup>93</sup>

July 3<sup>rd</sup>

Lord's Day      O Give Thanks unto the Lord for He is good for his Mercy endureth forever.<sup>94</sup> This Surely should ever be the Language of my Heart—How good has God been to me today. Blessed be his Name, have been eased, in some measure, of my Burden of Deadness some days past—& seemed today to have some Confidence that God would Help me—& Blessed be his name, He did not disappoint me. Have had the most comfortable time in preaching that I have had for a long time past. All Fear &c. was taken away & I could testify with all Boldness the Gospel of &c. feel the Truths I preached & rejoice that neither Tribulation, nor Distress, nor Persecution &c. should separate me from the Love of Christ.<sup>95</sup> But alas! In the Evening found & felt

<sup>92</sup> Psalms 2:12: "Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him."

<sup>93</sup> Amos 4:12: "Therefore thus will I do unto thee, O Israel: and because I will do this unto thee, prepare to meet thy God, O Israel."

<sup>94</sup> 1 Chronicles 16:34: "O give thanks unto the LORD; for he is good; for his mercy endureth for ever."

<sup>95</sup> Romans 8:35-39: "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, For thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us. For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, Nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

within myself enough to humble me. O my God how wise & gracious art thou in so dealing with me as to make me sensible of my Dependance. Blessed be thy Name. O that I might ever walk humbly with my God!<sup>96</sup> I am sure I see enough in me to make me go softly all my days.

July 10<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day      Rose this morning with some dread upon my Spirits at the Thought of the work I had to do, & yet at the same time with some Degree of Confidence in God too—went to the Camp<sup>97</sup>—& preached from Exodus 32:26.<sup>98</sup> Blessed be God, was much delivered from the fear of man—and had Liberty in speaking, but not so much in praying. O that a Blessing might attend the word! Was very poorly affected Wednesday in publick Worship & was afraid I should have had a very poor time in the Evening but blessed be my God He was now as He has oftentimes been heretofore better to me than my Fears. Know not when I have been more disappointed. Had much Liberty in prayer & in preaching too from Hebrews 11:27.<sup>99</sup> Find I can do all things through Christ strengthening me but without him nothing.<sup>100</sup>

[July] 17<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day      Blessed be God had some Freedom in Study the latter End of this Week. Had some Hope that God would help me this Morning—and Blessed be his name He did help—though can not say I had so much Liberty and Freedom as I have had some Sabbaths past—But O my God, the least Smile, the least Favor from thee is more vastly more than I deserve. Let

<sup>96</sup> Micah 6:8: "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the LORD require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

<sup>97</sup> The *South Carolina Gazette* noted that on June 9 and 10 "the Troops lately arrived from the *Northward* were landed. The Provincials are quartered just without the Town; and the *Regulars* are encamped upon *New-Market* Course, where both men and Camp make a fine Appearance. These Troops and those that were here before, are all now under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel *Henry Bouquette*, Esq." SCG, June 23, 1757. Similarly, on July 17, Baptist minister Rev. Oliver Hart noted: "I preached to Col. Boquet's regiment of soldiers in Nightengale's Pasture." Owens, "Diary of Rev. Oliver Hart." Underfunded and poorly supplied, the five companies of soldiers were recalled to New York in February 1758.

<sup>98</sup> Exodus 32:26: "Then Moses stood in the gate of the camp, and said, Who is on the LORD's side? let him come unto me. And all the sons of Levi gathered themselves together unto him."

<sup>99</sup> Hebrews 11:27: "By faith he forsook Egypt, not fearing the wrath of the king: for he endured, as seeing him who is invisible."

<sup>100</sup> Philippians 4:13: "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me."

others think & say as they please, for my Part, my own Experience convinces me that Grace is free else what Hope what Happiness could I have.

[July] 24<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day Was much faced yesterday with regard to the Weather in going to Dorchester.<sup>101</sup> Help me, my God, to let down thy Hand in every thing. Surely Thou art amazingly kind & good to me—though I am such a base & ungrateful Creature—Goodness & mercy are still Following me. Had some comfortable assistance to day in preaching both in the former & latter part of the Day from Romans 8:35<sup>102</sup> & Jeremiah 8:6.<sup>103</sup> O that a Blessing might attend the Word. Lord let not my unworthiness so prevent it for I find my Heart very vile. O the Pride & Vainglory &c. that Lurks there—Lord root it out!—Amen!

[July] 31<sup>st</sup><sup>104</sup>

Lord's Day In but a poor Frame most part of this Week. How uncomfortable is it to live without some comfortable sense of God upon the Soul—may God ever keep me from taking up rest & [indecipherable] in the [indecipherable] when I can't find it there—Lord lift thou up the Light of thy Countenance upon me!<sup>105</sup>

August 5<sup>th</sup> This was our Day of Prayer; was but poorly in search, but blessed be God, had some Liberty & Freedom both in publick Prayer & Preaching—preached from 2 Chronicles 20:4.<sup>106</sup>

[August] 7<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day Blessed be God had some comfortable Freedom both this Morning & the last Evening in Family Worship<sup>107</sup>—which was ready to

<sup>101</sup> "It has been remarked, that for upwards of 70 Days past, we have not been without Rain; so that in several Parts of the Country, the Bridges are carried away, and the Causeways ruined." See *Supplement to the South Carolina Gazette*, August 4, 1757.

<sup>102</sup> Romans 8:35: "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?"

<sup>103</sup> Jeremiah 8:6: "I hearkened and heard, but they spake not aright: no man repented him of his wickedness, saying, What have I done? every one turned to his course, as the horse rusheth into the battle."

<sup>104</sup> Hutson baptized "Maurice Son of Benjamin & —Harvey" and "Toolah a Negroe Woman belonging to Mrs. Savage." "Hutson Register," 34 (July 31, 1757).

<sup>105</sup> Psalms 4:6: "There be many that say, Who will shew us any good? LORD, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us."

<sup>106</sup> 2 Chronicles 20:4: "And Judah gathered themselves together, to ask help of the LORD: even out of all the cities of Judah they came to seek the LORD."

<sup>107</sup> The previous evening, Hutson buried "Moody Son of James Fisher." "Hutson Register," 34 (August 6, 1757).

hope I might look upon though I knew that as I deserve no Favor at any time much less now when I had been in so poor a Frame all the Week—was therefore ready to fear that I should deservedly have but a poor Time. But O the Freeness, the Riches of divine Grace! I went praying into the House of God, & humbly hope the Lord knew, for surely He helped me both at the Table & in the Afternoon so that in the Close of the day I had surely Reason rejoicing today. My God was kind to me this Day. Bless the Lord O my Soul, & all that is within me &c.<sup>108</sup>

[August] 14<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day      My Birth day<sup>109</sup> & yet alas! had hardly a suitable Meditation on it, it so far slipt my Memory. O my God, how little have I lived for thee. Thirty seven years have I now spent in this thy World ~~& after all~~ & during that time how precious have been thy Thoughts unto me, O God. How great the Sum of them! If I should attempt to reckon them up in order unto thee they are more than can be numbered.<sup>110</sup> But I alas! What have I done! Had Justice taken Place surely [indecipherable] that I should have been cut down as a [indecipherable] of the Ground. O my God thou, & thou only knowest, how far distant from this that important Period of my Existence is in that Life is.

I'm but a Sojourner below  
As all my Fathers were  
May I be well prepared to go  
When I the Summons here.<sup>111</sup>

O my God thou hast restored & spared me far beyond my Expectations. At the Beginning of the Year—O that it might not be in vain!—Have been much out of order in Body the week past—Blessed be God felt much better to day—Had some Freedom in preaching from Hebrews 12:2.<sup>112</sup> May God bless his Word.

<sup>108</sup> Psalms 103:1: "Bless the LORD, O my soul: and all that is within me, bless his holy name."

<sup>109</sup> Hutson was born in England on August 14, 1720, to Thomas and Esther Hutson.

<sup>110</sup> Psalms 139:17-18: "How precious also are thy thoughts unto me, O God! how great is the sum of them! If I should count them, they are more in number than the sand: when I awake, I am still with thee."

<sup>111</sup> Isaac Watts, "Psalm 39. v. 9-13. Third Part. Sick-Bed Devotion; Or, Pleading without Repining," in Watts, *The Psalms of David, Imitated in the Language of the New Testament and Apply'd to the Christian State and Worship* (Boston: Rogers and Fowle, 1749), 84, Early American Imprints, 1st Series, no. 40524 (microfilm).

<sup>112</sup> Hebrews 12:2: "Looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith; who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God."

[August] 21<sup>st</sup>

Lord's Day      Alas for methinks I live at best a poor dying Rate. One Week passes on after another & yet I do but little either for God or Souls. My God will thou not receive me again that I may rejoice in thee. This Morning arose in but a poor Frame. Had not so much Liberty & Freedom in preaching as I have had in general of late. However, blessed be by my [indecipherable] was better with me than I deserved—was not altogether left to my own Weakness—preached from Hebrews 12:2.<sup>113</sup> May God bless his Word!

[August] 28<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day      Much out of order in Body this day or two, insomuch that I feared should hardly be able to go well through the Duties of the Day, But He who is always very present Help in Time of need was kindly pleased to assist me far above & beyond my Expectations. Preached both Parts of the Day from Hebrews 12:2<sup>114</sup>—was helped in some measure in the morning but yet more in the Afternoon—went in faint & low & thought I would be short, but my God was mercifully pleased to help me far, very far above my Expectations. Had more Liberty, Freedom, & Strength than in the Morning—and blessed be God had some feeling Sense of what I was saying—O my God, I can surely never enough adore thee for thy condescending Goodness unto me! I am a poor wretch & which is more in thy Light, a poor vile Creature—unworthy of any Favor & yet ungrateful though I received mercy—to all they other mercies O God, do thou add that of a thankful Heart—and help me to live more to thy Glory who hast loved me!

September 4<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day      Had some fixedness of Thought in Morning Worship. Brother Edmonds preached a good Sermon from Isaiah [55:5?].<sup>115</sup> In the Afternoon was in but an indifferent Frame myself, however, thanks be to God was not less altogether to my own weakness. ~~I desire to~~ Preached from Ephesians 6:13 on the spiritual warfare.<sup>116</sup> O my God, help me to preach to myself as well as to others. Whilst I am exhorting others to watch, suffer me

<sup>113</sup> Hebrews 12:2: "Looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith; who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God." Hutson preached on Hebrews 12:2 the previous Sabbath (see diary, August 14, 1757).

<sup>114</sup> For Hebrews 12:2, see note 113 above. Hutson preached on Hebrews 12:2 the previous two Sabbaths (see diary, August 14, 1757, August 21, 1757).

<sup>115</sup> Isaiah 55:5: "Behold, thou shalt call a nation that thou knowest not, and nations that knew not thee shall run unto thee because of the LORD thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel; for he hath glorified thee!"

<sup>116</sup> Ephesians 6:13: "Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand."

not, I pray thee, to fall asleep & grow [indecipherable]—O my God quicken, quicken me according to thy Word!<sup>117</sup>

[September] 11<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day Have been but poorly in Body this Week past but found myself much better & yesterday by riding into the Country. Preached today at Dorchester<sup>118</sup>—found myself in but a poor Frame in the Morning—But, blessed be God, was much enlarged in the Pulpit. ~~Had prepared another~~ Preached from Romans 5:10<sup>119</sup>—& had [prep] designed another Text for the Afternoon but found so much Freedom that I determined to preach on the same Subject in the Afternoon too—which I did & blessed be God with Liberty & Freedom—was somewhat assisted & encouraged by it. I had heard yesterday of a Man awakened by my preaching here about a year ago. O my God, make me useful in my poor Endeavours but help me to give thee all the Glory, for to thee alone 'tis due.

I found him graciously making good that word [indecipherable] thy days, so shall thy Strength be<sup>120</sup>—know not when I have been more sensibly concerned about my dependance.

[September] 18<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day Have been visiting my Family at Cumbee<sup>121</sup> the Week past & have reason to be thankful for what I have seen & heard of the divine Goodness there. Many of them have been sick, but most of them are recovered, & none have died. God has mercifully preserved my own Life & Health in this Journey & I have cause to praise him too that He also preserved my dear Family here in my Absence & brought me to them again in Peace & Safety—His Goodness endureth continually—How gracious has He been to me this Morning. I was comfortable in Preaching from Ephesians 6:13<sup>122</sup>—& I have a much better Sabbath than I expected—Blessed be the

<sup>117</sup> Psalms 119:54: "Plead my cause, and deliver me: quicken me according to thy word."

<sup>118</sup> For Ephesians 6:13, see note 116 above.

<sup>119</sup> Romans 5:10: "For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life." Hutson preached on this verse in Charleston in April (see diary, April 17, 1757).

<sup>120</sup> Deuteronomy 33:25: "Thy shoes shall be iron and brass; and as thy days, so shall thy strength be."

<sup>121</sup> Combahee, located in present-day Colleton County.

<sup>122</sup> For Ephesians 6:13, see note 116 above. Mary Hutson recorded in her diary: "Heard an excellent sermon to-day on the Christian armour." See Conder and Gibbons, *Living Christianity Delineated*, 143. Hutson preached on the same verse two weeks earlier (see diary, September 4, 1757).

Name of my God. Oh! That I could make some Returns of Gratitude may God help me I have no sufficiency of my own.

We have dismal news from the Northward.<sup>123</sup> What will the End of these Things be! Alas it seems as if to the End of the war Desolations were determined. May God have mercy upon us & if suffering times are coming on may He give sustaining Grace to all his People.

[September] 25<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day      Amazingly kind & gracious has my God been to me to day. This morning arose in but a poor Frame—had not much Freedom neither in secret Prayer [indecipherable-words missing] found a full Congregation. Found myself in no very lively Frame through the Whole Exercise, however, blessed be God was not put to Confusion. But O how kind was my God to me in the Afternoon. ~~indecipherable~~ I was wonderfully delivered From the Fear of Man—was enabled to speak boldly & with Freedom & know not where I have had a better time. How often have I experienced the Love & Faithfulness of my dear Master in helping me when I most needed help & yet alas! What a Faithless Creature am I, how afraid to trust him when the Time of need arrives again. My dearest Lord, give me more Faith & help me at all times to confide in thee.

A Guilty weak & helpless Worm  
On thy kind arms I fall  
Be thou my Strength & Righteousness  
My Jesus & my All.<sup>124</sup>

October 2<sup>nd</sup>

Lord's Day      Truly God is good to Israel.<sup>125</sup> His Goodness endureth continually to men of men the meanest even to me. Glory to his Name for his Goodness to me this day! How desolate & low was I last Fryday in preaching the Preparatory Discourse for the solemn order this day. Administered how dead in other Duties—so that I was really afraid I should have had a dismal time of it—but O, the neverfailing Goodness of my dearest Master. He was better vastly better to me than my Fears. Had Liberty & Freedom in speaking at the Table far above what I expected—as also,

<sup>123</sup> Hutson refers to the "Massacre at Fort William Henry." See Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 185-201.

<sup>124</sup> Isaac Watts, "Faith in Christ, for pardon and sanctification," lines 25-28, in Watts, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs, Book II* (Boston, 1720), 237-238, Early American Imprints, 1st Series, no. 39733 (microfilm).

<sup>125</sup> Psalms 73:1: "Truly God is good to Israel, even to such as are of a clean heart."



blessed be God, in preaching in the Afternoon.<sup>126</sup> O my dear Lord, ever keep me sensible of my Dependance & yet let me find that I can do all things thro thee strengthening me,<sup>127</sup> Amen. Desired, & I hoped endeavoured, to devote myself fresh to that Jesus whom I serve. May I remember O my God that thy Vows are upon me.

[October] 9<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day      Goodness & mercy still follows me—'tis a sickly Season & yet blessed be God I am favoured with much Health in my Family. I have been assisted the week past in Duties which I have been called to the Discharge of—was far beyond my Deserts assisted on our Day of Prayer—preserved in going into the Country & assisted today in the Discharge of Sabbath Duties in some Measure—though not so much as I have been heretofore. But at the same time have been much perturbed too with Satan's fiery Darts, his horrid Suggestions. I mean Lord keep me. Thou hast suffered in all things that thou being tempted which though mightest be able to succour them that are tempted.<sup>128</sup> O Lord hear; O Lord forgive; O Lord hearken & do for thine own names' sake. Amen.<sup>129</sup>

[October] 16<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day      God has been good to me again [indecipherable] my Family in general preserved in Health. Was comfortable in the Thursday Evening Lecture & particularly was my God kind & gracious to me to day—was desolate & low before I went to the Sanctuary. Was afraid I should have been straitened but my God was very gracious to me beyond my Hopes & as well as Deserts—found my Heart in some Measure affected with my Subject; preached from Psalms 89:48<sup>130</sup> & blessed be God was enabled to speak I hope with some Degree of Power. May God set home the Word without

<sup>126</sup> Mary Hutson recalled a "good sermon preached from Ephesians 3:19 [And to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God.]" In the afternoon, Rev. Hutson preached "a good sermon from John 14:21 [He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him.]" Conder and Gibbons, *Living Christianity Delineated*, 144.

<sup>127</sup> Philippians 4:13: "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me."

<sup>128</sup> Hebrews 2:18: "For in that he himself hath suffered being tempted, he is able to succour them that are tempted."

<sup>129</sup> Daniel 9:19: "O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, hearken and do; defer not, for thine own sake, O my God: for thy city and thy people are called by thy name."

<sup>130</sup> Psalms 89:48: "What man is he that liveth, and shall not see death? shall he deliver his soul from the hand of the grave? Selah."

which I know all would be nothing. Paul may plant & Apollos water, but tis God alone that can give the Increase.<sup>131</sup>

[October] 23<sup>rd</sup>

Lord's Day. O that I could live nearer to God. Oh that I had more of the same mind in me which was also in Christ. I—From Pride Vain-glory & Hypocrisy Good Lord deliver me—Had not so much Liberty & Freedom this Sabbath as the last, but have reason to be thankful that God does not utterly forsake me. Oh! That I had more of a single eye. Preached in the Morning from Psalms 37:37.<sup>132</sup> In the Evening from Isaiah 30:21.<sup>133</sup>

[October] 30<sup>th</sup><sup>134</sup>

Lord's Day. Was unexpectedly left to preach all the day myself & found myself affected with A Sense of the Importance of my Work but yet felt a Confidence in God.

[indcipherable-words missing] shall thy Strength be. Know not when I have been more sensibly concerned about my dependance nor had larger experience of the divine Goodness. Was very comfortable & much enlarged in the Morning, in the Afternoon & was pleased in some measure to withdraw to make me sensible that I had nothing but what I had received—in the evening my God was graciously present with me & I had fresh Strength given me from above—so that my God has graciously helped me in my times of need today. O how good a Master do I serve! He never faileth them that trust in him.

November 6<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day It has pleased God in the week past to lay his Hand on my dear Wife. I have been faced with much Health in my Family & should therefore surely the more patiently submit to afflictive Dispensations. But alas! I found my Heart hard, very hard & stupid—pity, pity me O my God—make me submissive to thy dispos[itions?]. Let thy Grace be sufficient for me & thy Strength &c. Preached today at Wando,<sup>135</sup> alas! In but a poor

<sup>131</sup> 1 Corinthians 3:6-7: "I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase. So then neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase."

<sup>132</sup> Psalms 37:37: "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: for the end of that man is peace."

<sup>133</sup> Isaiah 30:21: "And thine ears shall hear a word behind thee, saying, This is the way, walk ye in it, when ye turn to the right hand, and when ye turn to the left."

<sup>134</sup> On this day, Hutson also buried Mumford Milner. "Hutson Register," 34 (October 30, 1757).

<sup>135</sup> See note 59 above.

Frame—too poor Preaching without the Presence of Jesus Christ—Hebrews 12:15.<sup>136</sup>

November 13<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day Blessed be God, had some assistance, more than I expected on Thursday Evening—in preaching from Revelation 2:4-5<sup>137</sup>—God is pleased still to continue his Hand upon my dear Wife. O that I could more meekly quietly & patiently submit to it! Lord help me Surely I have reason to be thankful for the mercy that is mixed with Judgement! My Children are well & I myself am, blessed be God, better than for some time. Have had some Assistance, I trust, in the Duties of the day. Preached from Hebrews 11:16.<sup>138</sup>

November 20<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day The Week past has been a Week of Tryals—But what am I that I should not have my Tryals—Have I not reason to wonder that I have not had more? tis amazing that God should allow such an unworthy Creature so large a Shard of Mercy. But there is Reason enough to apprehend that my trying time is now coming on—my dear, dear Wife still continues exceedingly ill—yesterday she is grown much worse & I now look upon her as a departing Blessing! O cutting Thought!: to be bereaved of the dear Partner of my Life, with whom I have enjoyed so many years of delightful Society. It affects & afflicts my very Soul. What a dismal gloomy Day has this been to me. I have been ready to sink under the Apprehension of what is coming upon me. Lord pity, Lord succour, Lord save me!

November 21<sup>st</sup> A Dismal Morning this indeed never never have I seen such a one in all my Life! My Lord has laid the heaviest Affliction upon me that I am yet bore. I have been watching all night with my dear, dear departing Wife—whose precious Soul reached the Centre of its Joys between 3 & 4 o'clock yesterday Morning.<sup>139</sup> My God support me under this

<sup>136</sup> Hebrews 12:15: "Looking diligently lest any man fail of the grace of God; lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble you, and thereby many be defiled."

<sup>137</sup> Revelation 2:4-5: "Nevertheless I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love. Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent."

<sup>138</sup> Hebrews 11:16: "But now they desire a better country, that is, an heavenly: wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God: for he hath prepared for them a city."

<sup>139</sup> "Some Account of Mrs. MARY HUTSON, in her Departing Moments," in Conder and Gibbons, *Living Christianity Delineated*, 160-162, reproduces William Hutson's diary entry; however, the editors add the following: "In a word she talked

cutting Tryal for I am ever ready to totter under the heavy load. I am now left alone with six Children, bereaved of a dear, dear yokefellow whose Piety, Prudence & good Sense has been under God for many years the Comfort of my Life—Oh! What a faithful Bosom Friend have I lost; how many fervent prayers, & faithful but tender admonitions ~~ha~~ am I now deprived of. How many lonely Hours must I now spend [without?] Conversation—alas for me! Methinks everything looks gloomy round about me—& I am ready to say with good Mr. Fraser on a like Occasion “there is an End of all my worldly Felicity.” But God forbid I should fall into a murmuring expiring Frame. No! When I saw my dear Wife just going from me—though it cut me to the Heart, yes I felt my self secretly submissive to my heavenly Father’s will—neither let me make a Grave of my affliction, to bury all my Surviving mercies—no! I must remember, (Oh! that I ever may) the mercy that has been mixed with Judgement—for [indecipherable]. My dear, dear Wife during the greatest part of her Illness was under a dark heavy Cloud & complained much of the hiddenness of God’s, face, which greatly exercised her affliction, but blessed be God before she died, the Day broke & the dark Shadows fled away. I was much comforted & supportedly many sweet hopes which moved from her dying Lips. Which were such as these when we told her our apprehensions that she was near dying. She then expressed herself “am I so near my Father’s House? Is it possible? So near my father’s house? Methinks ‘tis too good news to be true! Methinks I am unworthy to go to heaven! I have never done any thing for God; but he has mercy on whom he will have mercy! Methinks my clouds begin to break away. If I should lie speechless any time, be sure to whisper Jesus in my Ear. Death comes, not as a murderer, I hope, but as a Porter to open the Door. He is a little rough & rude, ‘tis true, but the Door opens into endless life.” Again she said “The Lord is my Righteousness & Strength. When Christ who is our Life shall appear then shall we also appear with him in Glory.” At When she saw me grieving for her she said “you don’t know what evil times are coming upon the world, & you may be glad to have your poor wife housed.” When I called in the tender Children to see her she said to them, “be sure to get an Interest in Christ. If you die without it, it would be better for you never to have been born.” To me she said Christ will be better to you than ten [indecipherable]. Looking at her Nails when the Blood was settled ~~in them~~ under them she said to a Friend, “See here the Marks of Death.” The Friend replied “see the Diff[erence] between A Christian, & carnal Person—what

with the greatest composure of her approaching dissolution, and gave particular directions about the plainness of her coffin, and funeral, &c. with as much freedom and ease, as if she had been speaking about any of the common affairs of life; and at length, without so much as a groan, or sigh, fell asleep in Jesus, between three and four o’clock in the morning, on Monday the 21<sup>st</sup> of November, 1757.” Ibid., 161-162.

terrifies the sinner pleases her—"Yes," says she—"Blessed be God it does please me—This Flesh shall rest in Hope." Looking upon her Hands—now surely I have reason I have reason to be thankful for this Grace of the Lord. Again, I have reason to be thankful for the Frame I find myself in at present—truly affected & afflicted but yet submissive—here I would note the different frames I have been in during the Course of that yesterday's melancholy Dispensation: at first I found myself hard & stupid, making, alas! too light of the matter, not willing to think matters so bad as they were. But when I found things were then I was willing to apprehend—& that at best, ~~from~~ according to Opinion of the Physician, my dear Wife was like to have a long Illness—I found myself affected—But thought however I could be willing to submit to that if God could but spare her. At Length when I found there was alas! but little Hopes of that, & my next Request to God was that He would be pleased so only to remove the Cloud & shine upon her Soul & I should be submissive—this my God was graciously pleased to grant, & blessed be his Name, though the Stroke cut me to the very Heart, yet I found myself ready to say "thy Will O God be done!"

& yet faithful, I have cause to be thankful that my dear Children were all kept in perfect Health during the time of their dear Mother's Illness & blessed be God still continue so—& Also for the Kindness & Sympathy of Friends. O my God, help me to bless Thee at all times, even more in the Depths of my Calamity—& O that thou wouldst mercifully sanctify this sore Affliction to me. Lord let me not feel all this [indecipherable] in vain. O that the humbling Stroke might humble me indeed! O that it might purge away my Dross! O that it might be means of purifying my Soul! O that my Christ may remember me in my solitary moments!†—those words have been secret to me this day or two past—& yet I am not alone because the Father is with me. As also in the nights, those words in Doctor Watts-

in wakeful Hours of Night

I'll call my God to mind

I'll think how wise thy Counsels are

& all thy Dealings kind<sup>140</sup>

Yes, for after all, He has not dealt with me according to my sins nor rewarded me according to my Iniquities. I must not forget to add that I have reason, very great reason, to be thankful that ever I had such a Wife—for the wonderful terms of Providence that brought us together & kept up happy so long—the Lord Gave, & the Lord hath taken away & however the

<sup>140</sup> Isaac Watts, "Psalm 68. Short Metre. Seeking God," lines 25-28, in Watts, *The Psalms of David*, 126-127.

Affliction is indeed very cutting & affecting, yet desire to add, with that holy man of old—Blessed be the name of the Lord.<sup>141</sup>

[November] 27<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day This also has been another affecting day with me. Brother Edmonds preached from Revelation 14:13 a Funeral Sermon for the dear deceased, in the close of which he took occasion to mention & recommend her practically as an eminent Examination of Piety & gave her a Character which she very justly deserved.<sup>142</sup> My Soul was melted & affected when [~~indecipherable~~] I saw her [Pietousness?] so well drawn. But yet more when between Sermons I read the dying Request of the dear deceased to her Children.<sup>143</sup>—they too, blessed be God, seemed to be in a tender & melting Frame. I afterwards went to Prayer with them intreating God to set it home upon their Hearts. Ah! That He mercifully may. Oh! That his heavy stroke may be sanctified to us all! This is, & shall be still my Plea: O my God remember me for good in my lonely state! Give me thy Presence—don't leave me, nor forsake me at any time, but especially in such a time as this! Be thou the Strength of my Heart & my Portion for ever.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>141</sup> Job 1:21: "And said, Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither: the LORD gave, and the LORD hath taken away; blessed be the name of the LORD."

<sup>142</sup> Revelation 14:13: "And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them." Edmonds and Zubly later wrote that Mary Hutson had displayed an "exemplary life and triumphant end." It had been "an honour and pleasure," they insisted, "to own the friendship which they enjoyed with this excellent woman." She lived "a life of holiness," though "too short a space of time." She had "sustain'd the character of a sincere Christian, an affectionate wife, a tender mother, and condescending mistress in a very uncommon degree." J. J. Zubly and J. Edmonds, "A Testimonial to the excellent character of Mrs. MARY HUTSON by two ministers of her acquaintance," in Conder and Gibbons, *Living Christianity Delineated*, 125.

<sup>143</sup> For the complete text of Mary Hutson's letter, "Left behind her, containing pious Advice to her Children," see Conder and Gibbons, *Living Christianity Delineated*, 154-158. Highlights of the letter are as follows: "Shall all, I say, be lost? Or which is worse, rise up in judgment against you? God forbid! . . . I charge you, be ye reconciled to God . . . As an evidence of my tender concern for you, I leave this behind me; that by it when dead, I may yet speak to you." She warned her children of the fear of God's wrath and admonished them to "Fly from the very appearance of sin," shun "evil company," and only associate with "real Christians." They were to sit under a good minister, read Scriptures, "read none but good Books," and "pray in secret, morning and night, serve god and others in your work . . . In a few words, do justice; love mercy; and walk humbly with God." She also told them to "Strive against pride, don't despise the poor, pray for humility and faith, pray that you may love God, Love your brothers and sisters, feed the hungry."

<sup>144</sup> Psalms 73:26: "My flesh and my heart faileth: but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever."

December 2<sup>nd</sup> This being the Day set apart by a number of Churches in this &, I hope the neighbouring Lands for Solemn Supplication to God on Account of our national Distress, and endeavoured accordingly to improve it—& thanks be to God had more Liberty & Freedom than in some times past—was enabled I hope in some measure to wrestle for a guilty People & to humble myself for my own Sins too among the rest. Had also Liberty in Prayer in the publick Congregation & in preaching the word. Judges 2:14-15.<sup>145</sup>

[December] 4<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day This being Sacrament day found my Heart in some Measure I hope afflicted with a Sense of the important Work I had before me, But alas! Arose in but a poor dead lifeless Frame. However, was enabled to go forth praying & I hope, in some Measure confiding in God, & found him as heretofore a Friend in need. Was graciously helped in making the first Prayer. Had much Freedom & Liberty & was enabled I hope in some Measure to wrestle with God—afterwards preached from John 19:30<sup>146</sup> & was again graciously assisted in speaking at the Lord's Table, so that I may on the whole jot down this for a good, as well as an high Day. O my God I desire to be exceeding thankful that ~~thou~~ though thou hast laid this heavy Stroke upon me, thou dost not hide thy face from me. O my God, thy Favor is Life & thy Loving kindness is better than Life!

December 11<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day Blessed be God for his Goodness to me. I was very low & dead this Morning & began to be afraid I should have but a poor day. But my God was better to me than my Fears—was enabled to speak with some little Freedom in the Morning, but with more in the Afternoon—seemed to be pretty low & exhausted in Body when I went in but God graciously renewed my Strength—& I was enabled to speak, I hope & Guess, with some Degree of Power. Preached in the Morning from 1 Thessalonians 5:10.<sup>147</sup>—in the

<sup>145</sup> Judges 2:14-15: "And the anger of the LORD was hot against Israel, and he delivered them into the hands of spoilers that spoiled them, and he sold them into the hands of their enemies round about, so that they could not any longer stand before their enemies. Whithersoever they went out, the hand of the LORD was against them for evil, as the LORD had said, and as the LORD had sworn unto them: and they were greatly distressed."

<sup>146</sup> John 19:30 concerns the crucifixion of Christ: "When Jesus therefore had received the vinegar, he said, It is finished: and he bowed his head, and gave up the ghost."

<sup>147</sup> 1 Thessalonians 5:10: "Who died for us, that, whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with him."

Afternoon from Psalms 116:9.<sup>148</sup>—O that God might water the Seed Sown with the Dew of his Heavenly Blessing!

[December] 18<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day      This week have been visiting my dear Daughter at Indian Land<sup>149</sup>—whom I found in a very weak & low Condition. Alas! What a world! How uncertain are all our Creature Enjoyments. The Root is gone! & alas! It seems as if the Branch was going too! Lord spare her if it be thy holy will. She is brought low, but thou canst help her. Have been also visiting my Family to the Southward where I also met with some Tryals. Have also been much exercised with renewed Temptations, so that in short this has been a trying week to me. O my God sanctify all to me. I humbly pray thee. Was disappointed by the weather yesterday so that I could not reach Charlestown to day—went to Dorchester & there heard Brother Osgood<sup>150</sup> from Proverbs 3:17<sup>151</sup> & John 9:3.<sup>152</sup> O my ~~help~~ God help me more diligently to discharge the Work of the day in its day!

[December] 25<sup>th</sup>

Lord's Day      Rose this Morning in but a poor Frame, found myself very low & lifeless in secret Duties & began to fear I should be the same in Publick—and indeed was but poorly in the first Prayer. But blessed be God afterwards was much revived—and had a very comfortable Time in preaching from 1 Timothy 1:15—Blessed be God, could feel the Truths I preached,<sup>153</sup> had enlargement in Prayer afterwards & was earnestly desirous that God would bless the word. O that He would grant me the strength that I long for! Was but poorly in the Afternoon & Evening in hearing. Alas! What poor verable Creatures are we. O my God I find I stand in continual need of the Influence of thy special Grace; without it I can do nothing! I can neither pray, nor preach, nor hear nor any thing. This Morning after God had been so gracious to me, instead of being so thankful as I ought to be, found the Pride

<sup>148</sup> Psalms 116:19: "In the courts of the LORD's house, in the midst of thee, O Jerusalem. Praise ye the LORD."

<sup>149</sup> On Hutson's stepdaughter Sarah Chardon, see note 40 above.

<sup>150</sup> See note 71 above. Hutson last visited Dorchester on July 23 (see diary, July 24, 1757). Rev. John Osgood served as presiding minister at Dorchester at the time. Born in Dorchester, South Carolina, Osgood graduated from Harvard in 1733 and was ordained at Dorchester in 1735. He also helped ordain Hutson in 1743. See Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, 205; "Hutson Register," 21.

<sup>151</sup> Proverbs 3:17: "Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace."

<sup>152</sup> John 9:3: "Jesus answered, Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents: but that the works of God should be made manifest in him."

<sup>153</sup> 1 Timothy 1:15: "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief."



of my wicked Heart began to rise—which made me think of the Expression of a good man speaking of Dangers of the Christian not a Duty performed but a Temptation follows—Lord forgive the Sins of my Duties!

[December] 29<sup>th</sup> Preached this Evening from Revelation 2:4-5<sup>154</sup>—but alas! In but a poor Frame—tis poor Preaching when my good master is not with me.

*(To Be Continued)*

<sup>154</sup> Revelation 2:4-5: "Nevertheless I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love. Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent." Hutson preached on the same verse on November 10 (see diary, November 13, 1757).

## THE PALMETTO LEADER'S MISSION TO END LYNCHING IN SOUTH CAROLINA: BLACK AGENCY AND THE BLACK PRESS IN COLUMBIA, 1925–1940

Kerstyn M. Haram\*

One of these days lynching will be a thing of the past in this country, for it is barbarism, and one cannot entertain the thought that the white people will forever go on degrading themselves through such a practice.

*Palmetto Leader*, May 11, 1935

The *Leader* is uncompromising in its efforts to give the Negro that faith in himself that is so essential to any race that would take its rightful place in civilization's onward march.

*Palmetto Leader*, July 5, 1930

IN 1925 THE *PALMETTO LEADER*, AN AFRICAN AMERICAN newspaper based in Columbia, South Carolina, reached the printing press for the first time. Beginning in its initial year of publication, this conservative weekly made bold statements about personal motivation and self-improvement, which it sought to encourage within the readership. In a May 1925 article on the recent decrease of lynchings nationwide, the author noted that "some observers declare there has been a gain in the self-respect and self-discipline of the Negroes themselves that may account for part of the improvement."<sup>1</sup> The *Palmetto Leader*—with its distinguished editor, Nathaniel Jerome Frederick, and its strong, opinionated publisher, George H. Hampton—adopted the fight against lynching as one of its primary social causes. With hopes and expectations of black agency and self-respect, the paper attacked lynching through distinct strategies involving reports and editorials on lynching, analyses of black and white crime, and calls to Christian morality. The *Palmetto Leader* helped give voice to the anti-lynching crusade in South Carolina, and as an important early advocate for African American civil rights in the state, its efforts to initiate lynching reform from within the black community merit recognition.

The lynching era is one of the most disgraceful, regrettable chapters in American history. Between 1880 and 1930, an estimated 3,220 blacks and

\* Kerstyn M. Haram is a student at the University of Michigan Law School. She wishes to thank her father, John Haram, and Jim Ralph of Middlebury College.

<sup>1</sup> *Palmetto Leader* (Columbia, South Carolina), May 23, 1925, p. 4. Politically, the *Palmetto Leader* was an organ for the moribund Republican Party in South Carolina.