



BX 5880 .P46 v.1
Perry, William Stevens,
1832-1898
The history of the American
Republic, 1789-1898

THE HISTORY
OF THE
AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH

THE HISTORY
OF THE
AMERICAN
EPISCOPAL CHURCH

1587-1883

BY
WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, D.D., LL.D.
BISHOP OF IOWA

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I
THE PLANTING AND GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN
COLONIAL CHURCH

1587-1783

PROTECTED BY CLARENCE F. YEWETT

BOSTON
JAMES R. OSGOOD AND COMPANY
1885

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To

THE RT. HON. AND MOST REV. EDWARD W. BENSON, D.D.,
Etc., Etc

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND AND METROPOLITAN.

THE MOST REV. ROBERT EDEN, D.D.,

LORD BISHOP OF MORAY, ROSS, AND CALHNESS AND PRIMATE OF THE
CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.

AND TO

THE RT. REV. ALFRED LEE, D.D., LL.D.,

BISHOP OF DELAWARE, AND PRESIDING BISHOP OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH

This Work

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.

P R E F A C E .

THAT the history of the American Episcopal Church is not more widely known, and more generally accessible, is not from the lack of earnest and painstaking investigators, nor from any want of abundant material. Pamphlets and volumes, "broadsides" and papers, letters, records and manuscripts, bearing upon our history and illustrating the annals of earlier or later days, exist in almost embarrassing profusion. Even the statutes at large of our jurists and the secular histories of our States or the Nation cannot be studied, or even casually examined, without the revelation of the connection of the Church of England with early maritime discovery and colonization, and the confession of the fact that the State and the Church grew up together among us from the first. In fact, our ecclesiastical history is necessarily coeval with that of the civilization and development of the continent. One cannot turn the dingy pages of the

" Small, rare volumes, black with tarnished gold,"

—the coveted treasures of the bibliomaniac, and the "muggets" of collectors of "Americana,"—without finding in black letter or in plain Roman the story of the Church's progress through trials and difficulties from her first transplanting on American shores to her present independence and promise.

It is, nevertheless, true that with a rich and almost exhaustless store of material to draw from, and with a history of which we have no reason to be ashamed, the narrative of the Church's foundation and growth has been but partially told. The labors of the late Francis Lister Hawks, D.D., LL.D., first historiographer of the American Church, prosecuted as they were among many discouragements, and received, as we must confess, with inadequate support, gave us the annals of the Church in Virginia and Maryland, and, at a later date, and in connection with the present writer, the documentary history of the Connecticut Church. The venerable Bishop White, in his invaluable "Memoirs of the Church," placed within our reach an authoritative *résumé* of the facts and principles of our organization as an independent branch of the catholic Church of Christ. Others, whom it would be impossible to name, have supplied, in diocesan or parish histories, and in the biographies of our leading men, data of the greatest value and interest. But the only accessible history of the Church, as a whole, is the admirable summary of our annals, written by the celebrated Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford and Winchester, and since this admirable work was prepared nearly half a century of growth and development has already passed.

The scheme of this History originated with Mr. Clarence F. Jewett, who entrusted the further development of the work to the writer, and it is now offered to supply, for a time at least, the confessed lack of a record of the Church's progress during its earlier days of planting and struggling as a feeble and somewhat neglected branch of the Church of England, and its history after the war of the Revolution as an organization which has now closed its first century of independent life. In the presentation of this story of church life and growth there have been added to the narrative numerous important and valuable monographs, prepared by distinguished

writers of our communion, and serving to elucidate the statements of the text or to add to their fulness and accuracy.

Other papers of this nature, of perhaps equal value and interest, were prepared; but, with a view to condensation, the results of these investigations have been incorporated in the narrative and illustrative notes. It is believed that by this division of labor a more satisfactory result has been attained than could possibly have been secured in any other way, and these noble volumes, which in their typography and careful illustration, attest the taste and liberality of the publishers, are therefore commended to the kind consideration of the members of our Church as the first complete history of our communion.

William Brewster Perry.

CONTENTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

PREFACE	VII
-------------------	-----

The Planting and Growth of the American Colonial Church.

BY THE EDITOR.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONNECTION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND WITH AMERICAN DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT	1
ILLUSTRATIONS: Sebastian Cabot, 3; Martin Frobisher, 6; The Arms of England, 8; Cavendish, 11; Sir Francis Drake, 11.	
AUTOGRAPHS: Henry VII., Henry VIII., Edward VI., 2; Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, 4; Sir Francis Drake, 5; Martin Frobisher, 6; Sir Humphrey Gilbert, 8; Sir Walter Raleigh, 9; Ralph Lane, 10.	
NOTES, CRITICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL	15

CHAPTER II.

SERVICES AND SACRAMENTS AT RALEIGH'S COLONIES AT ROANOKE, ON THE NORTH CAROLINA COAST	18
CRITICAL NOTES ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION	23

CHAPTER III.

FORT ST. GEORGE AND THE CHURCH SETTLERS AT THE MOUTH OF THE KENNEBEC	26
ILLUSTRATIONS: Smith's Map of New England, 28; Ancient Pema- quid, 33.	
AUTOGRAPHS: George Weymouth, 27; Sir Ferdinando Gorges, 29; Sir	

John Popham, Rev. Richard Hakluyt, 39; William Strachey, 34;
 Lord Bacon, 37.

CRITICAL NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS 38

CHAPTER IV.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE IN VIRGINIA 42

ILLUSTRATIONS: Capt. John Smith, 43; Jamestown, 44; Lord Delaware, 51; George Percy, 55.

AUTOGRAPHS: Capt. John Smith, 47; James I., 49; De la Warr, 53; Thomas Gates, 54; George Percy, 55.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION 63

CHAPTER V.

THE UNIVERSITY OF HENRICO, AND EFFORTS FOR THE CONVERSION AND CIVILIZATION OF THE SAVAGES 66

ILLUSTRATION: Fac-simile Seal of Virginia, 72.

AUTOGRAPH: John Harvey, 72.

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION 78

CHAPTER VI.

PIONEERS OF THE CHURCH IN NEW ENGLAND 81

ILLUSTRATIONS: John Endicott, 83; Standish's Sword and a Matchlock, 84; John Winthrop, 88; St. Botolph's Church, 89; John Cotton, 91; Winthrop's Fleet, 93; Fac-simile Letter of Thomas Lechford, 98; Petition of Robert Jordan, 106.

AUTOGRAPHS: Robert Browne, 81; Thomas Morton, 82; John Endicott, 83; Miles Standish, 84; William Blaxton, Thomas Walford, Samuel Maverick, 87; John Winthrop, 88; John Cotton, 91; William Hubbard, 94; Roger Williams, 95; Thomas Lechford, 98; Ferdinando Gorges, Captain Mason, Roger Goode, Thomas Gorges, 100; Robert Jordan, 104; Signers of Covenant "First Church in Boston" (John Winthrop, John Wilson, Isaac Johnson, Thomas Dudley), 111.

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION 107

CHAPTER VII.

THE COLLEGE AT WILLIAMSBURG AND PRESIDENT BLAIR 113

ILLUSTRATION: The College of William and Mary as it appeared a century and a half ago, 123.

AUTOGRAPHS: William Berkeley, 114; James Blair, Robert Boyle,
115; Thomas Dawson, John Camm, James Horrocks, 125.

ILLUSTRATIVE AND CRITICAL NOTES 126

CHAPTER VIII.

COMMISSARY BRAY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE CHURCH IN
MARYLAND 129

ILLUSTRATIONS: Lord Baltimore, 130; The Baltimore Arms, 132;
Cecil, second Lord Baltimore, 133; Fac-simile Title-Page of
Tract, 139; Endorsement of the Toleration Act, 146; All-Hal-
lows Parish Church, Snow Hill, Maryland, 147.

AUTOGRAPHS: John Harvey, Leonard Calvert, 131; John Lewger,
Thomas Cornwaleys, 132; King Charles II., 135, 145; Sir George
Calvert, William Stone, 145; Philip Calvert, 146.

CRITICAL AND ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES 145

CHAPTER IX.

BEGINNINGS OF THE CHURCH IN NEW YORK AND THE MIDDLE COLONIES, 148

ILLUSTRATIONS: Arms of Sir Francis Nicholson, 151; The Fort and
Chapel, Old New York, 155; Sir Edmund Andros, 157; Arms of
Andros, 158; Lord Bellomont, 163.

AUTOGRAPHS: Richard Nicolls, 148; Charles Wolley, 150; Thomas
Dongan, 152; King James II., 153; Lord Bellomont, 163; Gov-
ernor Fletcher, 170.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES 170

CHAPTER X.

GOVERNOR ANDROS AND THE BUILDING OF KING'S CHAPEL, BOSTON, 175

ILLUSTRATIONS: Fac-simile of Earliest Record-Book of King's Chapel,
Boston, 178; Great Seal of New England under Andros, 181;
the first King's Chapel, 186; John Nelson, 188; Fac-simile Note
from the Records of King's Chapel referring to the Rebellion
against Andros, 190; Holy Table in Use in 1686, 191; Com-
munion Flagon, 192; Communion Plate given by King William
and Queen Mary, 193.

AUTOGRAPHS: Robert Ratcliffe, 175; Samuel Sewall, 176; Charles
Liddgett, 177; Edward Randolph, 179; Edmund Andros, 181; Ben-
jamin Bullivant, 187; John Nelson, 188; Ministers, Wardens, and
Vestry of King's Chapel, 1700, 194; Rev. Peter Daillé, 195.

ILLUSTRATIVE AND CRITICAL NOTES 195

CHAPTER XI.

THE STATE OF THE CHURCH IN AMERICA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS . . .	197
ILLUSTRATION: Seal of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 198.	
ILLUSTRATIVE AND CRITICAL NOTES	205

CHAPTER XII.

THE MISSION OF KEITH AND TALBOT "FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE TO CARATUCK," NORTH CAROLINA	206
ILLUSTRATIONS: The King's Missive, 1661, commanding the Release of the Quakers, 207; Rev. George Keith, 209; Joseph Dudley, 211; Fac-simile Title-Page of Sermon preached by Rev. George Keith, 213; George Fox, 216; Increase Mather, 222.	
AUTOGRAPHS: Cotton Mather, James Allen, Joshua Moody, Samuel Willard, 208; Joseph Dudley, 211; John Talbot, 215.	
ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES	221

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PLANTING OF THE CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE,	223
ILLUSTRATIONS: William Penn, 223; Seal of Pennsylvania, 224; the Queen Anne Plate, Christ Church, 231; Christ Church, Philadelphia, 236; Interior of Christ Church, Philadelphia, 238; Jacob Duché, 241; Old Swedes Church, Wilmington, Delaware, 244; Gloria Dei (old Swedes) Church, 245; Old St. David's Church, Radnor, 246.	
AUTOGRAPHS: William Penn, 223; Evan Evans, 226; Peter Evans, Robert Hunter, 232; William Keith, 233; Edmund Gibson, Lord Bishop of London, 237; Robert Jenney, William Sturgeon, Jacob Duché, 239; Richard Peters, 240; John Kearsley, Thomas Coombe, Jacob Duché, 241; Philip Reading, Thomas Barton, Charles Inglis, Hugh Neill, 242; William Thompson, Robert Jenney, William Smith, 243.	
ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES	244

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CONVERSION TO THE CHURCH OF CUTLER, RECTOR OF YALE COLLEGE, AND OTHER PURITAN MINISTERS OF CONNECTICUT . . .	247
ILLUSTRATIONS: Timothy Cutler, 248; Christ Church, Boston, 252.	

AUTOGRAPH: Timothy Cutler, 248.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES 255

CHAPTER XV.

THE TRIAL OF JOHN CHECKLEY, AND THE STRUGGLES OF THE
CHURCH IN MASSACHUSETTS AND RHODE ISLAND 257

AUTOGRAPHS: John Checkley, Ezekiel Cheever, 257; William Dummer, Robert Auchmuty, 264.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES 271

CHAPTER XVI.

CONTROVERSIES 273

ILLUSTRATION: Rev. James McSparran, 280; Memorial Tablet to Rev. John Beach, 282.

AUTOGRAPHS: George Pigot, 273; Samuel Johnson, 274; Charles Chauncy, 276; James Wetmore, 279; James McSparran, 281.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE 282

CHAPTER XVII.

DOCTOR JOHNSON, OF STRATFORD, AND THE GROWTH OF THE CON-
NECTICUT CHURCH 283

ILLUSTRATIONS: Samuel Johnson, 289; Christ's Church, Stratford, 297.

AUTOGRAPHS: Timothy Cutler, 285; Samuel Johnson, 289.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES 302

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LEADING MISSIONARIES AND CLERGY AT THE NORTH AND SOUTH:
THEIR LIVES AND LABORS 301

AUTOGRAPHS: Hugh Jones, 307; James Honyman, 311; Matthias Plant, 312; Thomas Bacon, 317; Edward Bass, 321.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE 321

CHAPTER XIX.

MISSIONARY LABORS AMONG THE MOHAWKS AND OTHER INDIAN
TRIBES 322

ILLUSTRATIONS: Sir William Johnson, 331; the Lord's Prayer from the Mohawk Prayer-Book, 334.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE 334

CHAPTER XX.

THE WESLEYS AND GEORGE WHITEFIELD, MISSIONARIES OF THE CHURCH IN GEORGIA 335

ILLUSTRATIONS: General James Oglethorpe, 336; Fac-simile Title-Page of Wesley's Journal, 346; Rev. George Whitefield, 349; Whitefield's Orphan House or Bethesda College, 351; Fac-simile Title-Page of Sermon Preached by Rev. Edward Ellington, 358; Fac-simile Title-Page of Journal of Voyage from London to Georgia, 367.

AUTOGRAPH: George Whitefield, 349.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES 360

CHAPTER XXI.

COMMISSARY GARDEN AND THE CHURCH IN SOUTH CAROLINA 372

ILLUSTRATIONS: St. Michael's Church, 374; Fac-simile Title-Page of Six Letters to Rev. George Whitefield, 389; Interior of the Goose-Creek Church, 391; St. Andrew's Church, 392; Ruins of St. George's Church, Dorchester, 393.

AUTOGRAPHS: Affra Coming, 375; Alexander Garden, 385; South Carolina Clergymen, 1724 (Thomas Hasell, John La Pierre, Benjamin Pownall, William Dawson, Alexander Garden, Brian Hunt, Albert Powderous, Richard Ludlam, Francis Varnod, David Standish), 394.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES 390

CHAPTER XXII.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE EPISCOPATE 395

ILLUSTRATIONS: Jonathan Mayhew, 411; An Attempt to Land a Bishop in America, 413.

AUTOGRAPHS: Thomas Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, 407; Jonathan Mayhew, 411; Thomas Bradbury Chandler, 414.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE 426

CHAPTER XXIII.

KING'S COLLEGE, NEW YORK, AND THE COLLEGE AND ACADEMY OF PHILADELPHIA 428

ILLUSTRATIONS: Benjamin Franklin, 129; Rev. Richard Peters, 131; Rev. William Smith, 134; Distant view of King's College in 1768, 143.	
AUTOGRAPHS: Richard Peters, 131; Benjamin Franklin, 135.	
ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE	116

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE POSITION OF THE CLERGY AT THE OPENING OF THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE	447
ILLUSTRATION: Dr. Joseph Warren, 452.	
AUTOGRAPH: William Stevens Perry, 468.	
ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE	467

 Illustrative Monographs.

MONOGRAPH I.

THE RELATIONS OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COLONY TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. <i>Robert C. Winthrop</i>	469
ILLUSTRATION: Pilgrim Rehes, 478.	
AUTOGRAPHS: John Winthrop, 469; Margaret Winthrop, 470; Samuel Browne, John Browne, 476; Samuel Fuller, 477; Robert C. Winthrop, 478.	

MONOGRAPH II.

EARLY DISCOVERIES AND SETTLEMENTS ON THE COAST OF NEW ENG- LAND, UNDER CHURCH AUSPICES. <i>Benjamin F. De Costa</i>	479
ILLUSTRATIONS: John Hawkins, 480; Ship of the Seventeenth Cen- tury, 483; Blackstone's Lot, 498.	
AUTOGRAPHS: John Hawkins, 480; Samuel Maverick, 491; John Cotton, 493; James L., 494; Benjamin F. De Costa, 500.	

MONOGRAPH III.

PURITANISM IN NEW ENGLAND AND THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH. <i>Thomas Winthrop Coit</i>	501
---	-----

AUTOGRAPHS: Hugh Peters, 503; Thomas Shepard, 505; William III., 511; Thomas W. Coit, 518.

MONOGRAPH IV.

DEAN BERKELEY'S SOJOURN IN AMERICA, 1729-1731. *Moses Coit Tyler* 519

ILLUSTRATIONS: "Whitchall," the Residence of Dean Berkeley while in Rhode Island, 520; George Berkeley, 523; Dean Berkeley's favorite Resort at Newport, now called Berkeley's Seat, 533.

AUTOGRAPHS: George Berkeley, 523; Moses Coit Tyler, 540.

MONOGRAPH V.

THE NON-JURING BISHOPS IN AMERICA. *John Fulton* 541

ILLUSTRATIONS: Episcopal Seal bearing the Name of Talbot, 541.

AUTOGRAPHS: Charles Gookin, 549; John Fulton, 560.

MONOGRAPH VI.

YALE COLLEGE AND THE CHURCH. *E. Edwards Beardsley* 561

AUTOGRAPH: E. E. Beardsley, 576.

MONOGRAPH VII.

SOME HISTORIC CHURCHES. — NEW ENGLAND 577

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, PORTSMOUTH, N.H. *Henry E. Hovey* 577

ILLUSTRATION: Interior of St. John's Church, 579.

AUTOGRAPH: Henry E. Hovey, 580.

UNION CHURCH, WEST CLAREMONT, N.H. *Francis Chase* 580

ILLUSTRATION: Union Church, West Claremont, 581.

AUTOGRAPH: Francis Chase, 582.

CHRIST CHURCH, BOSTON. *Henry Burroughs* 582

AUTOGRAPH: Henry Burroughs, 588.

CHRIST CHURCH, CAMBRIDGE. *Nicholas Hoppin* 588

ILLUSTRATION: Christ Church, Cambridge, 589.

AUTOGRAPHS: East Apthorp, 588; Nicholas Hoppin, 592.

TRINITY CHURCH, NEWPORT, R.I., AND ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, KINGSTON, R.I. <i>Thomas March Clark</i>	592
AUTOGRAPH: Thomas M. Clark, 594.	
THE OLD NARRAGANSETT CHURCH. <i>Daniel Goodwin</i>	595
ILLUSTRATION: The Old Narragansett Church, 595.	
AUTOGRAPH: Daniel Goodwin, 597.	
SOME HISTORIC CHURCHES. — THE MIDDLE STATES	598
THE HISTORIC AND ANTE-REVOLUTIONARY CHURCHES OF LONG ISLAND. <i>Henry Onderdonk, Jr.</i>	598
AUTOGRAPH: Henry Onderdonk, Jr., 599.	
HISTORIC CHURCHES OF NEW JERSEY. <i>George Morgan Hills</i>	599
AUTOGRAPH: George M. Hills, 605.	
THE UNITED CHURCHES OF CHRIST CHURCH AND ST. PETERS, PHILADELPHIA. <i>Thomas F. Davies</i>	605
AUTOGRAPH: Thomas F. Davies, 610.	
SOME HISTORIC CHURCHES. — SOUTHERN STATES	610
MARYLAND (DIOCESE OF EASTON). <i>Henry C. Lay</i>	610
AUTOGRAPH: Henry C. Lay, 613.	
MARYLAND. <i>George A. Leakin</i>	613
ILLUSTRATION: All-Hallows Parish Church, Maryland, 613.	
AUTOGRAPH: George A. Leakin, 614.	
COLONIAL VIRGINIA. <i>Philip Slaughter</i>	614
ILLUSTRATION: St. Luke's Church, near Smithfield, Va., 624.	
AUTOGRAPH: Philip Slaughter, 633.	
DIOCESE OF EAST CAROLINA. ST. PAUL'S PARISH, EDENTON, CHOWAN COUNTY, N.C. <i>Robert B. Drane</i>	633
ILLUSTRATION: St. Paul's, Edenton, North Carolina, 634.	
AUTOGRAPH: Robert B. Drane, 637.	
ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH, BATH, BEAUFORT COUNTY, N.C. <i>Joseph Blount Cheshire, Jr.</i>	637
AUTOGRAPH: Joseph Blount Cheshire, Jr., 638.	

HISTORIC CHURCHES IN SOUTH CAROLINA. *J. J. Pringle Smith,* 638

ILLUSTRATION: St David's, Cheraw, S.C., 644.

AUTOGRAPH: J. J. Pringle Smith, 644.

MONOGRAPH VIII.

THE CHURCH CHARITIES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY 645

THE BOSTON EPISCOPAL CHARITABLE SOCIETY. *Thomas C. Amory* 645

AUTOGRAPH: Thomas C. Amory, 646.

THE CORPORATION FOR THE RELIEF OF WIDOWS AND CHILDREN
OF CLERGYMEN OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.
John William Wallace 647

AUTOGRAPH: John W. Wallace, 660.

CHRIST CHURCH HOSPITAL, PHILADELPHIA. *Edward A. Foggo,* 660

AUTOGRAPH: Edward A. Foggo, 661.

THE ORPHAN HOUSE AT BETHESDA, GA. *John Watrous Beckwith* 661

AUTOGRAPH: John Watrous Beckwith, 665.

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OF THE
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**The Planting and Growth of the American
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1587 - 1783.

By WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, D.D., LL.D.,
Bishop of Iowa.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONNECTION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND WITH
AMERICAN DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT.

TOWARDS the close of the sixteenth century the effort to found an empire in the New World, which had more or less occupied the mind of England since the discoveries of the Cabots, began to assume importance and promise results. It was an age of restless activity and far-reaching enterprise. In all departments of life men were wont, as was said of Raleigh, to "toil terribly." No pains were spared, whether the effort were to advance the glory of the State, or to increase the individual's wealth or power. The great dramatist of the day, and of all time since as well, reflecting in his plays the humor of the times, alludes to those who were not willing to spend their youth at home, but went

. . . "To seek preferment out;
Some to the wars, to try their fortune there;
Some, to discover islands far away."¹

So universal was this temper of the times that each ambitious spirit felt that it

. . . "Would be great impeachment to his age,
In having known no travel in his youth."²

Although the fairest and most inviting portions of the continent, which had been first discovered by English expeditions nearly a century before, were in the grasp of other and rival nations, and only

¹ Two Gentlemen of Verona. Act I., Scene III. ² *Ibid.*

the Virgin's land, Virginia, remained for those who sailed in the service of the Virgin Queen, in which to lay the foundations of England's dominion in the West, the work was attempted as a "bounden duty" of the State and Church. For Church and State went hand in hand in these efforts for discovery and settlement. Without doubt John Cabot,

SIGN MANUAL OF
HENRY VII.

who, under the auspices of King Henry VII., on the Feast of St. John Baptist, 1497, first discovered the American continent, carried with him, in his ship "The Matthew," of Bristol, some minister of the Church of England, as yet unreformed; while a year later the royal bounty was extended to a priest going to the New-found-land¹ of the western hemisphere. Early in the sixteenth century a canon of St. Paul's, London, Albert de Prato, appears upon the American coast, who addressed his patron, Cardinal Wolsey, in a letter not extant, from the harbor of St. John's, Newfoundland. But it was not destined that the Church of England, unreformed, should people with her sons and daughters these distant lands.

A new spirit was to animate the nation ere the settlement of a land, designed in the providence of God to be the home of civil and religious liberty, was to be successfully attempted. It was thus that the English Church, delivered "from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities;"² purified

in the fiery furnace of the Marian persecutions from Romish error, as well as freed from Romish rule, entered upon the work of adding new realms to the dominions of the Cross, with the same intrepidity and tireless zeal which inspired the adventures of English captains sailing out in quest of mines, or fisheries, or furs. Discovery and settlement became, in fact, acts of faith. The spirit in which these expeditions were undertaken is plainly disclosed in the instructions prepared by the venerable Sebastian Cabot, as governor "of the mysterie and companie of the Marchants aduenturers for the discouerie of Regions, Dominions, Islands and places unknowen," under the direction of King Edward VI., for the expedition under Sir Hugh Willoughby, despatched, in 1553, to attempt the discovery of the northern passage to Cathay. These brave explorers, who

AUTOGRAPH OF
EDWARD VI.

Willoughby, despatched, in 1553, to attempt the discovery of the northern passage to Cathay. These brave explorers, who

. . . "The passage sought, attempted since
So much in vain, and seeming to be shut
By jealous nature with eternal bars --"³

¹ In Nicolas's "Excerpta Historica," pp. 85-133, several curious entries compiled from the Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry VII., refer to the patronage extended by the king to the voyagers to the West. One we subjoin: "1498, March 24, to Lanslot Thirkill, of Lon-

don, upon a prest for his shipp going towards the New Ilande, £20."

² The English Litany of 1549, King Edward VI.'s Prayer-book.

³ Thomson's "Seasons," Winter.

AUTOGRAPH OF HENRY VIII.

had with them "Master Richard Stafford, Minister;" and the three ships of 160, 120, and 90 tons' burden, respectively, made up, as Fuller in his "Worthies" tells us, "the first reformed Fleet, which had English



SEBASTIAN CABOT.¹

prayers and preaching therein." It was strictly enjoined in Cabot's code of instructions "that the morning and evening prayer, with other com-

¹This cut follows a photograph taken from the Chapman copy of the original. The original was engraved when owned by Charles J. Harford, Esq., for Seyer's "Memoirs of Bristol," 1824, Vol. II., p. 208, and a photo-reduction of that engraving appears in Nicholl's "Life of Sebastian Cabot." Other engravings have appeared in Sparks's "Amer. Biog.," Vol. IX., etc.

mon services appointed by the king's majestie, and lawes of this realme, be read and saide in every ship, daily, by the minister in the Admirall, and the marchant or some other person learned on the other ships, and the Bible or paraphrases be read devoutly and Christianly to God's honour, and for his grace to be obtained, and had by humble and heartie praier of the Nauigants accordingly."¹ Tragic as was the result of this ill-fated expedition so far as the "Admiral" and his hapless crew were concerned, all of whom were frozen to death while wintering in the harbor of Arzina, in Russian Lapland,

Marye the queene

AUTOGRAPH OF QUEEN MARY.

the great work of discovery, checked during the bitter and bloody reign of Queen Mary, was resumed with vigor when the land was again free from the rule of Rome. "Good order" in the "dayly service" and prayers unto God for success were enjoined in the instructions given to the voyagers sent out by the Russian Trading Company, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, while the

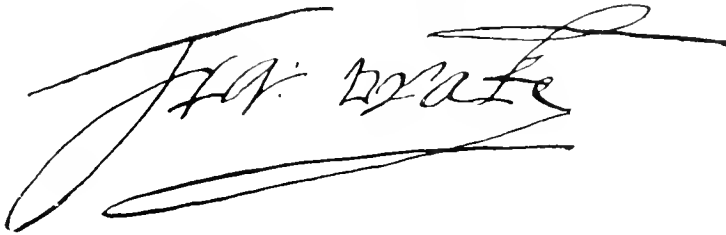
AUTOGRAPH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

incidental mention of this requirement, in the midst of other directions, proves that attendance upon the church's daily prayers was a recognized duty incumbent upon all men.

In the name and fear of God did these old explorers and adventurers put forth upon the almost unknown sea. The Body and Blood of Christ was their *viaticum*, and the last home-words that fell upon their ears were the prayers and praises of the "Book of Common Prayer." The cross, with the arms of England at its foot, marked their discoveries and their chosen sites of settlement; and the words of their English Book of Prayer were said at morn and even, wherever these dauntless voyagers pursued their way, — North, till the impenetrable ice barred their path; South, till the farthest points of both hemispheres were reached; West, till in the broad rivers and inland seas of the New

¹ Anderson's "Colonial Church," 1., p. 25.

World they dreamed of finding a speedier way to Cathay and the spice-yielding East. Everywhere these sailors and settlers went till the fame of England's Queen and the faith of England's reformed Church were known throughout the world. Each new acquisition of the unknown land, lying in the direction of the setting sun, was so much virgin soil rescued from Spanish thralldom and Rome's inquisitorial sway. Each city sacked, each galleon captured on the Spanish Main, took somewhat from the luxuries of the pampered priests, or held in check the growing rapacity of Philip's court. So thoroughly did this crusading spirit possess the English mind that the very freebooters of the age, such as Drake and Cavendish, who knew no peace with Spain "beyond the



AUTOGRAPH OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

line" that marked the Pope's gift of the Western World to that kingdom,¹ carried chaplains among their motley crews, and numbered in their train not a few who dared to die by the rack or in the flames rather than give up, at the bidding of the pitiless inquisitors of Rome, the little faith they had. Thus was it with all the captains sailing to the Spanish Main, and finding amidst the islands and upon the seas of the West Indies, and all along the coast of South America, the spoils of successful contests with the galleons of Spain. The exploits of the noted captains who sought gold and glory in ceaseless strife with Spain, the nation's formidable foe, have each their record of daily common prayer and solemn services and sacraments, conducted by the adventuresome priests of the Church of England, who were the chaplains of fleets that ruled all waters, and sailed fearlessly around the globe. We cannot wonder at the mingling of religion and politics shown in this hatred of Spain and distrust of Rome. Memories of the Smithfield and Oxford fires had not died out from the popular mind. The racks and thumb-screws, and all the appliances of the Inquisition, found in the shattered hulks of the "Armada," and borne in open view through the streets of London to the Tower, where they are still preserved, told plainly of Romish intolerance and the Spaniards' cold-blooded hate; and the humblest sailor of these ships of discovery felt that the victory or advantage of Spain would light anew the Marian fires and burn out freedom and faith from the land. As these men were in earnest in their work, so they were ennobled by it, and they did well their part, daring

¹ In 1493 the western hemisphere was declared, by a decree of Pope Alexander VI., to belong to the united kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. In order not to interfere, however, with a previous grant made by a bull of Pope Eugene

nus IV., in 1433, to the crown of Portugal, an imaginary line was supposed to be drawn from pole to pole, a hundred leagues west of the Azores; all discoveries to the east of which were assigned to Portugal, and all to the west to Spain.

danger and death in the strife, whose guerdon was a continent's redemption. The old charters and letters-patent, the records of the trading companies, and the very log-books of the ships of adventure, display a peculiar mingling of evangelizing and commercial projects. The printed accounts of these adventures, or the "advertisements," as they



martin frobenius

were often styled, designed to enlist the interest and sympathy of the public in the schemes for discovery and colonization, always refer to "the carriage of God's Word into those very mighty and vast countries" which is expressly stated as a primary object of the expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, — the first attempt of the English to colonize the New World. This deep, religious feeling was not suffered to expend itself in words. In the fleet of "fifteen sayle of good ships" which left Harwich on the 31st of May, 1578, under the command of Martin

Frobisher, one of the most stirring spirits of the times, was, as Hakluyt quaintly tells us, "one Maister Wolfall, a learned man, appointed by her Majestie's Conncell to be their Minister and Preacher," who, "being well seated and settled at home in his owne countrey, with a good and large living, hauing a good, honest woman to wife, and very towardly children, being of good reputation amongst the best, refused not to take in hand this painetfull voyage, for the onely care he had to saue soules and to reforme these infidels, if it were possible, to Christianitie." This worthy man was the first missionary priest of the reformed Church of England who ministered on American shores, and the record of his services among the ice-fields at the North, as given by the old chronicler we have already quoted, is full of interest, as indicating the spirit in which these adventurers essayed the settlement of the *Meta Incognita* they had found:—

Maister Wolfall on Winter's Fornace, preached a godly sermon, which being ended, he celebrated also a Communion vpon the land, at the partaking whereof was the Captain of the Anne Francis, and many other Gentlemen, and Souldiers, Mariners, and Miners with him. The celebration of the diuine mystery was the first signe, seale, and confirmation of Christ's name, death, and passion euer knowen in these quarters. The said M. Wolfall made sermons, and celebrated the Communion at sundry other times in senerall and sundry ships, because the whole company could neuer meet together at any one place.

While this solemn service and sacrament were taking place far to the northward on the eastern coast, there were pressing on their way through the Straits of Magellan, and all along the western shores of the New World, the voyagers in the "Pelican," under the adventuresome Francis Drake. The story of Drake's fulfilment of his purpose and prayer, when, at the first sight of the Pacific Ocean, "he fell upon his knees and implored the divine assistance that he might at some time sail thither and make a perfect discovery of the same," is written by his chaplain, Francis Fletcher, and the end and aim of this famous voyage, in which the world was circumnavigated, was, by capture, conquest, and sack, to wreak vengeance on Spain for injuries which diplomacy had failed to make good. It was while sailing to the northward that the great seaman discovered, in 1579, the coast of Oregon and that part of California which now belongs to the United States. On this coast, in "a conuenient and fit harbor," on the first Sunday after Trinity, June 21, they landed for repairs. Here, at a gathering of the natives, who seemed to regard their visitors as superior beings, Drake called his company to prayers. In the presence of the aborigines of this distant land, these rough sailors, who scrupled not to plunder or murder every Spaniard they met, lifted their eyes and hands to heaven, to indicate by these symbolic gestures that God is over all; and then, following their chaplain's lead, they besought their God, in the church's prayers, to reveal himself to these idolaters and "to open their blinded eyes to the knowledge of Him and of Jesus Christ, the salvation of the Gentiles." It is interesting to note that this strange service took place on the eve, or else on the Feast Day, of St. John the Baptist.¹ Later, on leaving the scene of their sojourn, it was only by

¹ Narrative and Critical History of America, III., p. 70.

prayers and the singing of psalms that the departing voyagers were able to dissuade the simple natives from "doing sacrifice to them" as gods.¹ It was thus that the church's prayers were first heard on the Pacific coast; and in taking solemn possession, by the planting of the cross with the arms of England affixed thereto, of "New Albion," for England's Queen, the far west of our national domain was claimed for the Church of the English-speaking race. To Francis Fletcher, the priest of a motley crew, belongs the honor of being the first in English orders who ministered the Word and Sacraments within the territory of the United States; and if, as is probable, the "fayre and good baye" where he repaired his ship, and where the events we have referred to occurred, was the bay of San Francisco, it was on this spot that the words of the Common Prayer were first heard on the Pacific coast.



THE ARMS OF ENGLAND.

The attempt of Frobisher to mine for gold upon the inhospitable shores of Hudson's Bay failed, as did, a few years later, the efforts of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, to whom was assigned by the Queen letters-patent, bearing date of June 11, 1578, "for the inhabiting and planting of our people in America." This gallant Christian knight, nearly allied with that "prince of courtesy," Sir Walter Raleigh, entered upon the work of peopling the New World with English immigrants, with an honest purpose of securing "the full possession of these so ample and pleasant countreys for the Crown and people of England." Among the motives urging him to undertake this labor were "the honour of God" and "compassion of poore infidels, captived by the deuill, tyrannizing in most wonderful and dreadful manner over their bodies and soules, it seeming probable that God hath reserved these Gentiles to be reduced into Christian civility by the English nation." It was for the spread of

AUTOGRAPH OF SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT.

the Christian faith that Gilbert hazarded life and fortune in these schemes of settlement; and the pregnant clause of the first charter granted for the establishment of an English colony on American shores that the laws and ordinances of the settlement "be, as neere as conveniently may, agreeable to the forme of

¹ Narrative and Critical History of America, III., p. 70.

the laws and policy of England; and also, that they be not against the true Christian faith or religion now professed in the Church of England," attest both his loyalty and love of mother-church. Although conceived and undertaken in this spirit, the expedition itself, in the familiar words of our prayers, quoted by the old chronicler, was "'begun, continued, and ended,' adversely." At the outset great delays and disappointments were experienced, and when at length the expedition had set sail, it was driven back by a Spanish fleet with loss of ships and men. A few years later the adventurers succeeded in reaching St. John's Harbor, Newfoundland, where Gilbert and his company landed on the tenth Sunday after Trinity, August 4, 1583. On the following day Sir Humphrey took formal possession of St. John's and the neighboring country, and, in token of his feudal rights, received, "after the custom of England, a rod and a turlle of the same soile." Of the three laws he set forth for immediate observance, the first provided that the religion of the colony, "in public exercise should be according to the Church of England;" the others enjoined the maintenance of the royal prerogatives. Having thus settled the government and religion of Newfoundland, Sir Humphrey undertook the exploration of the coast of the main-land to the southward, but the loss of one of his ships forced him to change his course for England. The little "frigate" of ten tons burden, which carried this intrepid navigator, foundered amidst the "outrageous seas," and Sir Humphrey, who was last seen by the crew of his companion vessel "sitting abaft with a booke in his hand," and crying out, "We are as neare to heaven by sea as by land," was prevented by his fate from being the first settler within the limits of the United States, and, possibly, from shaping the religious history of New England in the direction of conformity to the Church of which he was a faithful member.

But death and disappointments could not check the spirit of adventure now rife in England; and the zeal for the evangelization of the heathen beyond the sea, which now animated the English Church and realm, soon found expression in acts as well as words.¹ Raleigh, to whom may be given the proud title of "The Father of American Colonization," was impatient to win the prize which his half-brother had



AUTOGRAPH OF SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

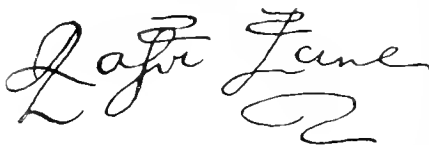
failed to secure. The year following Sir Humphrey's loss a fresh patent was granted by the Queen to her favorite courtier, vesting in him and his heirs the powers and privileges which had been bestowed upon Sir Humphrey. As before, provision was made that the laws

¹ "The carriage of God's word into those very mighty and vast countreys," to quote the words of Haies, one of Gilbert's captains, and the chronicler of his ill-starred fortunes, was a labor of so high and excellent a nature as should, indeed, "make men well advised how they handled it," and Haies as well as Sir George Peckman, "the chief adventurer and furtherer of Gilbert's voyage," in their published reports of "the heavy succeesse and issue of" this "first attempt" of

England to plant a colony, show clearly that a moving cause in the enterprise was the wish and belief that it was destined, in the counsels of the Almighty, that England should bear the evangel of our Lord Jesus Christ to the savages of the western world. Thus is the first effort to found a settlement of the English race upon our American shores plainly proved to be an attempt to promote the spread of the Christian faith by the evangelistic labor of the English Church.

"be not against the true Christian faith nowe professed in the Church of England." These letters-patent bear the date of Lady-day, 1584, and on the 27th of the following month two barks, well furnished with men and provisions, commanded by Masters Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, respectively, set sail from the west of England at the charge and by the direction of Raleigh. About two months were spent by these adventurers on the coast of North Carolina, which they reached on the 4th of July (old style); and, having kidnapped two of the natives, Wanchese and Manteo, and gained some vague information with respect to the natural productions of the country and the manners and customs of the people, they returned to England, where they arrived about the middle of September. The story of this voyage, written by Barlowe, spread far and wide the fame of the paradise discovered in the New World. A rude map, made during the expedition by the adventurers themselves, a copy of which was afterwards published by De Bry, represents the large vessels riding at anchor outside the sound, while a single-masted pinnace, bearing at its prow a man holding an uplifted cross in his hand, is making towards the shore as if to testify the desire of the adventurers for the propagation of Christianity in the lands they had discovered. That this desire was no mere passing thought subsequent events fully proved. The Queen, deeming her reign signalized by the discovery of so fair a land, gave to it the name "Virginia." Raleigh soon obtained from the Parliament, in which he represented his native Devon, a bill confirming his patent of discovery. He was shortly afterwards knighted by his royal mistress, and the means were provided, by the grant of a profitable monopoly, which enabled him to prosecute without delay his schemes of settlement.

Seven vessels, under the command of Raleigh's cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, a brave and gallant knight, whose life and death were heroic, comprised the fleet that set sail from Plymouth, on Good Friday, April 9, 1585, to plant a colony in the New Virginia. Master Ralph Lane, afterwards knighted by the Lord Deputy of Ireland for his military services in that unhappy land, was appointed governor of the one hundred and eight colonists who were to found the first settlement in the New World. Master Philip Amadas, who was one of the discoverers of the site



of settlement, was commissioned as "Admiral of the Country." First on the list of those, "as well gentlemen as others, that remained one whole year in Virginia," is the honored name of "Master Hariot," the historian of the colony, and still remembered as the inventor of the system of notation used in modern algebra. It is to the keen observation of the natural products of the country by Thomas Hariot that the world owes the knowledge of the value of the tuberous roots of the potato and the "many rare and wonderful" virtues of the tobacco-plant.

Among the "principal gentlemen of the company" was Cavendish, its "High Marshall," who afterwards circumnavigated the world, and was knighted by the Queen; and the wise forethought of Raleigh had

provided that John White, an artist of merit, should accompany the expedition, whose water-color studies from life of the aborigines, their habits and modes of living, as well as of the plants, birds, and beasts of



CAVENDISH.

Virginia, are still preserved in the British Museum,¹ and were at the time reproduced in the fascinating pages of De Bry. Others, men of family and fortune, together with not a few "bad natures," as Hariot

¹ An interesting account of these one hundred collection in the British Museum, is found in the and twelve water-color drawings, in the Sloane "Archæologia Americana," iv., pp. 20-25.

styles them, made up the expedition, which had, at least, its outward recognition of religion in the appointed "prayers" at which, as we learn from the same chronicler, the aborigines were sometimes present as interested attendants on the settlers' common prayer and praise. Anthony Wood, in his gossiping "Athenæ Oxonienses,"¹ has attempted to impugn the orthodoxy of Hariot; but this accusation is refuted, not only by contemporary authority, but by his own words, which, as the first published record of missionary effort among the aborigines of our land by a member of our mother-church, are well worthy of our notice. In "A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia," after describing the undisguised wonder of the simple natives at the sight of the mathematical instruments, the time-pieces, burning-glasses, fire-arms, and books of the colonists, Hariot proceeds as follows:—

They thought they were rather the workes of gods than of men or at the least wise they had bene giuen and taught vs of the gods. Which made many of them to haue such an opinion of us, as that if they knew not the truth of God, and religion already, it was rather to bee had from vs, whom God so specially loued, than from a people that were so simple, as they found themselues to be in comparison of vs. Whereupon greater credite was giuen vnto that wee spake of, concerning such matters.

Many times and in euery towne where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible, that therein was set forth the true and onely God, and his mightie workes, that therein was contained the true doctrine of saluation through Christ, with many particularities of Miracles and chiefe points of Religion as I was able then to vtter, and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the booke materially and of itselſe was not of any such virtne, as I thought they did conceine, but onely the doctrine therein contained; yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to hold it to their breastes and heads, and stroke ouer all their body with it, to show their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of.

But even these evidences for God's Word were far from being the sole results of Hariot's zealous efforts in behalf of the natives, — efforts designed, as he observes in the same narrative, that they "might live together with us, be made partakers of His truth, and serve Him in righteousness." A man of prayer himself, both by example and teaching, he impressed these gentle savages with a sense of the value of prayer.

The Wiroans (or chief) with whom we dwelt, called Wingina, and many of his people would bee glad many times to be with us at our prayers, and many times call vpon us both in his owne towne, as also in others, whither hee sometimes accompanied vs, to pray and sing Psalmes, hoping thereby to be partakers of the same effects which we by that means also expected. Twise this Wiroans was so grievously sicke that he was like to die, and as he lay languishing, doubting of any helpe by his owne priestes, and thinking hee was in such danger for offending vs, and thereby our God, sent for some of vs to pray and bee a means to ovr God, that it would please Him that he might liue, or after death dwell with Him in blisse: so likewise were the requests of many others in the like ease.

If the leaders of the expedition had shared the high and holy purposes and missionary zeal of Hariot its history would have been far different. Its appointed head soon showed himself unworthy of his

¹ Bliss's edition, II., p. 299.

position. With him words took the place of deeds, and his speedy desertion of his post appears in marked contrast with his professions of martyr-like devotion to the cause he had undertaken.

From "Port Ferdinando, in Virginia," the governor addressed the following words to Sir Francis Walsingham, Her Majesty's Secretary of State. We have modernized the orthography, which, in the original, is especially defective: —

Myself have undertaken, with the favor of God and in His fear, with a good company more, as well of gentlemen as others, to remain here the return of a new supply; as resolute rather to lose our lives than to defer a possession to her majesty, our country, and that our most noble Patron, Sir Walter Raleigh, of so noble a kingdom, as by his most worthy endeavor and infinite charge, as also of your honor and the rest of the most honorable the adventurers, an honorable entry is made into (by the mercy of God) to the conquest of; and for mine own part do find myself better contented to live with fish for my daily food and water for my daily drink in the prosecution of such one action than out of the same to live in the greatest plenty that the Court could give me; comforted chiefly hereunto with an assurance of Her Majesty's greatness hereby to grow by the addition of such a kingdom as this is to the rest of her dominions; by means whereof likewise the Church of Christ through Christendom may, by the mercy of God, in short time find a relief and freedom from the servitude and tyranny that by Spain (being the sword of that Antichrist of Rome and his sect) the same hath of long time been most miserably oppressed with. Not doubting, in the mercy of God, to be sufficiently provided for by Him, and most assured by faith in Christ, that rather than He will suffer His Enemies the Papists to triumph over the overthrow of this most Christian action, or of us His poor servants, in the thorough famine or other wants. — being in a vast country yet unmannered, though most apt for it, — that he could command even the ravens to feed us, as He did by His servant the Prophet Habakkuk (!) and that only for His mercy's sake. . . . From the Porte Ferdinando in Virginia the 12th of August. 1585.

On the same day the governor wrote to Sir Philip Sydney some further "ylle fashioned lynes," proposing an expedition against the island of St. John and Hispaniola, as San Domingo was then called, by which the forces of the King of Spain could be diverted from England to the West Indies, and begging the gallant Sydney, who had earlier contemplated leading a colony of settlers to the New World, not "to refuse the good opportunity of such a service to the Church of Christ, as the seizure of the mines of treasure, in the possession of Spain, would be."

Deeply may we regret that these words of daring, and their promise of self-denying devotion to the mighty enterprise in hand, found so inadequate a fulfilment. A few weeks of loneliness in the wilderness unmanned both governor and colonists, and the high hopes of the moment of debarkation were forgotten in an overmastering longing to return to home and friends across the Atlantic.

But little remains to mark the site of this first settlement upon American soil. The records of the colonists fix the location of the modest fort and village, erected by these early adventurers, not far from the northern point of the island of Roanoke, just enough removed from the shore to be sheltered from the ocean gales by the headlands and the forest, while the outlook upon the waters whence their supplies were to come was not obscured. Traces of the entrenchments are still

¹ These interesting letters are found in "Archæologia Americana," Vol. iv., pp. 8-18.

to be seen, with here a gate-way, flanked by a deep trench, and there a bastion, thrown out at the angle of the fort. The pine, the live-oak, and other forest trees, draped with luxuriant vines, and standing in the midst



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

of a dense undergrowth, have filled the ditch and overgrown the site. In the rank grass a moss-covered stone, or a fragment of brick, are all the relics that remain of Raleigh's settlement on Roanoke Island.

At this spot Lane and his little company remained until the 19th of June, 1586. The governor, by this time, had grown dissatisfied with

the site chosen for the settlement. There was no harbor in which the ships of England, coming with succors and supplies, could ride at anchor in safety. To the northward the governor had found a fairer site. On the shores of Chesapeake Bay the difficulties and dangers environing them in their present location could be met and overcome. Lacking in sorely needed supplies, on ill terms with the natives, whom Lane had harshly treated, it was with no little joy that, on the 8th of June, the colonists discovered the horizon flecked with the white sails of the fleet of Sir Francis Drake. The noted freebooter at once offered to his countrymen the needed supplies. He added the proffer of some of his prizes; but a sudden gale drove one of these ships to sea, while the others were of too great burden to enter the narrow roadstead, which was their only harbor. Suddenly the colonists determined to abandon their new home, and Drake assented to their request for transportation to the mother-land. A fortnight later the first supply-ship, sent by Sir Walter, reached the American coast, and shortly after followed Sir Richard Grenville, with three ships, bringing the promised stores. It was in vain that Sir Richard sought for the colonists, now half-way across the Atlantic, and, leaving fifteen men on the deserted island, amply provisioned for two years, he returned to England. Lane never revisited his American domain. By his inexplicable desertion he lost the opportunity of an immortality such as has fallen to but few.

NOTES, CRITICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.

WE assume, as is generally conceded, that the Cabots' voyage of discovery took place in 1497, and was followed by a second voyage the following year. The patent granted by Henry VII. to John Cabot, or Zuan Caboto, as his name appears in the Venetian archives, his three sons, their heirs and assigns, provided that the expedition was to be "at their own proper cost and charge." The "prima tierra vista" was taken possession of by the formality of planting a cross, with the insignia of England and St. Mark, and by the proclamation of the right of the King of England to the new discovery. Though the discovery made by the Cabots was that of a continent, still the result of these voyages made under the royal patronage and those on private account were followed by few results. The sending of the little fleet, under Willoughby, in the spring of 1553, to the north-east, and the subsequent incorporation of the merchant adventurers with Sebastian Cabot as their head, were undertaken by the merchants of London, with a view of checking the decay of trade in England by opening a new outlet abroad for the manufactures of the nation. But this was not the only incentive urging Englishmen to attempt the colonization of the New World. Richard Eden, in his "Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India," etc., published in 1555, expresses the earnest desire that the faith of Christ may be extended by the conversion of the natives of these distant lands:—

"How much, I say, shall this sound unto our reproach and inexcusable slothfulness and negligenee, both before God and the world, that so large dominions of such tractable people and pure Gentiles, not being hitherto corrupted with any other false religion (and therefore the easier to be allured to embrace ours), are now known unto us, and that we have no respect neither for God's cause nor for our own commodity, to attempt some voyages unto these coasts, to do for our parts as the Spaniards have done for theirs, and not ever like sheep to haunt one trade, and to do nothing worthy memory among men or thanks before God, who may

herein worthily accuse us for the slackness of our duty toward him." The plans ripe in London ere the year had closed in which the discovery of America was made, contemplated the fitting out by the king early in the following spring of an expedition to colonize the new discovery. "All the convicts" were to be placed at the disposition of Cabot, and with the expedition there were expected to go "several poor Italian monks," who had "all been promised bishopricks."¹ The gossiping writer of these reports to the Duke of Milan thought the benefices in store for him "a surer thing" than the "archbishopric," which he felt confident of obtaining through his acquaintance with the "Admiral." This second voyage, evidently a scheme of colonization, proved a failure. One of the ships, in which a "Friar Buel" sailed, returned to Ireland damaged, and the adventuresome ecclesiastic failed to secure the well-earned and promised mitre. For years all schemes of discovery and colonization in the distant west were substantially abandoned. It was left, as we have said, to the men of the reformation to undertake and carry out successfully the colonizing and Christianizing of the shores of North America.

The religious spirit of the reformation age pervaded literature and life. Even the slave-traders went forth to their cruel work, as though it were a crusade. Sir John Hawkins, knighted by Queen Elizabeth for his success in this iniquitous traffic and for the wealth brought through his voyages to the realm, sailed in a ship named "Jesus," and his sailing orders close with words expressive of his religious faith, as well as his practical good sense: "Serve God daily; love one another; preserve your victuals; beware of fire; and keep good company." By the first injunction was meant the daily morning and evening prayer of the church, and it was after the use of these solemn forms of worship that they proceeded day by day to carry out their nefarious plans. In their reverses, as well as in their successes, they recognized the interposing of God, "who never suffereth his elect to perish."² Even Hawkins's coat-armor, by its mingling of the pilgrim's scallop-shell in gold between two palmer's staves, would seem to indicate that, in the judgment of the Herald's Office, the capture of Africans and the sale of human flesh was the "true crusade of the reign of Elizabeth."³

It should be borne in mind, in explanation of the creed and practices of Hawkins, Drake, and other "freebooters" of the age, that there was "no peace with Spain beyond the line"; and that both of these noted voyagers had been the victims of Spanish treachery when lying peaceably at anchor in the port of San Juan d'Ulva. Attacked both by sea and from the land, but two of the five ships composing the fleet escaped; and the captives, at least a hundred in number, fell into the hands of the Inquisition, where their sufferings, save in a few exceptional cases, were only terminated by death. As Dr. Edward Everett Hale forcibly puts the case in "The Narrative and Critical History of America" (Vol. III., p. 64): "If Hawkins's account of the perfidy of the Spaniards at San Juan d'Ulva be true, — and it has never been contradicted, — the Spanish Crown that day brought down a storm of misery and rapine from which it never fairly recovered. The accursed doctrine of the Inquisition, that no faith was to be kept with heretics, proved a dangerous doctrine for Spain when the heretics were such men as Hawkins, Cavendish, and Drake. On that day Francis Drake learned his lesson of Spanish treachery; and he learned it so well that he determined on his revenge. That revenge he took so thoroughly that for more than a hundred years he is spoken of in all Spanish annals as 'The Dragon,' a play upon his name, 'Draens,' or 'Draeo.'"

Numerous relics of Frobisher's voyages were obtained by Captain Charles F. Hall in his first expedition to seek for traces of Sir John Franklin, 1860-1862, some of which are deposited in the National Museum in Washington. The purpose of leaving a party to winter in these northern latitudes was shown by the erection of a house of lime and stone on the Countess of Warwick's Island, where numerous articles were deposited. Had the "ore," of which more than thirteen hundred tons were taken across the ocean, proved of value, the chill of winter and the dangers of an almost unknown sea would not have deterred crowds of adventurers from seeking their fortune on these inhospitable shores. Lacking the stimulus of gold, further effort for the settlement of these lands was wanting, and the keen search of the sailors of England for the discovery of new territories in the Western World was elsewhere directed.

The chief authority for the famous voyage of Drake is "The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake. . . . Carefully Collected out of the notes of Master

¹ Narrative and Critical History of America, III., p. 55.

² *Ibid.*, p. 63.

³ *Ibid.*

Francis Fletcher, Preacher in their employment, and divers others, his followers in the same; Offered now at last to publique view, both for the honour of the actor, but especially for the stirring up of heroic spirits, to benefit their country, and eternize their names by like noble attempts." London. 4to. 1628. This volume of upwards of one hundred pages was reprinted in 1653, and has been reissued by the Hakluyt Society, in 1855. The narrative of the voyage is found in the general collections of Hakluyt, Harris, and others. Mr. Froude, in his History of England (Volume XI., chapter 29), gives a brilliant account of the expedition, with an amusing episode of an incident in the preacher's experience on the return voyage, which illustrates the grim humor of the times. S. G. Drake, in the "Genealogical and Antiquarian Register," gives a partial list of the companions of Drake, and in the "American Historical Record" (Vol. III., pp. 344-353), under the title, "The First Englishmen in North America," re-examines the whole subject of the voyage and voyagers. He pronounces "The World Encompassed" "as a literary performance" to be "of the first rank of that period."

Raleigh is not only to be regarded as the founder of the transatlantic colonies of England, but also has the credit of securing for the colonists those guarantees of political rights and privileges which formed the grounds on which, in later years, the people of North America made successful issue with the mother-land in the struggle which resulted in independence.

In the charter granted to him on Lady-day, 1584, not only was he empowered to plant colonies upon "such remote heathen and barbarous lands, not actually possessed by any Christian prince nor inhabited by Christian people," as his expeditions might discover, but the lands thus acquired by discovery were to be enjoyed by the colonies forever, and the settlers themselves were to "have all the privileges of free denizens and persons native of England, in such ample manner as if they were born and personally resident in our said realm of England," and they were to be governed "according to such statutes as shall be by him or them established; so that the said statutes or laws conform as near as conveniently may be with those of England, and do not oppugn the Christian faith or any way withdraw the people of those lands from our allegiance." It was through the far-seeing wisdom of this accomplished soldier and statesman that the English in America were enabled from the very beginnings of settlement to claim all the privileges, franchises, and immunities enjoyed and possessed by the people of England.

The subjects alluded to in this chapter are fully and authoritatively treated in the opening pages of "The Narrative and Critical History of America," Vol. III. To this exhaustive work we would refer for the latest and most judicial treatment of the many disputed questions which have arisen with reference to our early annals of discovery and settlement. The positions assumed in the text are those so ably maintained by Mr. Winsor and his *collaborateurs*.

CHAPTER II.

SERVICES AND SACRAMENTS AT RALEGH'S COLONIES AT ROANOKE, ON THE NORTH CAROLINA COAST.

THE pusillanimous desertion of the colony by Lane failed to discourage the high hopes and purposes of Raleigh. The governor himself had borne testimony, in the freshness of his first enthusiasm, that it was "the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven; the most pleasing territory of the world." The climate was "wholesome," and, with the presence of people and the domestic animals, "no realm in Christendom were comparable to it." Hariot, also, in his "Brief and True Report of the New Found Land in Virginia," dedicated "to the adventurers, favorers, and well-willers of the enterprise for the inhabiting and planting in Virginia," which was published in England the following year, had attested the fertility of the soil and the healthiness of the climate. It was not difficult, therefore, for Raleigh to collect another party of settlers, numbering one hundred and fifty. Of this colony, which for the first time numbered among its members women as well as men, John White was appointed governor; and twelve assistants, spoken of in the charter as "gentlemen," and "late of London," were associated with him in the administration of the government. The charter of incorporation for the settlement contemplated the establishment of a municipality under the name of "The City of Raleigh, in Virginia," and a fleet of three transports, chartered for the adventurers, set sail from Portsmouth, on Friday, the 8th of May, the day following the Feast of the Ascension. In the charter given by Sir Walter to the adventurers there is mention of a donation of one hundred pounds sterling, made by Sir Walter Raleigh, to be invested by them as they pleased, the profits of the venture to be applied "in planting the Christian religion, and advancing the same." This is the first gift on record for the evangelizing of our American shores. By the last of July, after various mishaps, the colony had disembarked, not on the shores of Chesapeake Bay, as Sir Walter had proposed, but at ill-fated Roanoke, where the first sight that met their eyes was the bones of one of the fifteen men left in the fort by Grenville, after Lane's desertion of both fortification and settlement. The fort had been razed, the houses were tenanted only by the wild deer, attracted by the luxuriant growth of melons, which had clambered through the open doors and windows and covered the ruined palisade. The unfortunate fifteen, as was subsequently ascertained from the natives, had been attacked by the savages. The survivors, betaking themselves to their boat, floated to a small island near Hatteras, and, on their removal thence, probably in search of Croatoan, were lost sight of forever.

"The sundry necessary and decent dwelling-houses," left by Lane, were at once repaired, while "other new cottages" were built; and the colony under White, which numbered ninety-one men, seventeen women, and nine children, was soon established in its New-World home. We can without difficulty picture the daily life of these strangers in a strange land. We cannot doubt but that the "daily prayer," which Hariot tells us was attended by those who founded the earlier settlement under Lane, was not omitted now, when, as we have every reason to believe, a priest of the Church of England formed one of the settlers, or at least transferred his duties as chaplain of the little fleet to the shore, while seamen and settlers sought to lay the foundations of the city of Raleigh. The drum-beat was doubtless their summons to prayer, and the motley crowd of gentlemen and yeomen, the soldier in his light armor, the settler in his homespun, the friendly savage in his paint and feathers, the women thinking of the noble churches in the far-away home of their early days, the children wondering at all they saw and heard,—these made up the grouping as the simple matins and even-songs of mother-church were fervently said. The day thus opened and closed would be spent in the effort to build and beautify the home, in striving to gain experience and alertness in the use of weapons of defence, in hunting the timid deer, or fishing from the rocks and in the little streams, or else in traffic with the aborigines. Expeditions of discovery along the coast or into the interior; meetings with the friendly Indians in council, or preparations against the sudden attacks of those who had been alienated from the English by the ill-judged severity of Lane; the cultivation of the virgin soil, or the preparation of the grateful narcotic so recently introduced to English use,—in these occupations the days went on. The kindred of Manteo, a chieftain who had been taken to England by the first discoverers, and had returned to his home with Lane, lived on the island of Croatoan, and with them friendly relations were at once established. In contrast to the kindly disposition of Manteo was the implacable hate of Wanchese, who had also been carried to England, but who, on his return, became the bitter foe of the colonists. Through his influence the efforts of the English to secure the friendship of the aborigines on the mainland failed. Shortly one of the settlers, straying incautiously from the fort, was killed by the hostile natives. In the attempt to avenge this loss, by a night attack, one of the friendly savages was unfortunately slain, having been mistaken for a foe. Thus untowardly the work of founding the city of Raleigh went on to its accomplishment.

On the 13th of August the faithful Manteo was admitted to Christ's Church by holy baptism. This administration of the sacrament had been provided for by Raleigh ere the expedition sailed from England, and, in accordance with the proprietary's will, the neophyte was made Lord of Roanoke and Dasmonguepeuk, in recognition of his faithful and untiring service. This act of christening took place on the ninth Sunday after Trinity. On the following Sunday, Virginia, daughter of Ananias and Eleanor Dare, and granddaughter of the governor, White, who was born on Friday, the 18th of August, was christened, being "the first Christian borne in Virginia." We do not know the name

of the faithful priest of the English Church to whom was given the honor of admitting to holy baptism, according to the English rite, the first Indian convert and the first child born of English parents in the New World. The list of those who remained at Roanoke is extant; but there are no means of ascertaining who was the priest of the settlement, if, indeed, a priest remained, to live and die with the unhappy settlers. But that there was some one in holy orders available for this solemnity is to be inferred, not only from the record of the administration of the sacrament, but also from the fact that Raleigh had, as we have seen, made provision for the baptism of Manteo prior to the departure of the expedition from England. It may have been the case that the clergyman who officiated at these baptisms was the chaplain of the fleet which brought over the colony, and shortly after returned with the governor, John White, on board. The departure of the fleet with the governor, who had reluctantly yielded to the urgings of the colonists in embarking, left behind eighty-nine men, seventeen women, and eleven children, two of whom had been born in Virginia. White certainly gave hostages for his speedy return, in leaving behind him his daughter and grandchild. Already it had been decided to abandon the present site of the colony and to remove to the main-land. It was among the last instructions of the governor that, in the event of this removal, the settlers should carve, on some post or tree, the name of the place of their new home, and if in distress to cut a cross above the letters. On the 28th of August the ships weighed anchor and set sail for England; and on the 5th of November the returning voyagers landed at Martasen, near St. Michael's mount, in Cornwall.

It was at a time of apprehension of invasion from Spain that White reached England. The "Armada" was afloat, and Raleigh, Grenville, and Lane were busied in measures for the defence of the homes and altars of their native land. Still, Raleigh found means to despatch two barks, under the command of White, with supplies for his colony. But these ships were more anxious to fight the Spaniards than to relieve the settlers at Roanoke, and in their search for prizes one of the two fell in with men-of-war from Rochelle, and after a bloody encounter was boarded and plundered by the foe. Both ships were forced to return to England, defeated in their purpose of reaching the North Carolina coast. The delay proved fatal, for, in the culmination of the struggle, which shortly followed, in which the independence of England and the existence of England's reformed Church were at stake, there could be no relief for the Roanoke colonists till after the final destruction of the "Armada."

At length, when victory had been gained and security assured, in the complete overthrow of the Spanish fleet, Sir Walter Raleigh, who had already expended forty thousand pounds in his efforts for colonizing America, found himself too much impoverished to renew the attempt. Availing himself of the privileges secured by his letters-patent he granted to a company of merchants and adventurers his rights of proprietorship in the Virgin's Land beyond the seas. But, notwithstanding his large concessions, the company proved laggard in its schemes of colonization, lacking the lavish support and persevering counsels

of the father of American colonization. It was not till more than another year had elapsed that White was able to return to the shores where he had left his daughter and her child. Touching, indeed, is the glimpse given us, in White's own words, of the fate of these earliest English settlers on our American continent. The voyage had not been without mishaps, and at the approach to the shore the most of a boat's crew were drowned by a heavy sea: "This mischance did so much discomfort the sailors, that they were all of one mind not to go any further to seek the planters; but in the end, by the commandment and persuasion of me and Captain Cooke, they prepared the boats, and seeing the captain and me so resolute they seemed much more willing. Our boats and all things fitted again, we put off from Hatorask, being the number of nineteen persons in both boats; but, before we could get to the place where our planters were left, it was so exceeding dark that we overshot the place a quarter of a mile; there we espied, towards the north end of the island, the light of a great fire through the woods, to the which we presently rowed. When we came right over against it, we let fall our grapnel near the shore, and sounded with a trumpet a call, and afterwards many familiar English tunes of songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answer. We therefore landed at daybreak, and coming to the fire we found the grass and sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went through the woods to that part of the island directly over against Dasamongwepewuk, and from thence we returned by the water-side round about the north point of the island, until we came to the place where I left our colony in the year 1586. In all this way we saw in the sand the print of the savages' feet of two or three sorts trodden in the night; and as we entered up the sandy bank, upon a tree, in the very brow thereof, were curiously carved these fair Roman letters, C. R. O., which letters presently we knew to signify the place where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed upon between them and me at my last departure from them: which was that in any ways they should not fail to write or carve, on the trees or posts of the doors, the name of the place where they should be seated; for at my coming away they were prepared to remove from Roanoke fifty miles into the main. Therefore, at my departure from them in An. 1587, I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carve over the letters or name a + in this form; but we found no such sign of distress. And, having well considered of this, we passed towards the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken down, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisade of great trees, with curtains and flankers very fort-like; and one of the chief trees or posts at the right side of the entrance had the bark taken off, and five feet from the ground, in fair capital letters, was graven CROATOAN, without any cross or sign of distress; this done, we entered into the palisade, where we found many bars of iron, two pigs of lead, four iron-fowlers, iron locker-shot, and such like heavy things thrown here and there, almost overgrown with grass and weeds. From thence we went along by the water-side toward the point of the creek, to see if we could find any of their boats or

pinnaec; but we could perceive no sign of them nor any of the last falcons or small ordinance which were left with them at my departure from them. At our return from the creek, some of our sailors meeting us told us that they had found where divers chests had been hidden, and long sithence digged up again and broken up, and much of the goods in them spoiled and scattered about, but nothing left of such things as the savages knew any use of, undefaced. Presently Captain Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the end of an old trench, made two years past by Captain Amadas, where we found five chests that had been carefully hidden of the planters, and of the same chests three were my own, and about the place many of my things spoiled and broken, and my books torn from the covers, the frames of some of my pictures and maps rotten and spoiled with rain, and my armor almost eaten through with rust. This could be no other than the deed of the savages, our enemies at Desamongwepouk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan, and as soon as they were departed digged by every place where they suspected anything to be buried; but although it much grieved me to see such spoil of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certain token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was born, and the savages of the islands our friends."

The hopes of a speedy reunion with child and grandchild, and the revival on a new site, and with happier auspices, of the city of Raleigh, and the scheme of colonizing on the American coast, so naturally excited by the results of this day of exploration, were to be crushed out forever. The skies were overcast. The sailors with difficulty regained their ship. In the morning, as they weighed anchor for "Croatoan," the cable broke, and the gale drove them towards the shore. After a narrow escape from wreck, with a strained and leaking bark, and with not a single anchor left, they were forced to turn their course towards the West Indies, leaving the colonists to their fate. No further effort availed for their relief. A century later, as the historian of North Carolina relates, the Hatteras Indians, at Croatoan, were wont to tell "that several of their ancestors were white people, and could talk in a book as we do; the truth of which is confirmed by gray eyes being found frequently among these Indians, and no others. They value themselves extremely for their affinity to the English, and are ready to do them all friendly offices." The tradition of these Indians may shadow forth the fate of some of these unfortunate colonists, or possibly may elucidate the mystery attending the disappearance of Grenville's fifteen men. But in the "History of Travaile into Virginia Britannia," by William Strachey, recently published¹ from a manuscript in the British Museum, there are incidental references and statements, which lead us to infer that the Roanoke settlers survived amidst their savage friends till about the year 1607, at which time "the men, women, and children of the first plantation at Roanoke were, by practice and commandment of Powhatan (he himself persuaded thereunto by his priests), miserably slaughtered, without any offence given him, either by the first planted (who twenty and odd years had peaceably lived intermixt with

¹ By the Hakluyt Society, 1849.

those salvages, and were out of his territory"). In another reference to this matter Strachey tells us that "at Ritanoe, the Weroance Eyanoco preserved seven of the English alive, — four men, two boys, and one young maid (who escaped and fled up the river of Chanoke), — to beat his copper, of which he had certain mines at the said Ritanoe." Vague and imperfect as these and other incidental allusions contained in Strachey's history are, they certainly imply that some of "these unfortunate and betrayed people" escaped the "miserable and untimely destiny" which involved the major part of them in destruction, and communicated in some way with the settlers at Jamestown. Certainly the "one young maid" may have been the first-born Anglo-American, Virginia Dare, or else the other child of Virginian birth, whose surname was "Harvie," and who was doubtless born just before the embarkation of White. These are the only two on the list of settlers given us by White, who could have been spoken of as "maids" in 1607. Possibly, though, from the lack of authority, there can be no certainty of the fact, the scanty remnant of this unfortunate colony may have been incorporated with the Jamestown settlers. We may be thankful that there is even a gleam of hope that the first-born of the Virginia Church and State, may have found her way back to civilization and Christianity, after many vicissitudes and hardships, and in the rude church at Jamestown, and among those of her own race, though stranger to her than the savages, heard, with interest and delight, the words of the same "Book of Common Prayer" out of which had been read the office of her christening.

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE connection of Sir Walter Raleigh with American colonization forms the subject of an interesting chapter in "The Narrative and Critical History of America." The story of the voyages undertaken by this gifted man in furtherance of the task he had so much at heart is told from the original accounts, by the Rev. Increase N. Tarbox, D. D., in his "Sir Walter Raleigh and his Colony in America," issued by the Prince Society this present year. This volume contains, besides a Memoir of Raleigh: I. Charter in favor of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, for the Discovery and Planting of New Lands in America, 25 March, 1584. II. The First Voyage to America under the Charge and Direction of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, 1584 (by Arthur Barlowe). III. The Second Voyage to America under the Charge and Direction of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, 1585 (chiefly furnished to Hakluyt by Ralph Lane, Sir Richard Grenville possibly contributing a small portion of the narrative). IV. The Third Voyage to America under the Charge and Direction of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, 1586. V. Introduction to the Narrative of Thomas Hariot, by Ralph Lane. VI. Historical Narrative, by Thomas Hariot. VII. The Fourth Voyage to America under the Charge and Direction of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, 1587 (by John White). VIII. The Fifth Voyage to America under the Charge and Direction of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, 1590. The annotations by Dr. Tarbox are pertinent and valuable.

The original sources of information respecting the Colony of Raleigh are as follows: I. Arthur Barlowe's Diary of the Voyage (April 9–October 18, 1584), printed by Hakluyt, and reprinted by Dr. Hawks in his "History of North Carolina," and by Dr. Tarbox, as noticed above. II. Governor Ralph Lane's two letters to Sir Francis Walsingham and his letter to Sir Philip Sidney, August 12, 1585, together with Lane's third letter to Walsingham, of Sept. 8, 1585, printed for the first time in "Archæologia Americana," iv, pp. 8–18, and edited by the Rev. Edward E. Hale,

D.D.; and an extract from Lane's letter to Richard Hakluyt, of the Inner Temple, dated Sept. 3, 1585, printed by Hakluyt and reprinted by Dr. Hawks. III. "Hariot's Narrative;" first issued in 1588, and published by Hakluyt the following year, and by De Bry in 1590. IV. Lane's Narrative, as given by Hakluyt. This account, and that by Hariot, will be found in Dr. Hawks's "North Carolina," and in Dr. Tarbox's "Sir Walter Raleigh and his Colony." V. "A Summarie and True Discourse of Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage, wherein were taken the Townes of Saint Jago, Sancto Domingo, Cartagena, and Saint Augustine," by Thomas Cates, London, 1589, and reprinted in the fourth volume of Hakluyt, 1600. VI. "The original Drawings of the Habits, Towns, Customs of the West Indians; and of the plants, birds, fishes, &c., found in Greenland, Virginia, Guiana, &c., by Mr. John White," preserved in the Sloane Collection in the British Museum. The "Critical Essay," appended to Mr. William Wirt Henry's chapter on Raleigh in "The Narrative and Critical History of America," gives in detail notices of the various sources of information, both original and secondary.

Between the years 1587 and 1602 Raleigh fitted out, at his own charge, five expeditions to Virginia. It "required a prince's purse" thus to attempt the colonization of his Virginian domain, and he only ceased his labor and lavish expenditures in the prosecution of his plans when he lost the royal favor and became a prisoner under sentence of death. In the last year of Queen Elizabeth's reign he despatched Samuel Mace, a mariner of experience, with special orders to relieve the survivors of White's colony. On the return of Mace, Raleigh's interest in the colony had eschewed to the crown by his attainer. Still his faith in the ultimate success of the efforts for colonization he had inaugurated was unchanged. On the eve of his own fall he had written, "I shall yet live to see it an English nation;" and, though it was from the tower-cell and the scaffold, he lived to see his words fulfilled.

It was provided in the charter granted to Raleigh, on Lady-day, 1584, that the statutes, laws and ordinances be "as nere as conveniently may bee, agreeable to the forme of the lawes, statutes, and gouernment, or pollicie of England, and also so as they be not against the true Christian faith, nowe professed in the Church of England."—*Tarbox's Sir Walter Raleigh and his Colony in America*, p. 100. We cannot doubt but that a priest of the English Church accompanied this expedition, and on occasion of the baptism of Manteo, as well as at the christening of Virginia Dare, performed the service as found in the "Book of Common Prayer." Although there is no indication of the name of this missionary priest in the list appended to White's narrative giving "the names of all the men, women and children, which safely arrived in Virginia, and remained to inhabite there, 1587, Anno regni Reginae Elizabethae, 29," the absence of the title is no proof that there was no clergyman among the settlers. It may be that Roger Baily, whose name appears on the list next to that of the governor's, and before that of his son-in-law, Ananias Dare, was the one who ministered to the colony in spiritual things;—but this is only conjecture. It is quite unlikely that the mystery attending this question will ever be dispelled. Manteo, the first-fruits of the aborigines of our land to Christ and his Church, had been twice in England, having been taken in the first place by Captains Amidas and Barlowe, in 1584. Returning to his native land with Sir Richard Grenville, in 1585, he again crossed the Atlantic with Sir Francis Drake, the following year. In company with another savage, Towaye, he accompanied the expedition of White in 1587, and remained friendly to the English, while Wanchese became their implacable foe. There is reason to believe that in the removal of the Roanoke settlers to Croatoan the advice of Manteo was followed, and that among his kindred and under his protection the colonists patiently awaited the expected relief from England, which never came. But for Powhatan's murderous interference, at the instigation of his priests, jealous, it may have been, of the influence of the English in leading others than Manteo to Christ, there might have sprung up an Anglo-Indian community, Christianized and civilized, and inaugurating the conquest of the New World to Christ and his Church.

The references in Strachey's "Historie of Travaile into Virginia" to the Roanoke settlers, are as follows:—

1. In the author's "Cosmographie of Virginia," in his first chapter, he thus incidentally alludes to them: "This high land is, in all likelyhoodes, a pleasant tract, and the mowld fruitfull, especially what may lye to the so-ward; where, at Peccarecamek and Ochanahoen, by the relation of Machumps,¹ the people have

¹ An Indian who had visited England, the brother of Winganuske, a favorite wife of Powhatan, and an occasional guest at the house of the governor, Sir Thomas Dale. *Vide* Strachey's "Historie," pp. 26, 54, 94.

howses built with stone walles, and one story above another, so taught them by those Englishes whoe escaped the slaughter at Roanoak, at what tyme this our colony, under the conduct of Capt. Newport, landed within the Chesapeake Bay, where the people breed up tame turkeis about their howses, and take apes in the mountains, and where, at Ritanoe, the Weroance Eyanoco¹ preserved seven of the English alive—fower men, two boyes, and one yonge mayde (who escaped and fled up the river of Chanoke), to beat his copper, of which he hath certain mynes at the said Ritanoe, as also at Pamawauk are said to be store of salt stones," p. 26.

It would appear from this reference that, at the time of the landing of Captain Newport, in 1607, there were "Englishes whoe escaped the slaughter at Roanoak" living at "Peccarecamek and Ochanahoen," evidently incorporated among the Indians in these communities, and contributing to the comfort and civilization of their captors and preservers. Still, as the Rev. Edward E. Hale, D.D., in commenting on this passage in "Archæologia Americana" (Vol. iv., p. 36) observes, "it must be confessed that this tantalizing passage is very obscure." Another extract, "still more obscure," is as follows:—

II. "Yet noe Spanish intention shalbe entertayned by us, neither hereby to root out the naturalls,² as the Spaniards have done in Hispaniola, and other parts, but only to take from them these seducers, declaring (in the attempt thereof) unto the severall weroances, and making the comon people likewise to understand, how that his majestie hath bene acquainted, that the men, women, and children of the first plantation at Roanoak were by practize and comaundement of Powhatan (he himself perswaded thereunto by his priests) miserably slaughtered, without any offence given him either by the first planted (who twenty and od yeares had peaceably lyved intermixt with those salvages, and were out of his territory) or by those who nowe are come to inhabite some parte of his desarte land," etc. — *Strachey*, pp. 85, 86.

In the third chapter of his "Historie," Strachey, describing "the great king," Powhatan, refers to the same massacre as follows:—

III. "He doth often send unto us to temporize with us, awayting perhaps a fit opportunity (inflamed by his furious and bloody priests) to offer us a tast of the same eupepe which he made our poore countrymen drinck of at Ronoak." — p. 50.

Again, at the close of chapter fourth of the second book of his "Historie," Strachey refers to the return of John White to England, in 1589, in these words:—

IV. "Howbeit, Captaine White sought them no further, but missing them there, and his company havinge other practizes, and which those tymes afforded, they returned, covetous of some good successe upon the Spanish flecte to retorne that yeare from Mexico and the Indies, — neglecting thus these unfortunate and betrayed people, of whose end you shall yet hereafter read in due place in this decade." — p. 152.

From this reference, and another contained in the "Præmonition to the Reader," to the effect that Raleigh "endeavoured nothing less then the relief of the poore planters, who afterward, as you shall read in this following discourse, came therefore to a miserable and untymely destiny" (p. 9), it is evident that Strachey was aware of the particulars of the fate of the Roanoke colonists. Unfortunately the remainder of the "decade" is imperfect, and we can only, by the careful comparison of the extracts we have cited, infer that a number of the Roanoke settlers survived the massacre incited by Powhatan and were living among the savages at the time of the arrival of Capt. Newport, in 1607. It is possible that a second massacre may have occurred after this date, occasioned by the fear of the Indian chieftain that the later settlers might, if they learned of the hardships to which their countrymen had been subjected, avenge their wrongs. If this were so it would account for the silence in the early narratives of the Virginia settlement with reference to the subject. It is not impossible, however, that some of the survivors communicated with the settlers at Jamestown, if they did not escape from captivity and rejoin their countrymen in their new Virginian home. Certainly this is not an unreasonable supposition, and as such we have engrafted it in the text. We find the following statement on the margin of p. 1728 of Vol. iv. of "*Purchas His Pilgrimes*," — "Powhatan confessed that hee had bin at the murder of that [Raleigh's] Colonie, and shewed a Musket barrell and a brasse Morter, and certaine pieces of iron which had bin theirs." Still, unless the missing portion of Strachey's "Historie" should be recovered, the fate of the Roanoke settlers will ever be shrouded in mystery.

¹ Commander or governor.

² Aborigines.

CHAPTER III.

FORT ST. GEORGE AND THE CHURCH SETTLERS AT THE MOUTH OF THE KENNEBEC.

THE beginning of the seventeenth century witnessed renewed and more successful efforts for American colonization. In the spring and early summer of 1602 Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, a mariner of the west of England, with a company of thirty-two persons in all, spent several weeks on the island of Cuttyhunk, situated at the south of Buzzard's Bay, on the Massachusetts coast. On this island, which was "overgrown with trees and rubbish," a site was fixed upon for a settlement, a cellar was dug and stoned, and a house built, which was thatched with sedge and fortified with palisades. Here wheat, barley, oats, and peas were sown, and in a fortnight the young plants "were sprung up nine inches and more." But when a valuable cargo of sassafras, cedar, furs, and other commodities had been obtained for the return voyage, there arose dissensions among the adventurers, and the number of those who had agreed to remain rapidly dwindled till "all was given over," and, on the 18th of June, the whole company set sail for England, where they arrived after a five weeks' voyage to find themselves involved in the meshes of the law for their violation of Sir Walter Raleigh's patent. The lack of Sir Walter's permission would of itself have been fatal to the success of an attempted settlement, and the letter of Raleigh to Cecil, in which he invokes redress, clearly asserts that the expedition "went without my leave and therefore *all* is confiscate."¹ This letter indicates that a chief promoter of this unauthorized enterprise was the notorious Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham. No later reference to the settlers at Roanoke than that neither Gilbert, "Lord Cobham's man," who was Gosnold's associate, nor Mace, who had arrived at Weymouth in Raleigh's pinnace, from Virginia, "spake with the people," appears in Sir Walter's correspondence. The toils were already enclosing him, which in time bound him for the slaughter, the victim of royal faithlessness.

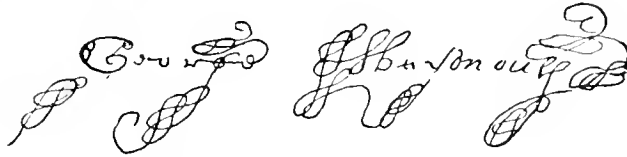
The following year, 1603, Martin Pring, under the patronage of the merchants of Bristol and with the formal consent of Raleigh, visited the New England coast, and spent nearly two months in the harbors of Plymouth and Duxbury.² Here Pring erected a "barricade," and, in emulation of Gosnold's experiment, sowed "wheate, Barley, Oates, Pease, and sundry sorts of Garden seeds, which for the time of our abode, being about seven Weeks, although they were late sown

¹ Edwards's "Life of Sir Walter Raleigh," "Gosnold and Pring, 1602-3," in N.E. Hist. Gen. II., p. 253. *Vide* critical notes at end of chapter. Reg., XXXII., pp. 76-80. *Vide, also*, Mag. of Am. Hist., VIII., Part II., pp. 807-819.

came vp very well." Accompanying these expeditions of Gosnold and Pring was Robert Salterne, who, shortly after his return to England, took orders in the English Church. As the sacred calling to which he so soon devoted his life was doubtless in his mind while seeking adventure or recuperation in these noteworthy voyages of discovery it is not an unlikely supposition that as a layman he conducted the services of the Church for his companions of travel, both at sea and on land. If this conjecture is correct — and there is every reason in its favor — the prayers and praises of the Leyden settlers, whose landing on Plymouth Rock has become historic, were anticipated by the forms of the Church of England in the very locality where the "Pilgrim Fathers" lived and died. Salterne's account of Pring's voyage, as condensed in Smith's "General History," concludes with the following pious couplet: —

"Lay hands vnto this worke with all thy wit,
But pray that God would speed and profit it."¹

On Easter-day, the last day of March, 1605, an expedition, under the command of George Waymouth, "weighed anchor, and put to sea in the name of God," from Dartmouth Haven. The promoters of this enterprise were Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton,

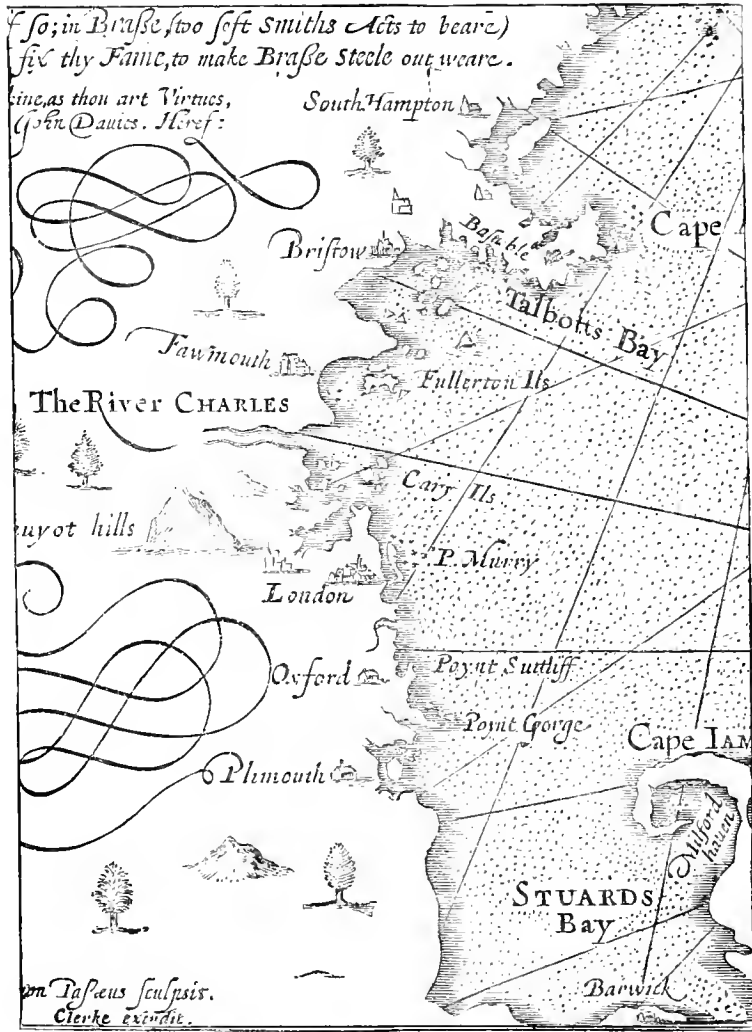


AUTOGRAPH OF GEORGE WAYMOUTH.

the accomplished patron of Shakespeare, and his brother-in-law, Thomas Arundell, Lord Wardour. "The sole intent of the honorable setters-forth of this discovery," as we are informed by Rosier, the chronicler of the voyage, was "not a little present profit, but a public good, and true zeal of promulgating God's holy Church, by planting Christianity." In the middle of May the adventurers reached the shores of New England, discovering, as they sailed along the coast, the island of Monhegan, which they hoped would be "the most fortunate ever discovered." "The next day," proceeds the chronicler, "being Whitsunday," they anchored in "a convenient harbor, which it pleased God to send us, far beyond our expectation," and "all with great joy praised God for his unspeakable goodness, who had from so apparent danger delivered us, and directed us upon this day into so secure an harbor, in remembrance whereof we named it Pentecost Harbor." On "Whitsumonday, the 20th day of May," they landed and dug wells, planted peas, and barley, and garden seeds, lingering for more than a fortnight among "the pleasant fruitfulness." At length, on Wednesday, the 29th of May, the shallop, brought in pieces from England, was prepared for use, and, as a mark of discovery and possession, the record tells us "we set up a cross on the shore side

¹The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John Smith. Richmond reprint of the original edition of 1629, I., p. 109.

upon the rocks." On Thursday, May 30, Waymouth, with thirteen men, "in the name of God, and with all our prayers for their prosperous discovery and safe return," departed in the shallop on a voyage of exploration up the river, — doubtless the Kennebec, at whose mouth they had been riding at anchor. On Friday, the



SMITH'S MAP OF NEW ENGLAND, 1614.

voyagers returned, having ascended the river for forty miles. Meanwhile trade had begun with the savages, and a mutual good-will established. On Saturday the captain had two of the natives at supper "in his cabin, to see their demeanor, and had them in presence at service: who behaved themselves very civilly, neither laughing nor

talking all the time, and at supper fed not like men of rude education." The following morning trade was intermitted, "because it was the Sabbath day;" but the week thus scrupulously begun was not half over when Waymouth kidnapped "five savages and two canoes, with all their bows and arrows;" while on "Sunday, the 16th of June, the wind being fair, and because we had set out of England upon a Sunday, made the islands upon a Sunday, and as we doubt not (by God's appointment) happily fell into our harbor upon a Sunday; so now (beseeching him still with like prosperity to bless our return into England, our country, and from thence with his good-will and pleasure to hasten our next arrival there) we weighed anchor and quit the land upon a Sunday." The names of these enslaved savages were "Tahánedo, a Sagamore, or commander; Amóret, Skicowáros, Maneddo, Gentlemen; Sallacomoit, a servant."¹ We are assured that they "never seemed discontented," but were "very tractable, loving, and willing." Their exhibition in England, together with the glowing recitals of the returned voyagers, who had seen the coast of Maine in the beautiful month of June, gave a new impulse to western adventure. The presence of the captives at Plymouth, where Waymouth had brought them, enlisted the interest of the royal governor, Sir Fer-

dinando Gorges, who was thus incited to a lifelong and most persistent devotion to schemes of American colonization. "And so it pleased our great God," wrote Gorges, that Waymouth "came into the harbor of Plymouth, where I then commanded. I seized upon the Indians;

they were all of one nation, but of several Parts, and several Families. This accident must be acknowledged the means under God of putting on foot, and giving life to all our plantations." Gorges took three of the savages into his home, was at pains that they should be instructed in the English language, and "kept them full three years." From them he obtained information of the "stately islands and harbors" of their native country: "what great rivers ran up into the land, what men of note were seated on them, what power they were of, how allied, what enemies they had, and the like." It was thus that he was led to become, in the words Bradford, of Plymouth, records, "not only a favorer, but also a most special beginner and furtherer of the good of this country, to his great cost and no less honor."²

The condition of affairs in England was now favorable to schemes of colonization. There was a redundancy of population throughout

AUTOGRAPH OF SIR FERDINAND GORGES.

¹Of these unfortunate aborigines, the first and third, also styled Dehamida and Skitwarres, were returned in the Popham expedition. The two last, whose names appear as Mannido and Assacomoit, embarked with Capt. Henry Challons, Aug. 12, 1606, and were taken as prisoners into Spain with the rest of the ship's company, where we are told that both of the natives "were lost."

— *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xxvi., p. 682. "Assacomoit" appears to have come over with Capt. Hobson in 1614. — *Drake's Old Ind. Chronicle*, p. 14. *Vide, also, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, v., p. 332, and *Nar. and Crit. Hist.*, III., p. 180.

²Bradford's Letter Book. — *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, first series, III., p. 63.

the land; the parishes found it difficult to maintain their poor, and the cessation of warlike operations by sea and land, which during the days of Queen Elizabeth had given occupation to many in all departments of life and trade, threw out of employ a number of restless spirits, whose love of adventure led them to seize eagerly the opportunity to form a new empire in the West. Gosnold, who could, from personal knowledge, attest the fertility of the American shores, and who doubtless remembered with chagrin that it was only the timidity or treachery of his associate, Bartholomew Gilbert, "Lord Cob-

ham's man," as Raleigh styled him, that prevented his establishment of a colony when on the Massachusetts shores, had already associated with himself in a scheme of colonization a few brave spirits, afterward to be well and widely known in connection with the far-distant Virginia. These were Captain John Smith, Mr. Edward-Maria Wingfield, and the excellent Robert Hunt, a clergyman of the church.¹

AUTOGRAPH OF SIR JOHN POPHAM.

For upwards of a year these, and others of like mind, sought to effect their purpose, till, at length, reinforced by the assigns of Raleigh, among whom Richard Hakluyt, Prebendary of Westminster, the promoter and chronicler of American discovery and settle-

*Mentioned in Lisbon Aug 26. of
October after the Spanish armament, 1585.
Richard Hakluyt profer*

AUTOGRAPH OF REV. RICHARD HAKLUYT.

ment, was preëminent, and gaining the countenance and support of the Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir John Popham, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, as similar schemers had earlier secured the support of the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel, the king, James I., gave the first charter of Virginia, on the 10th of April, 1606. At this period not an Englishman, save the captive survivors of the Roanoke settlers, is known to have been in the belt of land comprising twelve degrees, and stretching from Cape Fear to Halifax. "The Great Patent of Virginia" assigned the right of colonization between the 34th and 45th degrees of north latitude to "two several Colonies and Companies." One of these, denominated in the

¹ William Simons, D.D., in "Smith's History," I, p. 149.

charter the First Colony, consisting of "certain Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants and other adventurers of our city of London, and elsewhere," was restricted to the territory lying between the 34th and 38th degrees of north latitude, that is, from Cape Fear to the southern border of Maryland. To the Second Colony was given the exclusive right to occupy the country between the 41st and 45th degrees. This company was composed of "Sundry Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants and other adventurers, of our cities of Bristol and Exeter, and of our town of Plymouth, and of other places." The religious nature of the scheme is expressed at the outset: "We, greatly commending, and graciously accepting of, their Desires for the Furtherance of so noble a work, which may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the Glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian Religion to such People as yet live in Darkness and miserable Ignorance of the true Knowledge and Worship of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages, living in those parts, to human Civility, and to a settled and good Government: Do, by these our Letters Patents graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well-intended Desires." A council in England was charged with the general superintendence of the whole colonial system, while the appointment of a subordinate council for each colony provided for the local administration. The members of the Supreme Council were appointed solely by the king, and held their office at his pleasure; the ultimate decision of all matters, whether grave or moral, rested with the monarch. The rights of free-born Englishmen were secured to the colonists and their descendants. Provision was made for a revenue to be levied on vessels trading in the harbors of Virginia, while the colonists were permitted to import goods for their own use, free of duty. A fifth of the gold or silver, and a fifteenth of the copper, mined in either colony, was reserved for the Crown. The privilege of coining money was conceded, and the seals of the Superior Council and its local subordinates were minutely prescribed.

In the list of the original patentees to whom "the Great Patent of Virginia" was granted, the names of Gorges and Popham do not appear. Hakluyt was one of the incorporators of the London Company, and the brother of the Chief Justice, George Popham, and Raleigh Gilbert, son of the eminent explorer Sir Humphrey, and nephew of Sir Walter Raleigh, were associates of the Plymouth Company.

Although not included among the original patentees, the Lord Chief Justice despatched, within a month after the charter had passed the great seal, — "a tall ship belonging to Bristol and the river Severne to settle a plantation in the river of Sagadahoc;" and in the following August Sir Ferdinando Gorges sent out a ship, under the command of Henry Challons, with two of the savages brought over by Waymouth as pilots, with a view to the same end. Both of these ventures came to naught, as the Spaniards captured the ships ere they reached the American coast. But another vessel, sent two months later by Chief Justice Popham, of which Thomas Hanham, one of the patentees, was in command, and Martin Pring, the master, reached the shores of

Maine in safety, and, after making a careful survey of the coast, returned with such glowing accounts of the land they had visited that it was determined to send out planters the following spring to found a settlement at the mouth of the Sagadahoc.

It was in consequence of the mishaps of these voyages of exploration that Virginia was settled a few months prior to the occupancy of the coast of Maine.

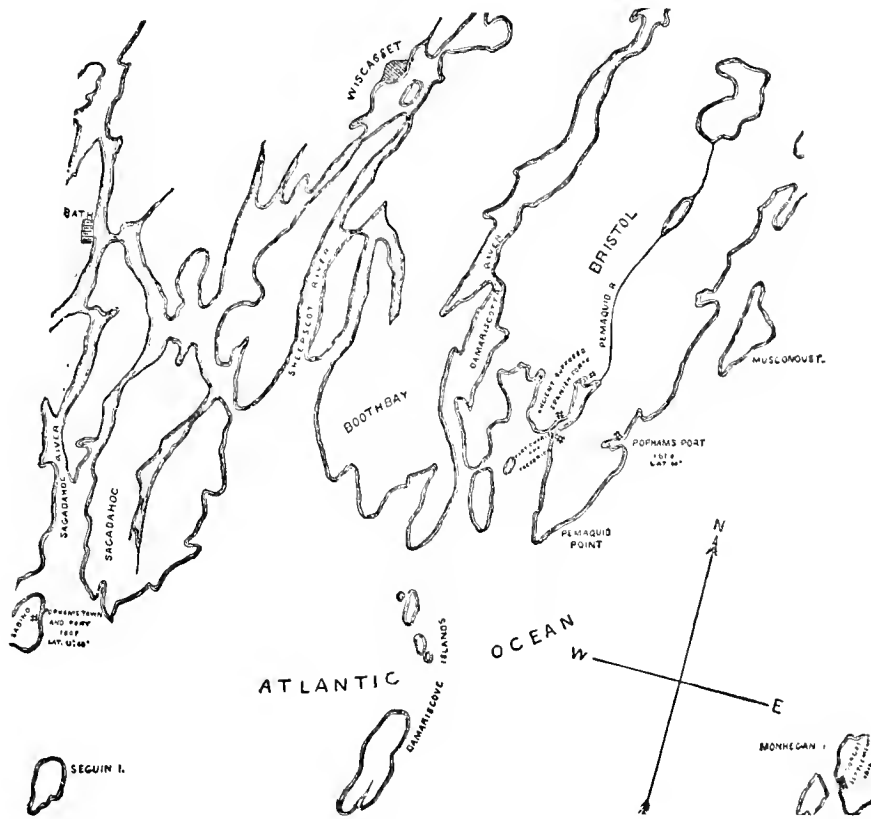
Sailing from Plymouth on Trinity Sunday, May 31, 1607, on the first day of June, the "Mary and John," under Captain Raleigh Gilbert, and the "Gift of God," under Captain Popham, left the "Lizard," on their westward journey. Parting company at the Azores, where the "Mary and John" had a narrow escape from the Netherlanders, who detained Gilbert, under the charge of piracy, while the "Gift of God" sailed on without stopping to succor her consort, the two vessels met off the island of Monhegan on Friday, the 7th of August. At midnight of this auspicious day Gilbert, with a number of the adventurers and the native "Skidwarres," rowed to Pemaquid "amongst many gallant islands," the "weather being fair and the wind calm." Landing in a little cove, to which the savage had directed their course, the explorers crossed Pemaquid Point, and after a march of three miles reached the Indian village of Nabanada, one of Waymouth's captives who had returned with Pring the previous year. Received at the first with distrust, as was but natural, an interchange of kindly words and offices followed, and the English remained for nearly two hours, visiting the wigwams and receiving every token of welcome. On the afternoon of Saturday the party returned to the ships. On Sunday, the tenth after Trinity, the settlers held a solemn service on Monhegan, where they had earlier found a cross, which they conjectured had been raised by Waymouth, but which it is more likely was erected by Pring. The record of the voyage, in the Lambeth Library,¹ whence we have drawn many of our particulars of this expedition, gives us in full the story of this Sunday service:—

"Sunday being the 9th of August, in the morning the most part of our whole company of both our ships landed on this island, the which we call St. George's Island, where the cross standeth, and there we heard a sermon delivered unto us by our preacher, giving God thanks for our happy meeting and safe arrival into the country, and so returned aboard again."

Strachey, in his narrative of this event, alludes to the preacher by name as Mr. Seymour, and speaks of "the chief of both the shippes with the greatest part of all the company" as forming the congregation of this first service of the Church, of which we have record, in the English tongue and on the New England coast. With deep solemnity must the words of common prayer and common praise have sounded on the ears of that little company of worshippers. Those words remain as our heritage, and we can call up the scene under the tall cross, the symbol of our salvation and a proof of English occupancy for Christ's

¹"A Relation of a Voyage to Sagadahoc," now first printed from the original MS., in the Lambeth Library. Edited with Preface, Notes, and Appendices, by the Rev. B. F. DeCosta. 8°. Cambridge, 1880. Pp. 43.

Church as well as for a Christian State, and recite the *verba ipsisima*, then for the first time echoing on the still air of our northern shores. Among the Psalms of the day was the *Deus noster refugium*, and its words of glad assurance must have had a meaning unknown before: "God is our hope and strength, a very present help in trouble. Therefore will we not fear, though the earth be moved, and though the hills be carried into the midst of the sea. Though the waters thereof



ANCIENT PEMAQUID.

rage and swell, and though the mountains shake at the tempest of the same. . . . Be still, then, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen, and I will be exalted on the earth. The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge." What more fitting words could be found than those of the second morning lesson, for these worshippers in God's free temples?—"Howbeit the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands; as saith the Prophet, 'Heaven is my throne, and earth is my footstool: what house will ye build me? saith the Lord; or what is the place of my

rest? Hath not my hand made all these things?"¹ It was hallowed ground where these few settlers for the first time raised the note of praise or voice of supplication to heaven, and we may well rejoice that the words then used were those of our own common prayer, with the English Bible, which was brought to our shores by these devout colonists. The preacher, Richard Seymour, there is reason to believe, was a great-grandson of the Duke of Somerset, who, as "Lord Protector," ruled the kingdom during the minority of his nephew, the boy-king, Edward VI.; and was "related to Gorges, the projector of the colony; to Popham, its patron; to Popham, its president; and to Gilbert, its admiral, all through the common link of the family of his mother."² Who would be more likely to offer himself as chaplain for this expedition than this young priest of the English Church? To him belongs the honor of being the first English preacher of the glad tidings of our holy faith in our New England territory. His name will go down to posterity linked with that of the saintly Robert Hunt, the apostle of Virginia, who, at Jamestown, was at this very time using the same prayers and preaching the same salvation.

The week following the solemn service was spent in efforts to secure a safe anchorage, which was at length successful, the two ships anchoring side by side, at the mouth of the Sagadahoc, on Sunday, August 16th. On the 18th of the month choice was made of a site for the settlement on the peninsula of Sabino, and, as the Lambeth "Relation" informs us, on "Wednesday, being the 19th of August, we all went to the shore, where we made choice for our plantation, and there we had a sermon delivered unto us by our preacher, and after the sermon our patent was read with the orders and laws therein prescribed; then we returned aboard our ship again."³

Strachey, in his "Historie of Travaile in Virginia," gives us further particulars of this solemn inauguration of the new settlement by the forms of divine as well as human law. The "President's commission" was read after the sermon, "with the lawes to be observed and kept," and this having been done, "George Popham, gent., was nominated President, Captain Raleigh Gilbert, James Davies, Richard Seymer, Preacher, Captain Richard Davies, Captain Harlow, were all sworn assistants." Thus was formally begun, in the fear of God and with due reverence to law, the first occupation and settlement of New England, and from this date, and by virtue of these acts, the title of England to this portion of the New World was assured. The "lawes to be observed and kept," read on this interesting occasion, are still extant; they carefully provide at the outset for the spiritual welfare of colonists and savages: "Wee doe specially ordaine, charge, and require, the said presidents and councills, and the ministers of the said several colonies respectively, within their several limits and

William Strachey

AUTOGRAPH OF WILLIAM
STRACHEY.

¹ Acts vii. 48-50.

² Rp. George Burgess, in "The Popham Memorial Volume," p. 103.

³ A Relation, etc., p. 30.

precincts, that they, with all diligence, care, and respect, doe provide, that the true word, and service of God and Christian faith be preached, planted, and used, not only within every of the said several colonies, and plantations, but alsoe as much as they may among the salvage people which doe or shall adjoine unto them or border upon them, according to the doctrine, rights, and religion now professed and established within our realme of England, and that they shall not suffer any person or persons to withdrawe any of the subjects or people inhabiting, or which shall inhabit within any of the said several colonies and plantations from the same, or from their due allegiance, unto us, our heirs and successors, as their immediate soveraigne under God." The conversion of the aborigines is again referred to in this document: "Wee doe hereby determine and ordaine, that every person and persons being our subjects of every the said collonies and plantations, shall from time to time well entreate those salvages in those parts, and use all good means to draw the salvages and heathen people of the said several places, and of the territories and countries adjoining, to the true service and knowledge of God, and that all just, kind and charitable courses shall be holden with such of them as shall conform themselves to any good and sociable traffique and dealing with the subjects of us, our heirs and successors, which shall be planted there, whereby they may be the sooner drawne to the true knowledge of God, and the obedience of us our heirs and successors," etc.¹ In this Christian manner was the settlement on the peninsula of Sabino, at the mouth of the Sagadahoc, begun. The following day they entered upon the work of entrenching the site of their new home, and the building of a fort and storehouse. The carpenters busied themselves in constructing a pinnace, and while these active operations were well under way, Gilbert, in his shallop, explored the coast, visiting Cape Elizabeth, noting the almost numberless islands in Casco Bay, and sailing up the Sheepscoot and Penobscot rivers. Trade was carried on with the Indians, who were treated with kindness and consideration, even when threatening hostilities.

A record, under date of October 4th, found in Strachey, gives us an interesting glimpse of the religious life of the settlers: "There came two canoas to the fort, in which were Nahanada and his wife, and Skidwarres, with the Basshabaes brother, and one other called Amenquin, a Sagamo; all whome the President feasted and entertayned with all kindness, both that day and the next, which being Sondaye,² the President carried them with him to the place of publike prayers, which they were at both morning and evening, attending y^t with great reverence and silence."³ As the year drew to its close, the "Mary and John," under the command of Capt. Robert Davies, was sent back to England, "with letters to the Lord Chief Justice, ymportunginge a supply for the most necessary wants to the subsisting of a colony to be sent unto them betymes the next year." On the 13th of December, the third Sunday in Advent, two days before the departure of the "Mary and John," the

¹ *Vide* Appendix to "A Vindication of the Claims of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, as the Father of English Colonization in America. By John A. Poor." New York: 1862. pp. 134, 135.

² The eighteenth after Trinity.

³ *Historie of Travaile*, p. 178.

president addressed a letter in Latin to the king, in which he writes: "Optima me tenet opinio, Dei gloriam facile in his regionibus elucescere, Vestre Majestatis imperium amplificari, et Britannorum republicam breviter augmentari." "My well-considered opinion is, that in these regions the glory of God may be easily evidenced, the empire of Your Majesty enlarged, and the public welfare of the Britons speedily augmented."¹

After the departure of the "Mary and John," the fort was completed and fortified with twelve pieces of ordnance. Five² houses were built, besides a church and storehouse, and "the carpenters framed a pretty Pynnace of about some thirty tonne, which they called the 'Virginia;' the chief shipwright being one Digby, of London."

On Saturday, the 5th of February, the eve of Quinquagesima, the president died. "He was well stricken in years," says Gorges, in his "Briefe Narrative,"³ "and had long been an infirm man. Howsoever, heartened by hopes, willing he was to die in acting something that might be serviceable to God, and honorable to his country." In the sonorous Latin which he employed in his letter to his king, his epitaph, cut in enduring stone, records for all time to come, —

"Leges literasque Anglicanas
Et fidem ecclesiamque Christi
In has sylvas duxit."⁴

The loss of so noble a leader was fatal to the new enterprise. The winter had proved exceedingly severe. So extreme was the cold that "no boat could stir upon any business." Still, on the return of Captain Davies, "with a shipp laden full of victuals, armes, instruments, and tooles," all things were found "in good forwardness." The barter-trade with the Indians had yielded "many kinds of furs;" a "good store of sarsaparilla," a root much esteemed at that time, had been gathered; and the new pinnace was "all finished." Gilbert, who had succeeded Popham as president, was compelled to return to settle the estate of his brother, Sir John Gilbert, who had lately died, and to whose property he was heir. Besides, the Chief Justice had died in England, ere his brother had passed away in America, and as there had been "noe mynes discovered, nor hope thereof, being the mayne intended benefit expected to uphold the charge of this plantacion, and the fears that all other wynters would prove like the first, the company by no means would stay any longer in the country," "wherefore they all ymbarked in the new arrived shipp, and in the new pynnace, the 'Virginia,' and set sail for England." "And this," concludes Strachey, "was the end of that northern colony vppon the river Sachadehoc."⁵

It must not be overlooked that no mention of the return of "The Gift of God" to England is found in any of the narratives of this short-lived settlement. It has been conjectured with no little reason that upon the death of Popham and the succession of the London inter-

¹ Popham Memorial Volume, p. 224.

² Strachey says "fifty," — an evident clerical error.

³ Maine Hist. Coll., II., p. 22.

⁴ "He brought into these wilds English laws and learning, and the faith and the Church of Christ."

⁵ *Historic of Travaile*, pp. 179, 180.

est in the person of Gilbert to the presidency of the colony, the Bristol men, with the Popham bark, the "Gift of God," left the peninsula of Sabino and Fort St. George, where the hostility of the Sagadahoc savages had been aroused, and sought a new home at Pemaquid, under the protection of Nahanada and his followers. This agrees with the statement of the painstaking and accurate Prince, in his "Chronology," that all but forty-five planters departed for England, on the breaking up of the colony, in two ships, of which the "Virginia," the first American-built ship, was one. Thirteen years after the abandonment of the Sagadahoc plantation there was a hamlet of "fifty families," known as the "Sheepscot Farms," on the banks of the Sheepscot river; while at Pemaquid there appear to have been settlers, or traders at least, almost, if not quite, from the time of the return of Gilbert and his followers to England. Year by year Sir Francis Popham, who, as we learn from Gorges' "Brief Narrative," "cared not to give it over," sent ships "in hope of better fortunes," while the story of Gorges' own efforts to found a loyal and a churchly colony on the shores of Maine proves that his perseverance was not wholly fruitless, though finally the iron heel of the Massachusetts settlers crushed out at once both Episcopacy and independence.

Still the claim of the English for the possession of the territory of New England rests upon this settlement on the peninsula of Sabino, at Fort St. George; and even the Puritan historian, Hubbard, dates the occupancy of the English upon our northern American shores from the year 1607. There has been no little discussion with reference to the character of the Sagadahoc colonists; but nothing has been proved to their disparagement. Citations from a tract by Sir William Alexander, and from Lord Bacon's famous essay on Plantations, have been adduced to prove that they were "pressed to that enterprise as endangered by the law, or by their own necessities;"¹ or, in the stronger language of Bacon, were convicted felons, who left their country for their country's good. But the words of Alexander are far from implying that these planters, or any of them, were criminals, as the phrase he uses may, and doubtless does, refer to poor debtors; and, at the time of the Popham expedition, there were no laws in force authorizing the transportation of criminals into Virginia. Besides, the great charter under which they sailed provided only for the sailing of such as went "willingly." If criminals, their return would have been to certain death, and even the "extreme extremities"² of a New England winter would have been preferred to this. There is nothing in the story of their abode at Fort St. George to indicate any want of principle or character from the first to the very last. They began their work with prayer and lessons of duty; they complied with all the forms of law; the minister of religion was among them, and, by their reverent participation in the worship enjoined by their



AUTOGRAPH OF LORD BACON.

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¹ Sir William Alexander's "Encouragement to Colonies," London, 1624, p. 30.

² Captain John Smith's "General Historie of New England," London, 1624, p. 204.

patent, even the wondering savages were impressed with the power of a faith they could not comprehend. Industry and good order were maintained. The tendency to discontent, consequent upon the loss of their storehouses and provisions, was restrained. The change of presidents, on the death of the worthy Popham, was quietly and lawfully made. Their relations to the savages were friendly, and were maintained in good faith, and their record is unstained by the shedding of blood. Short as was their residence on the bleak coast of Maine, they have won their place in history as the first settlers of New England. They laid the foundations of State and Church at the North a year before the men of Leyden signed their solemn "compact" in the cabin of the "Mayflower," in Plymouth harbor, and began on a soil to which they had no claim, and without the presence of a minister of their own faith, the civil and religious history of Puritan New England.

CRITICAL NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

WE are reminded by Dr. De Costa in his interesting chapter on "Norumbega and its English Explorers," in the third volume of "The Critical and Narrative History of America," that the first Englishman certainly known to have traversed the territory of Massachusetts and Maine was David Ingram. Landed in the month of October, 1568, on the shore of the Gulf of Mexico, by Captain, afterwards Sir John, Hawkins, with a large number of companions in misery, Ingram and two of his fellows traversed the continent, following the Indian trails, fording the intervening rivers, and finding a pathway through interminable forests till Cape Breton and the St. John's river were reached. Here Ingram embarked in a French ship, the "Gargarine," commanded by Captain Champagne, and reached his native land by the way of France. Of the narrative of this extraordinary journey, which is embellished by marvellous tales of houses with pillars of crystal and silver, and cities three-fourths of a mile in length, we can only quote the caustic words of Dr. Edward Everett Hale, in "The Critical and Narrative History of America" (Vol. III., p. 64), as follows:—

"It is a real misfortune for our early history that no reliance can be placed on the fragmentary stories of the few survivors who were left by Hawkins on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. One or two there were who, after years of captivity, told their wretched story at home. But it is so disfigured by every form of lie, that the most ingenious reconstructor of history fails to distil from it even a drop of the truth. The routes which they pursued cannot be traced, the etymology of geography gains nothing from their nomenclatures, and, in a word, the whole story has to be consigned to the realm of fable."

Ingram's Narrative was printed by Hakluyt in 1589, but was omitted in his next issue. The "Rare Travails" of Job Hortop, who was landed on the Mexican coast with Ingram, and reached England after more than a score of years of wandering, is included in Dr. E. E. Hale's sweeping condemnation. Purchas, referring to Hakluyt's omission of these narratives in his later impressions, sums up the case in a word: "The reward of lying being not to be believed in truths." A copy of the "original manuscript," preserved in the Sloan Collection in the British Museum, was printed by Plowden Charles Gennet Weston as the first of his "Documents Connected with the History of South Carolina," one hundred and twenty-one copies of which were reproduced at the Cheswick press for private distribution by the editor. *Vide* a review of Mr. Weston's volume by the author of this history in the Hist. Mag., I., pp. 376, 377. The title of this Narrative, as printed by Mr. Weston, is in "The Land Travels of Davyd Ingram and others in the year 1568-69 from the Rio de Minas in the Gulph of Mexico to Cape Breton in Acadia." Mr. Sparks, who had a MS. copy in his col-

lection of historical documents, indorsed it thus: "Many parts of this narrative are incredible, so much so as to throw a distrust over the whole." Still the larger portion of the statements of this narrative appear to be true, though the writer, who had suffered much, "doubtless saw many things with a diseased brain." There can be little doubt, in view of the strong religious sentiment of the age, shared by high and low alike, that these wanderers, whose adherence to the faith of England's Reformed Catholic Church had exposed numbers of their companions to the merciless rigors of the Inquisition, in their lonely and dangerous journeyings, offered again and again to God the prayers of the church, which, as uttered by their lips, were first heard in the wilds through which they passed. Rude and ignorant though they were, they were loyal to the Crown and Church of England, and the church's story would be incomplete without a reference to their faith and fate. *vide*, also, an interesting article on "Ingram's Journey through North America in 1567-69," by Dr. De Costa, in the "Magazine of American History," ix., 168-176.

Mr. George Bancroft, the historian of the United States, in the "Magazine of American History," ix., p. 459, reasserts the statement, in his revised history, that Gosnold's voyage was "undertaken with the permission of Sir Walter Raleigh." This assertion Mr. Bancroft proceeds to sustain as follows:—

"Immediately on Gosnold's return from this voyage, a report was made of it by one of Gosnold's companions, expressly for Raleigh, and was forthwith printed in London, and it bears this title: 'A Briefe and true Relation of the Discoverie of the North part of Virginia, being a most pleasant, fruitful, and commodious soile; Made this present yeere 1602, by Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold, Captaine Bartholomew Gilbert, and divers other gentlemen, their associates,

BY THE PERMISSION

OF THE HONORABLE KNIGHT

SIR WALTER RALEIGH, ETC.

Written by M. John Brereton, one of the voyage . . . Londini: Impensis Geor. Bishop, 1602.' Raleigh was displeased that Gosnold, or some of his companions, had infringed on his monopoly by bringing back 'sassafras wood' for the London market; but he favored every attempt to plant an 'English nation' in America."

Raleigh's letter, in Edwards, undoubtedly complains of the infringement of his monopoly, and his language seems to imply that, at least, Gilbert, "Lord Cobham's man," went without his authority, and "therefore *all* is confiscate." He had earlier said, "And it were a pitty to overthrow the enterprize; for I shall yet live to see it an English nation." Raleigh claims, in his letter to Cecil, asking for the seizure of the 22 cwt. sassafras which had been taken to London, "I have a patent that all shippes and goods are confiscate that shall trade ther without my leve." Evidently if Gosnold and Gilbert had sailed with Raleigh's "leve," he could not have demanded the confiscation of the cargo brought back.

Appended to Brereton's "Brief and True Relation" (reprinted in 3 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., viii., pp. 83-125), is "a brief note of the scutling another Bark this present year, 1602, by the Honorable Knight, Sir Walter Raleigh, for the searching out of his Colony in Virginia":—

"Samuel Mace, of Weymouth, a very sufficient mariner, an honest, sober man, who had been at Virginia twice before, was employed thither by Sir Walter Raleigh, to find those people which were left there in the year 1587. To whose succor he hath sent five several times at his own charges. The parties by him set forth performed nothing; some of them following their own profits elsewhere; others returning with frivolous allegations. At this last time, to avoid all excuse, he bought a bark, and hired all the company for wages by the month; who departing from Weymouth in March last, 1602, fell forty leagues to the south-westward of Hatteras, in thirty-four degrees or thereabout, and having there spent a month; when they came along the coast to seek the people, they did it not, pretending that the extremity of weather and loss of some principal ground-tackle forced and feared them from searching the port of Hatteras, to which they were sent. From that place where they abode, they brought sassafras," etc.

In connection with the references to Waymouth's voyage we may allude, in passing, to the controversy which has arisen with reference to the particular river which he explored. It would be foreign to our purpose to enter upon this discussion, with respect to which a difference of opinion may be quite allowable. The subject is fully treated in the "Narrative and Critical History of America," iii., pp. 189-192. The "Magazine of American History," ix., pp. 459, 460, contains the latest reference to this controversy in which Mr. Bancroft defends the statement in the

revised edition of his "History of the United States": that the island Waymouth "struck was Mouhegan; that the group of islands among which he passed was the St. George's; that the river which he entered was the St. George's." In Mr. Bancroft's view, "Any one who knows the coast of Maine, and reads the description of Waymouth, with the charts of the Coast Survey before him, will see that the case is clear beyond a question."

The connection of Richard Hakluyt, Prebendary of St. Augustine, in the Cathedral Church of Bristol, not only with the various voyages to the western world, but also with the preservation in his priceless volumes of the records of discovery, is too interesting and too important to be lightly passed over. This painstaking priest and indefatigable chronicler of the maritime achievement of his native land was descended from an old family in Hertfordshire, and was brought up at Westminster School. Chosen to a scholarship at Christ Church, Oxford, he was, while at the University, a contemporary and friend of the gallant Philip Sidney, to whom he inscribed his collection of voyages and discoveries, printed in 1582. Hakluyt's interest in these subjects dates back to his boyhood. In his "Epistle Dedicatorie" to Sir Francis Walsingham, prefixed to his issue of 1589, he thus describes an interview he had, in his youth, with a kinsman of the same name, to whom he owed his taste for history and cosmography:—

"I do remember that being a youth, and one of her Maiestie's scholars at Westminster, that fruitfull nurserie, it was my happe to visit the chamber of M. Richard Hakluyt, my cosin, a gentleman of the Middle Temple, well known vnto you, at a time when I found lying open vpon his boord certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an vniversal Mapped. He seeing me somewhat curious in the view thereof, began to instruct my ignorance by showing me the diuision of the earth, into three parts after the olde account, and then according to this latter and better distribution into more: he pointed with his wand to all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Riuers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of eeh part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities and particular wants, which, by the benefit of traffike and entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied. From the Mapped he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107th Psalm, directed mee to the 23 and 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe, etc. Which words of the Prophet, together with my cousin's discourse (things of high and rare delight to my young nature), tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolved, if ever I were preferred to the Vniuersity, where better time and more convenient place might be ministered for these studies, I would, by God's assistance, prosecute that knowledge and kind of literature the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me."

This interview decided Hakluyt's after-life. With what cost of toil and labor he prosecuted his chosen vocation we may learn from the preface to the second edition of his voyages:—

"I do this second time, friendly reader, presume to offer vnto thy view this first part of my three-fold discourse. For the bringing of which into this homely and rough-hewen shape which here thou seest; what restlesse nights, what painefull days, what heat, what cold I have indured; how many long and changeable journeys I have travailed; how many famous libraries I have searched into; what varietie of ancient and moderne writers I haue perused; what a number of old records, patents, priuileges, letters, etc., I have redeemed from obscuritie and perishing; what expenses I haue not spared; and yet what grave opportunities of priuate gain, preferment, and ease, I haue neglected; albeit thyself can hardly imagine, yet I by daily experience do find and feel, and some of my entier friends can sufficiently testifie. Howbeit (as I told thee at the first) the honour and benefit of this common weale wherein I liue and breathe, hath made all difficulties seem easie, all paines and industrie pleasant, and all expences of light value and moment to me."

It was, as Fuller, in his "Worthies," well styles it, "a work of great honour to England," that Hakluyt accomplished, both in his efforts to stimulate discovery in the West and to record its progress. It was all done in the faith and fear of God. In his epistles dedicatory to Raleigh, written from Paris in 1587, where he was Chaplain to the English embassy, and prefaced to his edition of "Peter Martyr's History of the New World," Hakluyt explicitly states that the glory of God was the great end to be had in view in undertaking to extend the bounds of a Christian Commonwealth. No nobler monument could be raised, no brighter name left for posterity

than the proof given by Raleigh in these efforts for discovery and colonization that he sought to restrain the fierceness of the barbarian, and enlighten his darkened mind by the knowledge of the one only true God. We cite these words in the sonorous Latin of the time: "Judex rerum omnium tempus, diligensque tuorum ministrorum inquisitio, multa inopinata quæ adhuc latent, modo Deus intersit, nobis aperient. Deum autem adfuturum non est cur dubites, quandoquidem de ipsius gloriâ, animarum infinitarum salute, Republicæ Christianæ incremento agitur. Eja ergo age ut cupisti et æterni tui nominis ac famæ apud posteros, quæ nulla unquam obliterabit ætas, relinque monumenta. Nihil enim ad posteros gloriosius nec honorificentius transmitti potest quam barbaros domare, rudes et paganos ad vitæ civilis societatem revocare, efferos in gyrum rationis reducere, hominesque atheos et a Deo alienos divini muneris reverentiâ imbuerè." It was, as Hakluyt asserts in his English dedication, for "the glorie of God, and the saving of the soules of the poore and blinded infidels," that Raleigh undertook his scheme of Virginia colonization, and his purpose of sending "some good churchmen thither as may truly say, with the apostle, to the savages 'We seek not yours but you,'" is mentioned in this prefatory epistle in such a way as makes it evident that provision was made for the spiritual needs of the colonists, whom this statesman and soldier sent forth. On Hakluyt's return to England he was appointed to a prebendal stall in Bristol Cathedral, and was afterward preferred to the living of Wetheringset-in-Suffolk. But, wherever his lot was cast, he was still occupied in his self-appointed work of recording the annals of exploration and colonization, and in giving a wise and salutary direction to the various schemes of discovery and settlement in which he took a prominent part. In 1605 he was appointed a Prebendary of Westminster, and the following year became a member of the Company of Virginia, the interests of which he carefully watched over till his death in 1616. He is buried in Westminster Abbey, and his lifelong devotion to the affairs of the Western World is a notable instance of the religious and churchly aspect of Western discovery in his day and age.

The story of the Sagadahoc settlers, under the leadership of Popham, as told by Strachey, and by a number of recent writers whose sympathies were with the Church, has given rise to a long and somewhat acrimonious discussion, which has but lately ceased. Prior to the publication by the Hakluyt Society of Strachey's "Historie of Trauaile into Virginia," in which the annals of the Popham Colony are simply told, all that was known of these early settlers on the coast of Maine was to be gathered from notices in Purchas's "Pilgrimage;" in the "Brief Relation" of the President and Council for New England; Smith's "Generall Historie;" in Sir William Alexander's "Encouragement to Colonies," and Sir Ferdinando Gorges's brief narration. These notices are gathered together by Dr. De Costa in the Appendix to "A Relation of a Voyage to Sagadahoc," from a MS. in the Lambeth Collection. (Cambridge, 1880.) The publication by the Hakluyt Society of Strachey's "Historie" attracted attention to this colony, and made those interested in the history of the church aware that this settlement was undertaken under churchly auspices, and that its inception was accompanied by the services of the "Book of Common Prayer." Strachey's narrative was republished by the Historical Societies of Massachusetts and Maine, with annotations; and in 1863 the latter society published a "Memorial Volume." Three years later appeared "The Popham Colony: a Discussion of its Historic Claims," containing articles by William F. Poole, the Rev. Edward Ballard, D.D., and Frederick Kidder, with a bibliography of the subject up to 1866. Subsequently, as before, various articles appeared on the one side or the other, in the newspapers and magazines of the day; and for several years the addresses at the Popham celebrations were issued in pamphlet form, and occasioned not a little criticism and numerous replies. The main matter in point, so far as we are concerned, is the unquestionable priority of the services and sacraments of the Church on the New England coast, years before the coming of the Leyden "Pilgrims," or the non-conformists of Massachusetts.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE IN VIRGINIA.

ON Friday, the 19th of December, 1606, an expedition consisting of three ships, the "Susan Constant," of one hundred tons¹ burden; the "Good-speed," of forty; and the "Discovery," a pinnace of twenty, sailed from Blackwall for Virginia, under the command of Captain Christopher Newport, "a mariner well practiced for the waterrie parts of America."¹ The holydays were spent upon the coast, as unpropitious winds detained them for six weeks in sight of England,—"All which time," proceeds the chronicler of the voyage, "Mr. Hunt our Preacher was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recovery. Yet although he were but twentie myles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes), and notwithstanding the stormy weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better than Atheists, of the greatest ranke amongst vs), suggested against him, all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leaue the busines, but preferred the service of God in so good a voyage, before any affection to contest with his godlesse foes, whose disasterous designes (could they haue prevailed) had even then overthrowne this businesse, so many discontents did then arise, had he not with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted example) quenched those flames of envie, and dissention."² Selected by the first president of the colony, Edward-Maria Wingfield, with the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the celebrated Dr. Bancroft, as "a man not anywaie to be touched wth the rebellious humors of a popish spirit, nor blemished wth y^e least suspition of a factius seismatick,"³ this first missionary priest of the Church of England resident on our American shores, whose name is preserved, well deserved the eulogium of the famous Captain Smith, who further speaks of him as "an honest, religious, and courageous Divine; during whose life our factions were oft qualified, our wants and greatest extremities so comforted, that they seemed easie in comparison of what we endured after his memorable death."⁴ Robert Hunt, A.M., who thus with the concurrence, and under the authority, of the primate of all England, went forth on the church's mission to Virginia, and whose home appears, from Smith's "Historie," to have been in Kent, was doubtless the Vicar of Reculver, whose appointment to that cure was dated Jan. 18, 1594, and whose resignation of the same took place in 1602, at which time he appears associated with Gosnold, Smith, and Wing-

¹ Smith's Gen. Hist., I, p. 150, Richmond ed. ² *Ibid.*

³ Wingfield's "Discourse of Virginia," in "Archæologia Americana," iv., p. 102.

⁴ Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters, p. 53.

field, in plans for the settlement of Virginia.¹ Well may the historian of the United States record his opinion of this excellent man as "a clergyman of persevering fortitude and modest worth."² There was need of every Christian virtue in the spiritual guide of so disorderly and ill-assorted a company as the little fleet of Newport bore to the Virginian shores. They were embarked on an expedition to found an empire in the West: but the composition of the colony was such that



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

"gentlemen" were largely in excess of artificers, and, unlike the "Colony of Roanoke," there were no women to bind in families, and cement in heart and home-loves, these founders of a commonwealth. The long and tedious voyage was productive of discontent and dissensions, and it was not till Sunday, the third after Easter, April 26, that the voyagers entered the magnificent bay of the Chesapeake. Several weeks were spent in selecting a site for the settlement, but at length, on Wednes-

¹ *Vide* Anderson's "History of the Colonial Church," 2d ed., i., pp. 169, 170.

² Baueroft's "United States," i., p. 118.

day, the 13th day of May, the peninsula of Jamestown, about fifty miles above the mouth of the river, already named in honor of the king, was determined upon. This decision made, the members of the "Council" designated in the sealed orders, which were opened immediately on the first landing of the expedition, were sworn into office, with the exception of Smith, who had aroused the ill-will of the chief of the colonists: and Edward-Maria Wingfield was chosen president.

Quaintly does the chronicler proceed: "Now falleth every man to worke, the Councell contriue the fort, the rest cut down trees to make place to pitch their tents; some provide clabbord to relade the ships, some make gardens, some nets. etc. . . . The President's overweening jealousie would admit no exercise at armes, or fortification, but the



JAMESTOWN.¹

boughs of trees cast together in the forme of a halfe moone, by the extraordinary paines and diligence of Captain Kendall."² Agreeably to the directions of the council in England, on Thursday, the 21st of May, Captain Newport, with five gentlemen, Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, Archer, Smith, Brooks, and Wotton, four "mariners," and fourteen sailors, ascended the James river in the "shallop" as far as the falls of the river, where Richmond now stands. The record of this exploration remains, and its quaint recital of the daily progress of this little band amidst the forest glades and along the water-courses of their new home, proves that Newport and his men were not unmindful of the

¹This cut follows a sketch made about 1857 by a travelling Englishwoman, Miss Catharine C. Hopley, and shows the condition of the ruined church at that time.

²Smith's "General Historie," Richmond ed., I., p. 157.

fact that they were both Christians and Englishmen. Full of interest is the mention of "May 24, Sunday, Whit-Sunday;" telling of their kindly intercourse with the savages, and their simple banquet of "two peeces of porke to be sodd ashore with pease," with "beere, aquavite, and sack," to which the savage chieftain, Powhatan, was an invited guest. As the day declined they raised a cross "upon one of the little illets at the mouth of the falls," with the inscription, "Iacobus, Rex, 1607," and Newport's name below. "At the erecting hereof, we prayed for our Kyng, and our owne prosperous succes in this his actyon; and proclaymed him kyng with a great shoute."¹ To the narrative of this expedition, which its gallant leader trusted would "tend to the glory of God, his majestie's renowne, our countrye's profytt, our owne advauncing, and fame to all posterity,"² is appended, "A Brief Description of the People," from which we extract the following incidental proof of the religious character of the explorers:—

I found they account after death to goe into another world, pointing eastward to the clement; and, when they saw us at prayer, they observed us with great silence and respect, especially those to whome I had imparted the meaning of our reverence. To conclude, they are a very witty and ingenious people, apt both to understand and speake our language. So that I hope in God, as he hath miraculously preserved us hither from all dangers both of sea and land and their fury, so he will make us authors of his holy will in converting them to our true Christian faith, by his owne inspiring grace and knowledge of his deity.³

Among the turbulent and discontented settlers who had been sent to Virginia to form the nucleus of a new Commonwealth and a new church there seems to have been but one common bond of union,—the faithful and devoted minister of the Prince of peace. Scanty and unsatisfactory as are the notices of the life and labor of this most estimable man, it is a satisfaction that we can picture to mind the scene of his public services. In Smith's "Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England," dedicated to Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, we have a description of the rude house of prayer, where the colonists repaired for worship each morn and even, and beneath whose canvas roof the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ was duly administered according to the use of our mother-church:—

I have been often demanded by so many how we beganne to preach the Gospell in Virginia, and by what authority, what Churches we had, our order of service, and maintenance for our Ministers, therefore tthink it not amisse to satisfie their demands, it being the Mother of all our Plantations, intreating Pride to spare laughter, to understand her simple beginning and proceedings. When I first went to Virginia, I well remember, wee did hang an awning (which is an old saile) to three or four trees to shadow us from the Sunne, our walls were raies of wood, our seats unhewed trees, till we cut planks; our Pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighboring trees: in foule weather we shifted into an old rotten tent, for wee had few better, and this came by the way of adventure for new. This was our Church, till wee built a homely thing like a barne, set upon cratchets, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth; so was also the walls; the best of our houses of the like curiosity, but the most parte farre much worse workmanship, that could neither well defend wind nor raine, yet

¹ Newport's "Discoveries in Virginia," in "Archæologia Americana," IV., p. 47.

² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 65.

wee had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two Sermons, and every three moneths the holy Communion, till our Minister died. But our Prayers daily, with an Homily on Sundaies, we continued two or three yeares after, till more Preachers came.

It was under this canvas roof that, on the third Sunday after Trinity, June 21, 1607, the first sacrament was administered. It was a memorable day in the history of this infant settlement. The wranglings and jealousies, which had been fomented during the voyage, were, for the moment at least, allayed. The kindly offices of the priest had resulted in the quelling of consciences ill at ease, in the subduing of bitter strifes and enyings, and in bringing men to be of one mind in an house. "Many were the mischiefes that daily sprung from their ignorant, yet ambitious spirits, but the good doctrine and exhortation of our Preacher, Mr. Hunt, reconciled them, and caused Captain Smith to be admitted of the Councell." "The next day," continues the chronicler, "all received the Communion," drawing near, as we may well believe, with faith and penitence, to take this holy sacrament to their comfort in this their new home. Surely there was a lesson for these turbulent men in the opening words of the epistle for the day,—St. Peter's words to them, and to all men,—"All of you be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility." Doubtless there came, also, with telling force to these wanderers, far from their homes, and in the midst of no mere figurative wilderness, the parable of the gospel of the day,—Christ's story of the lost sheep sought and found, and the joy in heaven over the one sinner repenting of his sin.

Five weeks had elapsed since the landing, ere at the table of their Lord the contentions and animosities of the colonists were forgotten, and on the next day supplications were again offered at their rude altar in behalf of Captain Newport "returned for England; for whose passage and safe retorne wee made many Prayers to our Almighty God."¹ One hundred and four colonists were left at Jamestown to effect the beginning of the English Empire in the New World.

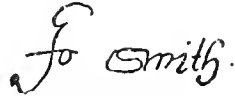
It was no easy task that these men had undertaken. The forests were to be felled; the ground was to be brought under subjection by the will and labor of the agriculturists. There were homes to be built; fortifications were required; trade was to be opened with the crafty and treacherous savages. Meanwhile the mid-summer heat was such that the fields could not be tilled. Disease, engendered by the dampness of the climate, prostrated nearly every one, and the lack of suitable food lessened the possibilities of cure. "Our drink," writes the chronicler of these unhappy days, "was unwholesome water; our lodgings, castles in the air; had we been as free from all sins as from gluttony and drunkenness, we might have been canonized for saints." Still, though during the summer there were not at any one time five able men to guard the bulwarks, the prayers at morn and even were not omitted. Even when on Sundays there was apprehension of an attack by the savages, and the sermon was necessarily omitted, the service was invariably performed, while "in the tyme of our hungar" when "the

¹ Wingfield's "Discourse of Virginia," in "Archæologia Americana," IV., p. 77.

common store of oyle, vinegar, sack, and aquavite were all spent, saving twoe gallons of each, the sack was reserved for the Communion Table." On the 22d of August Captain Bartholomew Gosnold died, — "a worthy and religious gentleman." He was "honorably buried, having all the ordnance in the port shot off, with many volleys of small shot."

One-half of the colonists had died before autumn, and pitiful, indeed, is the record of Percy: "If it had not pleased God to have put a terrour in the savages' hearts, we had all perished by those wild and cruel Pagans, being in that weak state as we were: our men night and day groaning in every corner of the fort, most pitiful to hear. If there were any conscience in men, it would make their hearts bleed to hear the pitiful murmurings and outcries of our sick men, without relief, every night and day for the space of six weeks; some departing out of the world, many times three or four in a night; in the morning, their bodies trailed out of their cabins, like dogs, to be buried. In this sort did I see the mortality of divers of our people."¹

"The living were scarce able to bury the dead," says Smith,² who, at no little risk, made expeditions among the savages for corn. But even hunger was not the only ill threatening the destruction of the infant colony. Early in January the rude church and the rude town described by Smith were destroyed by fire. In this disastrous conflagration



AUTOGRAPH OF
CAPT. JOHN SMITH.

Good Master Hunt, our Preacher, lost all his Librarie, and all that hee had (but the clothes on his backe) yet none ever saw him repine at his losse. Upon any alarme he would be as readie for defence as any; and till he could not speake he never ceased to his utmost to animate us constantly to persist; whose soule questionlesse is with God.³

The settlers, impoverished and homeless, wasted and worn by disease and privation, disappointed of their hopes of speedy fortunes, and fearing, in their well-nigh defenceless state, the attacks of the savages, bethought themselves of abandoning so ill-starred an enterprise; but the fortunate arrival of Captain Newport, with supplies, gave the colony a further lease of life. The sailors were employed, under their leader's direction, in the erection of a "faire store house," and the mariners, "aboute a church," which "they finished cheerfully and in short tyme." Shortly after, Newport sailed for England, taking with him Wingfield, whose consolation was, that his "travells and daungers" had "done somewhat for the behoof of Jerusalem in Virginia."⁴ The church which Smith calls "a golden Church," built when the mariners were striving to load the ship with "golden dirt," as it proved to be, and of which the chronicler tells us that "the raine washed" it "neevre to nothing in fourteen days,"⁵ shortly required rebuilding. Meanwhile, the saintly "Preacher" appears to have sickened and died. No mention

¹ Purchas, iv., p. 1690.

² Historie, I., p. 682.

³ Purchas, iv., p. 1710. Smith's "Historie," I., p. 168.

⁴ Wingfield's "Discourse," in "Archæologia Americana," iv., p. 103.

⁵ Historie, I., p. 169.

of him is found save the reference to his death we have already quoted from Purchas. He may have lived to solemnize the first marriage in Virginia between John Laydon and Anne Burras, which took place towards the close of the year 1608; but of this we are by no means assured, and we cannot but agree with Anderson, "that, had he lived so long, some more distinct traces of his valuable ministrations would have been preserved."¹ Doubtless he was "taken away from the evil to come" early in the second year of the settlement he had labored so devotedly to found. His latest efforts appear to have been directed towards the rebuilding of the church,— a work undertaken coincidently with the repair of the palisades and the planting of the cornfields and the re-covering of the storehouse; and then, his labors ended, his life-work done, he "fell asleep." That he died as he had lived, encouraging his fellow-settlers to persist in their effort to found a settlement, is on record, and we may, in adding our tribute to the memory of this pioneer mission-priest of the mother-church, express our accord with the old chronicler in the pious confidence that his soul "is with God."

"Prayers daily, with an Homily on Sundays," were continued for the "two or three years after, till more Preachers came," and even on the expedition sent into the interior under the command of the adventurous Smith, "our order daily was to have prayer with a Psalm, at which solemnitie the poore salvages much wondered; our Prayers being done, a while they were busied with a consultation till they had contrived their business."² It is interesting to notice these evidences of a devotional spirit animating the better portion of this wild community. Amidst the strifes and wranglings of the office-holders and office-seekers, amidst perils and dangers threatening all alike, the words of common prayer were daily used, and in their hallowed phrases the worshippers were united with those of their faith and lineage across the sea, in supplication to a common Father in heaven.

On Smith's return after one of these excursions into the country, to which we have referred, the office of president was assigned to him, and it well accords with other statements relating to this remarkable character, that we are told that "now the building of Ratcliffe's (the former president's) pallace stayed as a thing needlesse; and the church was repaired." In the autumn of 1608 more settlers came, and among them two females, "Mrs. Forest, and her maid, Anne Burras." The farce of a coronation of Powhatan was enacted, under the direction of Captain Newport, for the third time on the Virginian coast, and the time of the settlers, which was not wasted in such senseless ceremonies as this, was devoted, by order of the council at home, to the search for gold. Search was also directed to be made for the recovery of the Roanoke settlers, but in vain; and the company required immediate returns for their investments, threatening the settlers that, unless their orders were complied with, "they should be left in Virginia as banished men."³

The threats of the London Company were as futile as their hopes. Their anticipations of finding an El Dorado amidst the luxuriant forest-glades of Virginia were not to be realized. Dissensions, privations,

¹ Colonial Church, I., pp. 181, 182.

² Historie, I., p. 182.

³ Bancroft, I., 135.

the "accursed thirst for gold," and the stubborn unwillingness of the ill-assorted "first planters of Virginia" to submit to any power or rule save that of self, brought this settlement in the far-distant west into disfavor and distrust at home. The colonists, lacking the sweet restraint of the teachings and example of the saintly Robert Hunt, changed only from bad to worse, and the story of their strifes and jealousies, their struggles for a miserable and precarious existence, and the failure of all the cherished expectations in England of the speedy reduction of the savages to civilization and Christianity, gave abundant occasion to the "enemy to blaspheme." The "malicious and looser sort," says a writer, but a little later in the history of Virginia colonization, "with the licentious stage poets, have whet their tongues with scornful taunts against the action itself, insomuch as there is no common speech, nor public name of anything this day, except it be the name of God, which is more widely depraved, traduced, and derided by such unhallowed lips, than the name of Virginia."¹ Still, no thought of abandoning the enterprise entered into the minds of the friends of colonization at home. The succession of misfortunes, which had attended every step of the scheme of settlement, served to deepen the enthusiasm and zeal of men who were determined to succeed. There rallied in support of the new plans for promoting the settlement of Virginia the leading men of the age. The royal assent to a new charter was obtained on Tuesday, in Rogation week, May 23, 1609, and "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the first Colony in Virginia" were duly and formally created by the king's patent "a corporation and Body Politick." By this instrument not only were the limits of the colony extended, but the company itself was enlarged by the addition of numbers of the nobility, gentry, and tradesmen, so that, whether we consider the rank and character of its members, or the rights and privileges with which the company was vested by the royal authority, it claims a place in history as one of the most important bodies ever created, either for trade or government. The names of twenty-one peers of the realm appear in the list of incorporators, headed by the powerful Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, the relentless foe, as he had earlier been the rival, of Raleigh, who, in his dungeon in the tower, doubtless felt a keen interest in these efforts for the successful accomplishment of a work to which he had long since given influence, wealth, and personal concern. The Bishops of London, the celebrated Abbot, afterward translated to Canterbury, Lincoln, Worcester, and Bath and Wells, and Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, who had long been interested in the colonization of America, were associated in this scheme. Hakluyt, Prebendary of Westminster, was also a member of the company, with William Crashaw, B.D., and other clergymen of the Church. The numerous companies of tradesmen of the


 A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "James I.", with a decorative flourish at the end.

AUTOGRAPH OF JAMES I.

¹Dedicatory Epistle to the "New Life in Virginia."

city of London, the mercers, the drapers, the goldsmiths, the merchant tailors, the cutlers, and more than fifty others, were interested in this gigantic corporation. Merchants, artificers, yeomen, were all represented in a list which comprised, not merely the great, but all sorts and conditions of men. To this company, in which all gradations of rank were merged in a common equality, was transferred the powers which had been reserved to the king by the former patent. The execution of the privileges conceded by the charter was committed to a council of upwards of fifty, of which Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, was at the head,—a position well deserved by the interest he had taken in the planting of Virginia from the first. To this council almost unlimited powers were intrusted. Under its direction the Governor of Virginia could exercise well-nigh despotic rule, while in the event of mutiny or rebellion he was empowered, at his discretion, to proclaim martial law, and to carry into force all the rigorous provisions of this stern code. The life, liberty, and property of the settlers were wholly in the power of an officer owing his appointment and allegiance to a commercial corporation. The lands heretofore conveyed in trust, or held in joint proprietorship, were now granted in absolute fee. But one restriction upon emigration was enjoined, and that was the requirement of the Oath of Supremacy from all voyagers previous to setting sail; and the reason assigned for this injunction was as follows:—

Because the principal Effect, which we can desire or expect of this Action, is the Conversion and reduction of the People in those Parts unto the True Worship of God, and Christian Religion, in which Respect we should be loth, that any Person should be permitted to pass, that we suspected to effect the superstitions of the Church of Rome.¹

It was at this juncture in the affairs of Virginia that the name of the devout and amiable Nicholas Ferrar appears in connection with the enlarged and re-chartered company. The father of John and Nicholas Ferrar had been a friend of Raleigh, Hawkins, and Drake, and from the first had shown himself to be "a great lover and encourager of foreign plantations."² It is an evidence of the zeal of the dignitaries and members of the English Church in the missionary work in the New World, that we find associated, in this renewed effort for colonization, men holding the highest positions in Church and State, whose names are fresh in remembrance after the lapse of nearly three centuries. With the Ferrars, whose memory the Church of England has ever held dear, and whose services to the American Church we, in this Western World, may well recall, we also find the name of Sir Edwin Sandys, son of an Archbishop of York, and pupil of the "judicious" Hooker. Certainly, if patient, untiring, and abundant exertions, springing from a full and earnest recognition of the bidding, sounding down the Christian centuries, from the Master's lips,—"Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature,"—could have met the aspersion cast on England's reformed Church by the Church of Rome, "that she converts no believers abroad,"

¹ Stith's "History of Virginia," Sabin's Reprint, Appendix, p. 22.

² McDonough's "Memoirs of Nicholas Ferrar."

labors such as Hakluyt counselled, and the Ferrars seconded, and a host of others aided and approved, would have blotted out this slander forever.

With the grant of the new charter fresh interest attached to the work. Thomas, Lord De la Warr, a man of "approved courage, temper, and experience," was created Governor, or Captain-General, of Virginia, and an expedition of "Adventurers," under his leadership, was at once fitted out, the expense of which was largely borne by the com-



PORTRAIT OF LORD DELAWARE.

mander-in-chief, while his zeal and interest were such as to "renew and quicken the whole enterprize by his example, constancy, and resolution."

It was an age of pomp and circumstance, and yet it must have been an interesting pageant when the chivalrous De la Warr, and the Council of Virginia, with the "Adventurers," walked in solemn state to the Temple Church, where William Crashaw, the preacher of the Temple, and father of the poet whom Cowley praised and Pope was willing to imitate, preached the first missionary sermon ever addressed by a priest of the Church of England to members of that church, about to bear that church's name, and carry that church's teachings to a distant land. The text was from St. Luke's Gospel, xxii. 32, and the true

missionary spirit with which this unique discourse is filled may be judged by the following extract: —

If there be any that come in, only or principally for profit, or any that would so come in, I wish the latter may never bee in, and the former out again. If the planting of an English Colonie, in a good and fruttfull soil, and of an English Church in a heathen countrey; if the conuersion of the Heathen, if the propagating of the Gospell, and enlarging of the kingdome of Jesus Christ, be not inducements strong enough to bring them into this businesse, it is a pitie they be in at all. I will discharge my conscience in this matter. If any that are gone, or purpose to go in person, do it only that they may liue at ease and get wealth; if others that aduventure their money haue respected the same ends, I wish for my part, the one in England again, and the other had his money in his purse; nay, it were better that every one gave something to make vp his aduventure than that such Nabals should thrust in their foule feete, and trouble so worthie a businesse. And I could wish, for my part, that the proclamation which God injoined to bee made before the Israelites went to battell, were also made in this case: namely, that whosoever is faint-hearted, let him returne home againe, lest his brethren's hart faint like his; (Deut. xx. 8) for the coward not only betraieeth himself, but daunts and discourages others. Priuate ends haue been the bane of many excellent exploits; and priuate plots for the gaine of a few haue given hindrance to many good and great matters. Let us take heed of it in this present businesse, and all jointly with one heart aime at the generall and publike ends lest we finde hereafter to our shame and grieffe, that this one flie hath corrupted the whole box of oyntment, though never so precious. Let vs therefore cast aside all cogitation of profit, let vs look at better things; and then, I dare say vnto you as Christ hath taught me, that, if in this action wee seeke first the Kingdom of God, all other things shall be added unto us (Matt. vi. 33), that is (applying it to the case in hand), if wee first and principally seeke the propagation of the Gospell, and conuersion of soules, God will vndoubtedly make the voiage very profitable to all the aduenturers, and their posterities, even for matter of this life: for the soile is good, the commodities many, and necessarie for England, the distance not far offe, the passage faire and easie, so that there wants only God's blessing to make it gainfull. Now the highway to obtain that, is to forget our owne affections, and to neglect our own priuate profit in respect of God's glorie, and he that is zealous of God's glorie, God will be mindful of his profit.

Wise and fitting words with which to preface an effort for the glory of God and the extension of the Church of Christ. The preacher was far-seeing. Earnestly does he deprecate the allowance of any Papists, "Brownists," and factious "separatists," — then beginning to excite notice and alarm at home, — among these founders of a daughter Church of England in a New World. A touching reference to the leader of the "Adventurers" occurs at the close of this discourse. At the battle of Poitiers, as Froissart informs us, the French king was captured by an ancestor of the governor, Sir Roger la Warr, and John de Pelham. This incident of the family annals was thus "improved": —

And thou, most noble Lord, whom God hath stirred vp to neglect the pleasures of England, and with Abraham to goe from thy country, and forsake thy kindred and thy father's house, to goe to a land which God will show thee, giue me leaue to speak the truth. Thy ancestor many hundred years agoe gained great honour to thy house; but by this action thou augmentest it. He tooke a king prisoner in the field in his owne land; but by the godly managing of this businesse, thou shalt take the Diuell prisoner in open field, and in his owne kingdome; nay the Gospell which thou carriest with thee shalt bind him in chaines, and his angels in stronger fetters than iron, and execute upon them the judgement that is written; yea, it shall leade captiuitie captiue, and redeeme the soules of men from bondage. And thus thy glory and honour of thy house is more at the last than at the first.

Goe on therefore, and prosper with this thy honour, which indeed is greater than euery eie discernes, euen such as the present ages shortly will enjoy, and the

future admire. Goe forward in the strength of the Lord, and make mention of His righteousnesse only. Looke not at the gaine, the wealth, the honour, the advancement of thy house that may follow and fall vpon thee; but looke at those high and better ends that concerne the kingdom of God. Remember thou art a generall of English men, nay, a generall of Christian men; therefore principally looke to religion. You goe to commend it to the heathen; then practice it yourselves; make the name of Christ honourable, not hatefull vnto them.

In like burning words of high and holy encouragement had the Rev. Dr. Symonds, preacher at Saint Saviour's, in Southwark, a few months earlier, addressed the "many honourable worshipfull, the adventurers and planters for Virginia," at White-chapel. The text was from Genesis xii. 1-3, the portion of Scripture which relates the call of Abraham and the promise of God's blessing on his going to a strange country. At the close of an earnest and impassioned discourse we find these words:—

What blessing any nation had by Christ, must be communicated to all nations; the office of his Propheticke, to teach the ignorant; the office of his Priesthood, to give remission of sinnes to the sinnefull; the office of his Kingdome, by word, and sacraments, and spirit, to rule the inordinate; that such as are dead in trespasses, may be made to sit together in heavenly places. . . . If it be God's purpose, that the Gospell shall be preached through the world for a witnesse, then ought ministers to bee carefull and willing to spread it abroad, in such good services as this that is intended. Sure it is a great shame vnto us of the ministry, that can be better content to sit and rest us heere idle, than undergoe so good a worke. Our pretence of zeale is clearly discourd to be but hypocrisie, when we rather choose to mind unprofitable questions at home, than gaining soules abroad.

These discourses illustrate the popular feeling with reference to the New World. The end and aim of the expeditions to the West was, as Crashaw declared, "the destruction of the deuels kingdom, and propagation of the Gospell." "The planting of a church,"¹ the "converting of soules to God," these were the objects held constantly in view by the promoters and leaders of the successive schemes of colonization, and, if the same high and holy spirit failed to animate the rank and file of the settlers, the record tells us constantly of those who lived and labored for the Christianizing of the savages and the extension of Christ's Church in the New World.



AUTOGRAPH OF DE LA WARR.

Circumstances prevented the entrance of De la Warr upon the duties of his office at the outset, and, consequently, the first expedition despatched under the new charter sailed from Plymouth on the 1st day of June, 1609, in nine vessels; Sir Thomas Gates, who had been in the service of the United Netherlands, being lieutenant-general, and Sir George Somers, admiral, of Virginia. Newport was in command of the fleet; and the three were empowered to administer the affairs of the colony until the arrival of Lord De la Warr. The ship

¹ Crashaw's sermon, quoted in Anderson's "Colonial Church," I, p. 193.

AUTOGRAPH OF
THOMAS GATES.

"Sea Adventure" carried Gates, Somers, and Newport. In the "Diamond" were Captains Ratcliffe and King; in the "Falcon," Captain Martin and Master Nelson. The "Blessing," with Captain Archer and Master Adams, conveyed horses and mares; while the "Unity," the "Lion," the "Swallow," a "Ketch," and "a boat built in the North Colony," at Sagadahock, with Captain and Master Davies, who were among the settlers of that northern colony, made up the fleet on which about five hundred colonists were embarked. The voyage was favorable until the 23d of July, when the "Ketch" was lost in a hurricane, while the "Sea Venture," driven before the storm, was stranded, on the 28th, upon the shores of "— the still vex'd Bermoothes." Seven ships only reached Virginia.

The lives of the shipwrecked colonists at the Bermudas were marvellously preserved, and one and all were at once occupied in preparing the means of escape from the place of their detention. An excellent priest of the English Church, recommended by Dr. Ravis, Bishop of London, was in the company, and "publique Prayer, every morning and Evening," was faithfully observed; while on Sunday two sermons were preached by the Rev. Richard Bucke, a graduate of Oxford, and "a verie good preacher," as John Rolfe characterized him in a letter to the king, a little later. The chronicler of the expedition further tells us that "it pleased God also to give vs opportunitie to performe all the other Offices and Rites of our Christian Profession on this Island." On the 26th of November (the twenty-fourth Sunday after Trinity) occurred a marriage. On the first of October (the sixteenth Sunday after Trinity) and on "Christmasse Eve," which fell on Sunday, the fourth in Advent, the holy communion was celebrated, "at the partaking whereof our Governor was, and the greatest part of our Company." On the 11th of February, Sexagesima Sunday, Bermuda, the child of "one John Rolfe," was christened; Captain Newport, William Strachey, and Mistress Horton being godparents; and on the 25th of March, which was both Passion Sunday and Lady-day, the son of Edward Eason, named Bermudas, was christened, Captain Newport, William Strachey, and Master James Swift being godfathers. Six of the company were solemnly buried, with the church's rites. On leaving the island in the rude cedar ships they had builded, the governor, Sir Thomas Gates, erected "a faire Mnemosyon in figure of a crosse," made of some of the timber of the wreck, bearing on each side an inscription in Latin and English: "In memory of our great deliuerance, both from a mightie storme and leake; wee haue set vp this to the honour of God." Thus piously leaving the harbor which had proved to them a safe haven, they sailed for Virginia, which they reached in safety on Wednesday, the 23d of May, only to find the miserable remnant of the colony, which but a few months before numbered five hundred men. It was "the starving time." The fort was dismantled, the palisades torn down, the ports open, and the gates forced from their hinges. The new-comers proceeded at once, on landing, to the ruined and unfrequented church. The governor caused the bell to be rung, and the dispirited and starv-

ing people dragged their enfeebled frames to the house of God, that they might join in the "zealous and sorrowful prayer" of the faithful Bucke, as in the church's words he pleaded, in that sad and solemn hour, for himself and his fellow-worshippers, before the Lord their God. At the close of this solemn service the commission of Gates was formally proclaimed, and the insignia of office was surrendered to him by Percy, the brother of the Earl of Northumberland, who had been acting as president since the departure, for England, of Captain Smith. A brief



George Percy

survey of the condition of the colony was sufficient to discourage any one. Driven to extremities, without provisions or the means of procuring any, disappointed as to the past, and hopeless for the future, Gates determined to abandon the ill-fated settlement, and proceed to Newfoundland, where he hoped to distribute the pitiful remnant of the colony among the English fishing-vessels off the Banks. On Thursday, the 7th of June, at noon, the whole company embarked. Sir Thomas Gates last of all, "giving a farewell with a peal of small shott," none dropping a tear at leaving a spot where "none had enjoyed one day of happiness." At eventide the ships drifted down the river, and the abandonment of the first colony in Virginia was complete.

Heaven interposed to save the future church and commonwealth of Virginia. On the morning of Friday, the 8th, when the ships freighted with the returning colonists lay at anchor at the mouth of the river, waiting the return of the tide, a boat was descried in the offing, which had been sent by the captain-general of the colony, Lord De la Warr, to announce his arrival from England. Gates and his company returned at once to the forlorn and dismantled town they had so lately quitted, and on the first Sunday after Trinity, June 10, 1610, the squadron of De la Warr, consisting of three ships, arrived off the fort, and he, with his retinue, landed in the afternoon at the small gate of the palisade. In the spirit of true Christian chivalry did this excellent nobleman enter upon his work for Christ and his church in the New World. Though the lieutenant-governor and the few survivors were drawn up under arms to receive him, De la Warr, ere he acknowledged their courtesy or assumed any show of authority, fell on his knees on the ground, and in the presence of all the people offered long and silent prayer to God, and then marched in solemn state through the town to the little church. Here, after prayers and a sermon by the worthy Parson Bucke, the commission of the governor was read, the seals of office were formally surrendered to him, and he addressed the assembly with a few words of encouragement and admonition.

Thus, solemnly and in the fear of God, did this excellent nobleman enter upon the duties of his thankless office. Strachey, the secretary and recorder of the colony, as well as its historian, gives us, among his earliest notices of the new *régime* thus inaugurated, the following quaint picture of the church and church-life at Jamestown, at this time:—

The Captaine Generall hath giuen order for the repairing the Church, and at this instant many hands are about it. It is in length threescore foote, in breadth twenty-foure, and shall haue a chancell in it of Cedar, and a Communion Table of the Blake Walnut, and all the Pewes of Cedar, with faire broad windowes, to shut and open, as the weather shall occasion, of the same wood, a Pulpit of the same, with a font hewen hollow, like a Canoa, with two Bels at the West end. It is so cast, as to be very light within, and the Lord Gouvernour and Captaine Generall doth cause it to be kept passing sweete, and trimmed vp with diuers flowers, with a Sexton belonging to it: and in it eury Sunday we haue Sermons twice a day, and eury Thursday a Sermon, hauing true¹ preachers, which take their weekly turnes; and eury morning at the ringing of a bell, about ten of the clocke, each man addresseth himselfe to prayers, and so at foure of the clocke before Supper. Eury Sunday, when the Lord Gouvernour and Captaine Generall goeth to Church, he is accompanied with all the Counsailers, Captaines, other Officers, and all the Gentlemen, with a guard of Holberdiers, in his Lordship's Liurey, faire red cloakes, to the number of fifty both on each side, and behinde him: and being in the Church, his Lordship hath his seate in the Quier, in a greene veluet chaire, with a cloath, with a veluet cushion spread on a table before him, on which he kneeleth, and on each side sit the Counsell, Captaines, and Officers, each in their place, and when he returneth home againe, he is waited on to his house in the same manner.²

Of the "true" preachers referred to in this interesting extract Richard Bucke was surely one, and the other, or others, doubtless accompanied De la Warr. We have no record of the name or names.

¹ Evidently a clerical error for "two," the alternate being, doubtless, the chaplain of De la Warr's fleet.

² Purchas, iv., p. 1754.

In the long and touching recital of affairs, sent by the Governor and Council to the London Company, dated "James Towne, July 7th, 1610," the request is made for "a new supply in such matters of the two-fold physicke, which both the soules and bodies of our poor people here stand much in neede of," and in the "Table of such as are required in their plantation," issued by the Council at home, the foremost entry is, "Foure honest and learned Ministers." One of these was Alexander Whitaker, who arrived in the colony on the 10th of May, 1611, with Sir Thomas Dale, the High Marshal of Virginia. He was the son of the celebrated William Whitaker, Master of St. John's College, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, and although, to quote the words of Crashaw, "seated in the North Countrey, where he was well approued by the greatest and beloued of his people, and had competent allowance to his good liking, and was in as good possibility of better living as any of his time," having also "meanes of his owne left him by his parents," he, "without any persuasion (but God's and his own heart) did voluntarily leaue his warme nest; and to the wonder of his kindred, and amazement of them that knew him, undertooke this hard, but to my judgment, heroicall resolution to go to Virginia and help beare the name of God unto the Gentiles." Of his faithfulness and zeal we shall have occasion to speak again and again. We can well understand the purpose of Whitaker in leaving his "warme nest" to go to Virginia to assist that Christian plantation, in the function of a preacher of the Gospel. In the call for help, addressed by the Council to the people of England, the argument is employed that upwards of six hundred "of our Brethren by our common mother the Church, Christians of one faith and one Baptism," have been exposed "to a miserable and inevitable death" in adventuring upon this plantation, whom it was the bounden duty of their countrymen to aid. At length, aware of the mistake of transporting men of loose morals and depraved character to Virginia, the Council announced that they would receive "no man that cannot bring or render some good testimony of his religion to God, and ciuil manners and behaviour to his neighbour with whom he hath lived." The spiritual wants of those already in Virginia, and the promised possession of worthy and religious settlers in the future, made the "plantation of Religion" in the New World a worthy object of desire to zealous men filled with the love of souls, and of those who responded to this cry for spiritual help no one was more worthy of the work than was he who won the title of Apostle of Virginia, by his few years of devoted service. It was the glad response to the cheering words earlier borne across the ocean: "Doubt not God will raise our State and build our Church in this excellent clime. It is the arm of the Lord of Hosts, who would have his people pass the Red Sea and the wilderness, and then possess the land of Canaan."¹

In June, 1611, there accompanied Sir Thomas Gates, on his second voyage to Virginia, "an approved Preacher in Bedford and Huntingdonshire, a graduate of Cambridge, revered and respected,"² by the name of Glover. He was in easy circumstances and already somewhat

¹ True Declaration, pp. 45, 46.

² Crashaw's "Epistle Dedicatorie."

advanced in years, but so earnest in his desire for missionary work that he sought the opportunity, and being "well liked of the Counsell" he went bravely to his post. But, as Crashaw tells us, "he endured not the sea-sickness of the countrey, so well as younger and stronger bodies; and so, after zealous and faithfull performance of his ministeriall dutie, whilst he was able, he gave his soule to Christ Jesus (under whose banner he went to fight; and for whose glorious name's sake he undertooke the danger), more worthy to be accounted a true Confessor of Christ than hundreds that are canonized in the Pope's Martyrologie."

In the beginning of the year 1611 the health of the governor failed, under the cares and anxieties of his position, and the diseases incident to the climate, and after a lingering illness he was compelled to commit the administration of the government to George Percy, and on Thursday, in Easter-week, March 28, to sail for England. Necessary as was this step, it could not but have a disastrous effect upon the colony, while it produced "a damp of coldness" in the breasts of the adventurers at home. Still "one spark of hope remained;" for, before the departure of De la Warr was known at home, Sir Thomas Dale, "a worthy and experienced soldier in the Low Countries," had sailed for Virginia, with three ships, with men and cattle for the settlement at Jamestown. In June, 1611, Sir Thomas Gates, who had been named first in the original patent for Virginia, embarked with his wife and daughter, in a fleet of six ships, carrying three hundred men, with large supplies of cattle and stores. The relief thus afforded was most grateful. Already had the mishaps of the colonists excited the derision of the public. "And whereas we have by undertaking this plantation undergone the reproofs of the base world," was the plaint coming from the dispirited and disappointed settlers, "insomuch as many of our owne brethren laugh vs to scorne," and "papists and players, . . . the scum and dregs of the earth," "mocke such as help to build up the walls of Jerusalem."¹ The new-comers were welcomed with general thanksgiving. For the first time the settlement began to extend beyond the limits of Jamestown. A new plantation, seventy miles up the river, was founded, and a handsome church of wood was erected at the start. The "fair-framed Parsonage impaled for Master Whitaker," and the "hundred acres called Rocke Hall," set apart for the future support of the ministry in this new settlement, are referred to in the story of the first planting of Henrico.

Sir Thomas Dale, under whose leadership this step in the advance was taken, was a man of no ordinary character, and when, on the return of Gates to England, the sole command of the colony devolved upon him, he displayed the earnest, patient, persevering Christian devotion of one who recognized "in whose Vineyard" he labored, "and whose church with greedy appetite" he desired "to erect." In a letter to a friend, still extant,² he professes that the end of his exertions was "to build God a church;" and, although we may well condemn the spirit and letter of "The Laws Diuine, Morall and Martiall," which, as

¹From "A Praier duly said Morning and Evening vpon the Court of Guard," appended to "The Laws Diuine, Morall and Martiall."

²Purchas, iv., pp. 1768-1770.

drawn up by William Strachey, the secretary of the colony, were transmitted to Dale by Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer, we cannot doubt that even this code, which was both impolitic and inhuman, was administered by the "High Marshall of Virginia" with as much mercy as was possible. With these laws, so far as they are "publique," or "martiall," we need not concern ourselves. Stern and inhuman as they appear, they reflect the spirit of the age, and their approval by Gates, who first enjoined them on his arrival, in 1610, and by De la Warr and Dale, will surely lead one to infer that the disorders rife in the colony required a rigorous repression, and the exercise of a prompt and summary severity. This remarkable code is at the outset imbued with the religious temper of the time, and begins as follows: "First, since we owe our highest and supreme duty, our greatest, and all our allegiance to Him, from whom all power and authoritie is derived, and flowes as from the first, and onely fountaine, and being especiall souldiers emprest in this sacred cause, we must alone expect our successe from Him, who is onely the blesser of all good attempts, the King of kings, the Commaunder of commaunders, and Lord of hostes, I do strictly commaund and charge all Captaines and Officers, of what qualitie and nature soeuer, whether commaunders in the field, or in towne or townes, forts or fortresses, to haue a care that the Almighty God bee duly and daily serued, and that they call vpon their people to heare Sermons, as that also they diligently frequent Morning and Euening praier themselues, by their owne exemplar and daily life and dutie herein encouraging others thereunto, and that such who shall often and wilfully absent themselues, be duly punished according to the martiall law in that case provided." Among the offences punishable by the most severe penalties were speaking "impiously or maliciously against the Holy and blessed Trinitie, or against the knowne Articles of the Christian Faith;" the utterance of blasphemy or "unlawful oathes;" "the derision or despite of God's holy word;" and disrespect "unto any Preacher or Minister." It was strictly enjoined that "euerie man and woman duly twice a day, vpon the first towling of the Bell, shall vpon the working daies repaire vnto the Church to hear diuine service." The Lord's day was to be duly sanctified and observed by individuals and families "by preparing themselves at home with private prayer, that they may be the better fitted for the publique, according to the commandments of God and the orders of our Church." Every one was required to "repaire in the morning to the diuine seruice, and sermons preached vpon the Saboth day, and in the afternoo to diuine service and catechising." It was ordered that "All Preachers or Ministers within this our Colonie or Colonies, shall in the Forts, where they are resident, after diuine Seruice, duly preach every Sabbath day in the forenoone, and Catechize in the afternoone, and weekely say the diuine service twice every day, and preach every Wednesday, likewise every minister where he is resident within the same Fort or Fortresse, Townes or Towne, shall chuse vnto him, foure of the most religious and better disposed as well to informe of the abuses and neglects of the people in their duties and seruice to God, as also to the due reparation, and keeping of the Church handsome, and fitted with all reverent obseruances thereunto belonging; likewise

euery minister shall keepe a faithful and true Record, or Church Booke, of all Christnings, Marriages, and deaths of such our People as shall happen within their Fort or Fortresses, Townes or Towne at any time, vpon the burthen of a neglectfull conscience, and vpon paine of losing their Entertainment." Touching, indeed, was the prayer appended to these Laws and appointed to be "duly said Morning and Euening vpon the Court of Guard, either by the Captaine of the watch himselfe, or by some one of his principall officers." Words such as these, daily on the lips and in the hearts of the settlers, are of no little interest in determining the plans and purposes of the settlement. "And seeing Thou hast honoured vs to choose vs out to beare thy name vnto the Gentiles; we therefore beseech Thee to bless vs, and this our plantation, which we and our nation haue begun in thy fear and for thy glory . . . And seeing, Lord, the highest end of our plantation here is to set vp the standard and display the banner of Jesus Christ, euen here where Satan's throne is, Lord, let our labor be blessed in laboring the conversion of the heathen. And because Thou vsest not to work such mighty works by vnholly means, Lord sanctifie our spirits, and giue vs holy harts, that so we may be thy instruments in this most glorious work . . . And seeing by thy motion and work in our harts, we haue left our warme nests at home, and put our liues into our hands, principally to honour thy name, and aduance the kingdome of thy son, Lord giue vs leaue to commit our liues into thy hands; let thy angels be about vs, and let vs be as Angels of God sent to this people . . . Lord blesse England our sweete natiue country, saue it from Popery, this land from heathenisme, and both from Atheisme. And Lord heare their praiers for vs and vs for them, and Christ Jesus our glorious Mediator for vs all. Amen."¹

The growth of the colony under the new *régime* was rapid and healthy. Its leaders were men of singleness of purpose, and no pains were spared to encourage industry, to extend the limits of the plantations, and to provide, as we learn from "The New Life of Virginia," published in 1612, "for the honour and seruice of God, for daily frequenting the Church, the house of prayer, at the tolling of the bell, for preaching, catechizing, and the religious observation of the Sabbath day, for due reverence to the Ministers of the Word, and to all superiours, for peace and love among themselves, and enforcing the idle to paines and honest labour . . . in a word, against all wrongfull dealing amongst themselves, or imperious violence against the Indians."² The assignment of lands to the settlers for their individual use and ownership took the place of the former plan of cultivating the land in common, and good order and abundance were the result. The Indians were no longer hostile, and the strength of the colony was such that it no longer feared their assaults. In the quaint language of the writer of "The New Life of Virginia," "good" were "these beginnings wherein God is thus before."

It was at this epoch in Virginian settlement that the devoted Whitaker, who had now spent nearly two years in the New World, contrib-

¹ This "Praier" is, without doubt, the composition of William Crashaw, several of its phrases, as well as much of its argument, being found in other writings of his.

² Force's "Historical Tracts," I., p. 13.

uted to the London press, then teeming with tractates on colonization, a thin quarto, entitled, "Good News from Virginia."¹ It was "a pithie and godly exhortation," as Crashaw styled it, coming from one who "diligently preacheth and catechizeth," performing "daily and diligent service, acceptable to God, and comfortable to our people."² It counselled self-sacrifice on the part of those at home, to relieve "the poore estate of the ignorant inhabitants of Virginia." It bespoke compassionate efforts in behalf of the "poore Indians," "naked slaves of the devil." Simple, straightforward, homely even in its diction, it waxed eloquent in its appeals for English coöperation in the good work undertaken "for the glory of God, whose kingdom you now plant, and good of your country, whose wealth you seeke." "Awake, you true-hearted Englishmen!" is the impassioned cry; "you servants of Jesus Christ, remember that the Plantation is God's, and the reward your country's." We can readily understand Crashaw's testimony to the zeal and ability of the mission priests of the Church of England who had emigrated to Virginia. "We see to our comfort, the God of heaven found us out, and made us readie to our hand, able and fit men for the ministerial function in this plantation, all of them Graduates, allowed preachers, single men, having no Pastorall cures, nor charge of children; and, as it were, every way fitted for that worke. And because God would more grace this businesse, and honor his owne worke, he provided us such men as wanted neither living, nor libertie of preaching at home. . . . Hereafter, when all is settled in peace and plentie, what marvell, if many and greater than they are willing to goe? But, in the infancie of this Plantation, to put their lives into their hands, and, under the assurance of so many dangers and difficulties, to denote themselves unto it, was certainly a holy and heroicall resolution, and proceeded undoubtedly from the blessed spirit of Christ Jesus, who 'for this cause appeared that he might dissolve the works of the devill.' And though Satan visibly and palpably raignes there more than in any other knowne place of the world, yet be of good courage, blessed brethren, 'God will treade Satan under your feet shortly,' and the ages to come will eternize your names as the Apostles of Virginia."

Foremost among these "Apostles of Virginia," and worthy of honorable mention and lasting remembrance on the pages of the missionary annals of the Church of Christ, was Alexander Whitaker, to whom we have already referred. It was by him that Pocahontas, the child of romance and song, was instructed in the faith of Christ, and admitted to holy baptism. Much has been written with reference to this Indian maiden whose name is inseparably connected with the history of the Virginia Church and State. There is little doubt but that the extravagant tales which find their place in Smith's "General Historie," and many of which have this simple Indian girl for their heroine, are exaggerations and of a piece with the marvellous stories which, late in life, that egotistical writer tells at length of his own career on the confines of Christendom in the East; but, when the romance has all been eliminated, enough remains to make us grateful to God for the conversion of this gentle Indian

¹ Published in 1613.

² Crashaw's "Epistle Dedicatorie."

maiden, and her subsequent marriage to a young Englishman of family and repute. The unsuspecting girl had been betrayed by some of her own people into the hands of Argall, in 1612. Detained, with a view to secure from her father the return of men and stores which he had in possession, Pocahontas learned to love her captors, and in time an even more tender passion sprang up in her gentle breast for "an honest gentleman, and of good behaviour," named John Rolfe, a widower, whose struggle of mind in reference to marrying an "unbelieving creature," "one whose education hath been rude, her manners barbarous, her generation accursed, and so discrepant in all nurture" from himself, is quaintly set forth in his own inimitable letter to Sir Thomas Dale.¹ Carefully instructed in the Christian religion by order of the governor, after she had made good progress therein, Pocahontas "renounced publickly her countrey Idolatry," and "was as she desired baptised." Dale, writing to a London clergyman respecting this marriage, bears testimony to the worth and piety of the new convert: "She liues ciuilly and loningly with him, and I trust will increase in goodnesse as the knowledge of God increaseth in her. She will goe into England with mee; and were it but the gaining of this one soule, I will thinke my time, toile, and present stay well spent." This interesting marriage ceremony took place, we are told by Hamor, "about the 1st of April, 1613," and was solemnized in the little church at Jamestown, an uncle, Opachiseo, and two brothers of Pocahontas, being present. The 1st of April was Maunday Thursday, and there can be little doubt, in view of the natural repugnance to marriages in Lent, that it was at Easter-tide when this espousal took place. April 4, the date of the Easter feast in 1613, may well be held in remembrance, for in this union the future of the colony was assured. In 1616 Pocahontas accompanied her husband to England, in the train of Sir Thomas Dale, meeting with a gracious welcome, and finding, in the providence of God, a grave. Purchas, who grows garrulous in her praise, tells of the pomp and state with which Dr. King, then Bishop of London, entertained her: "beyond what I have ever seen in his great hospitalitie afforded to other ladies," and quaintly adds, "At her return towards Virginia she came to Grauesend, to her end and graue, having given great demonstration of her Christian sinceritie as the first fruits of Virginian conuersions, leaving here a godly memory and the hopes of her resurrection, her soule aspiring to see and enjoy presently in Heaven what here shee had joyed to heare and beleeve of her beloued Saviour." Modest, dignified, and gracious, "the Lady Pocahontas," as she was called, carried herself "as the daughter of a king." Present at a representation at court of Ben Jonson's Masque, "Christmas," on the Feast of the Epiphany; referred to by the same great dramatist in another play,² as — "the blessed

"Pocahontas, as the historian calls her,
And great king's daughter of Virginia;"

and courted and caressed by all classes and conditions of men, her brief career in England won for her many friends, and in her early death, at the age of twenty-two, there was the consolation that an in-

¹ Appended to Hamor's "True Discourse."

² The "Staple of News," first played in 1625.

fant son survived, among whose descendants many of the highest social rank in Virginia have been proud to number themselves. It was for "the good of the plantation," as Rolfe anticipated, that this alliance resulted. A lasting peace with the aborigines followed, and the friends of the "holy action" of Christianizing and civilizing the natives of the American forests, whose hopes had long been "languishing and forsaken," took heart again. The "pious and heroic enterprise" of bringing to the savages the knowledge of the gospel of Christ was again undertaken. The seed sown was at length beginning to take root, and spring up with the promise of a gracious harvest.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

"THE earliest book of American literature," as Professor Tyler¹ reminds us, is "*A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of note as hath hapned in Virginia since the first planting of that Collony, which is now resident in the South part thereof, till the last return from thence. Written by Captaine Smith, Coronell of the said Collony, to a worshippfull friend of his in England. London, 1608.*" This black-letter tract, written on the spot by the leading spirit in the settlement, and covering the period from the arrival of the colonists at Cape Henry, on the 26th of April, 1607, to the return of Captain Nelson in the "Phoenix," on the 2d of June, 1608, is the first published work known to bibliographers relating to the Jamestown colony. The original edition is exceedingly rare, and as such its title is included in Mr. Payne Collier's "Rarest Books in the English Language," 1865. Mr. Collier attributes its authorship to Thomas Watson, whose name appears on the title-page of some copies, but there is no reason to doubt that it was written by Smith, to whom Purchas assigns its composition. The work is made accessible by a reprint admirably edited by Charles Deane, LL.D., Boston, 1866, with a fullness and accuracy of annotation which might be expected from so competent a hand. We cannot better indicate the contents of this interesting and important work than by citing the critical *rèsumé* of its scope and style, given by Professor Tyler, in his "History of American Literature":—

"Barely hinting at the length and tediousness of the voyage, the author plunges, with epic promptitude, into the midst of the action by describing their arrival in Virginia, their first ungentle passages with the Indians, their selection of a place of settlement, their first civil organization, their first expedition for discovery toward the upper waters of the James River, the first formidable Indian attack upon their village, and the first return for England, two months after their arrival, of the ships that had brought them to Virginia. Upon the departure of these ships, bitter quarrels broke out among the colonists; 'things were neither carried with that discretion nor any business effected in such good sort as wisdom would; . . . through which disorder, God being angry with us, plagued us with such famine and sickness that the living were scarce able to bury the dead. . . . As yet we had no houses to cover us; our tents were rotten, and our cabins worse than naught. . . . The president and Captain Martin's sickness compelled me . . . to spare no pains in making houses for the company, who, notwithstanding our misery, little ceased their malice, grudging, and muttering . . . being in such despair as they would rather starve and rot with illness than be persuaded to do anything for their own relief without constraint.' But the energetic captain had an eager passion for making tours of exploration along the coast and up the river; and after telling how he procured corn from the Indians and thus supplied the instant necessities of the starving colonists, he proceeds to relate the history of a tour of discovery made by him up the Chickahominy, on which tour happened the famous incident of his falling into captivity among the Indians. The

¹ A History of American Literature. By Moses Coit Tyler. I., p. 21.

reader will not fail to notice that in this earlier book of his, written before Powhatan's daughter, the Princess Pocahontas, had become celebrated in England, and before Captain Smith had that enticing motive for representing himself as specially favored by her, he speaks of Powhatan as full of friendliness to him; he expressly states that his own life was in no danger at the hands of that Indian potentate; and, of course, he has no situation on which to hang the romantic incident of his rescue by Pocahontas from impending death. Having ascended the Chickahominy for about sixty miles, he took with him a single Indian guide, and pushed into the woods. Within a quarter of an hour, he 'heard a loud cry and a hallooing of Indians'; and almost immediately he was assaulted by two hundred of them, led by Opechancanough, an under-king to the Emperor Powhatan. The valiant captain, in a contest so unequal, was certainly entitled to a shield; and this he rather ungenerously extemporized by seizing his Indian guide, and with his garters binding the Indian's arm to his own hand, thus, as he coolly expresses it, making 'my hind' 'my barricado.' As the Indians still pressed towards him, Captain Smith discharged his pistol, which wounded some of his assailants, and taught them all a wholesome respect by the terror of its sound; then, after much parley, he surrendered to them, and was carried off prisoner to a place about six miles distant. There he expected to be at once put to death, but was agreeably surprised by being treated with the utmost kindness. For supper that night they gave him 'a quarter of venison and some ten pound of bread,' and each morning thereafter three women presented him with 'three great platters of fine bread,' and 'more venison than ten men could devour.' 'Though eight ordinarily guarded me, I wanted not what they could devise to content me; and still our larger acquaintance increased our better affection.' After many days spent in travelling hither and yon with his captors, he was at last, by his own request, delivered up to Powhatan, the over-lord of all that region. He gives a picturesque description of the barbaric state in which he was received by this potent chieftain, whom he found 'proudly lying upon a bedstead a foot high, upon ten or twelve mats,' the emperor himself being 'richly hung with many chains of great pearls about his neck, and covered with a great covering of racoon skins. At his head sat a woman; at his feet, another; on each side, sitting upon a mat upon the ground, were ranged his chief men on each side the fire, ten in a rank; and behind them, as many young women, each a great chain of white beads over their shoulders, their heads painted in red; and with such a grave and majestic countenance as drave me into admiration to see such state in a naked salvage. He kindly welcomed me with good words, and great platters of sundry victuals, assuring me his friendship and my liberty within four days.' Thus day by day passed in pleasant discourse, with his imperial host, who asked him about 'the manner of our ships, and sailing upon the seas, the earth and skies, and of our God;' and who feasted him, not only with continual 'platters of sundry victuals,' but with glowing descriptions of his own vast dominions, stretching away beyond the river and the mountains to the land of the setting sun. 'Seeing what pride he had in his great and spacious dominions, . . . I requited his discourse in describing to him the territories of Europe which was subject to our great king, . . . the innumerable multitude of his ships. . . . Thus having with all the kindness he could devise sought to content me, he sent me home with four men, one that usually carried my gown and knapsack after me, two others loaded with bread, and one to accompany me.' The author then gives a description of his journey back to Jamestown, where 'each man, with truest signs of joy,' welcomed him; of his second visit to Powhatan; of various encounters with hostile and thievish Indians; and of the arrival from England of Captain Nelson in the Phoenix, April the twentieth, 1608, an event which 'did ravish' them 'with exceeding joy.' Late in the narrative he makes his first reference to Pocahontas, whom he speaks of as 'a child of ten years old, which not only for feature, countenance and proportion much exceedeth any of the rest of his people, but for wit and spirit the only nonpareil of his country.' After mentioning some further dealings with the Indians, he concludes the book with an account of the preparations for the return to England of Captain Nelson and his ship; and describes those remaining as 'being in good health, all our men well contented, free from mutinies, in love with one another, and as we hope in a continual peace with the Indians, where we doubt not, by God's gracious assistance, and the adventurers' willing minds, and speedy furtherance to so honorable an action, in after times to see our nation to enjoy a country, not only exceeding pleasant for habitation, but also very profitable for commerce in general, no

doubt pleasing to Almighty God, honorable to our gracious sovereign, and commendous generally to the whole kingdom.'

"Thus, with words of happy omen, ends the first book in American literature. It is a book that was written, not in lettered ease, nor in 'the still air of delightful studies,' but under a rotten tent in the wilderness, perhaps by the flickering blaze of a pine-knot, in the midst of tree-stumps and the filth and clamor of a pioneer's camp, and within the fragile palisades which alone shielded the little band of colonists from the ever-hovering peril of an Indian massacre. It was not composed as a literary effort. It was meant to be merely a budget of information for the London stockholders of the Virginia Company. Hastily, apparently without revision, it was wrought vehemently by the rough hand of a soldier and an explorer, in the pauses of a toil that was both fatiguing and dangerous, and while the incidents which he records were clinging in his memory. Probably he thought little of any rules of literary art as he wrote this book; probably he did not think of writing a book at all. Out of the abundance of his materials, glowing with pride over what he had done in the great enterprise, eager to inspire the home-keeping patrons of the colony with his own resolute cheer, and accustomed for years to portray in pithy English the adventures of which his life was fated to be full, the bluff captain just stabbed his paper with inken words; he composed, not a book, but a big letter; he folded it up, and tossed it upon the deck of Captain Nelson's departing ship. But though he may have had no expectation of doing such a thing, he wrote a book that is not unworthy to be the beginning of the new English literature in America. It has faults enough without doubt. Had it not these, it would have been too good for the place it occupies. The composition was extemporaneous; there appears in it some chronic misunderstanding between the nominatives and their verbs; now and then the words and clauses of a sentence are jumbled together in blinding heaps; but, in spite of all its crudities, here is racy English, pure English, the sinewy, picturesque, and throbbing diction of the navigators and soldiers of the Elizabethan time." — I., pp. 25-27.

With this as the initial volume of the printed accounts of the Jamestown settlement, the story was continued in "Purchas His Pilgrimes," iv., pp. 1685-1690, published in 1625, under the title "Observations gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantations of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia by the English, 1606, written by that Honorable Gentleman Master George Percy." As printed in Purchas, this is a meagre abridgment of the original narrative, which has not been preserved. A third account of the beginnings of this colony is entitled "Newport's Discoveries in Virginia," and was printed for the first time from copies of originals in the English State Paper Office, edited by the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D.D., in "Archæologia Americana," iv., pp. 40-65. The same volume contains, pp. 67-163: "A Discourse of Virginia," by Edward-Maria Wingfield, the first president of the colony. The discovery of this interesting and important manuscript is due to the Rev. James S. M. Anderson, M.A., Preacher of Lincoln's Inn, the accomplished and accurate author of "The History of the Church of England in the Colonies and Foreign Dependencies of the British Empire." Found among the MSS., in Lambeth Library, by this painstaking annalist of the Church in America, it was referred to in the first volume of his "History," and, thus attracting the attention of American scholars, was published from a copy made by the permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury, under the editorship of Charles Deane, LL.D. Another contemporaneous account is "A Relation of Virginia," written by Henry Spelman, "the third son of the Antiquary." Spelman came to Virginia as a boy in 1609, lived for some time in captivity among the Indians, became an interpreter for the colony, and was killed by the savages in 1622 or 1623. The "Relation" was privately printed at the Chiswick press, in 1872, at London, for J. F. Hunnewell, of Charlestown, Mass., from the original MS., at one time the property of Dawson Turner.

For further bibliographical notices of the early-printed works, illustrative of this period of our civil and ecclesiastical annals, as well as those later issues containing the story of Virginia to our own days, *vide* "The Narrative and Critical History of America," III., pp. 155-166.

CHAPTER V.

THE UNIVERSITY OF HENRICO, AND EFFORTS FOR THE CONVERSION AND CIVILIZATION OF THE SAVAGES.

THE strict, but upright, administration of Dale was succeeded by that of Argall as deputy governor, whose avarice, tyranny, and obstinate self-will rendered life insecure, and made property subject to a rapacity which failed to discriminate between the possessions of the unhappy settlers whom he ruled, and those of the company he professed to serve. At length, after a bitter struggle, the rule of Sir Thomas Smith, for twelve years treasurer of the company in London, was overthrown, and, in the strife of rival and antagonistic factions, the influence and character of Sir Edwin Sandys prevailed. Argall was displaced, and the government was intrusted to the popular, though inefficient, Yeardley. The new governor arrived in April, 1619. Scarce one in twenty of the emigrants, sent over at so great a cost, was still alive. In Jamestown there remained "only those houses that Sir Thomas Gates built in the tyme of his government, with one wherein the governour allwayes dwelt, and a church, built of timber, being fifty foote in length and twenty in breadth." At Henrico there were only "three old houses, a poor ruinated Church, with some poore buildings in the islande." "For ministers to instruct the people only three were authorized; two others had never received their orders." One of these was, as we learn from other sources, Mr. Richard Bucke, minister at Jamestown, "a verie good preacher." Mr. Alexander Whitaker, "a good diuine," who had had "the ministerial charge" at Bermuda Hundred, had been drowned early in 1617. Mr. Glover had died long before. Mr. William Mease, the first minister at Hampton, had been in the colony since 1611. Mr. George Keith had arrived in the "George" in 1617, and was at Elizabeth City.¹ Mr. William Wickham, "minister" at Henrico, "who in his life and doctrine" gave "good examples and godly instructions to the people," and Mr. Samuel Macoek, "a Cambridge scholar," appear to have had only deacon's orders. Wickham had served as curate to the apostolic Whitaker, and succeeded him. Mr. Thomas Bargrave, who came over, in 1618, with his uncle, Captain John Bargrave, and was also the nephew of the Dean of Canterbury. Dr. Bargrave probably succeeded Wickham at Henrico, and Whitaker at Bermuda Hundred. He died in 1621, leaving his library, valued at one hundred marks, or seventy pounds sterling, to the college at Henrico, thus anticipating the act of the young Puritan min-

¹ Neill, in his "History of the Virginia Company of London," gives the names of the three clergymen as Bucke, Mease, and Bargrave; but the latter does not appear to have come over before 1618, while Keith, according to Neill's "Virginia Colonial Clergy," p. 17, arrived the year before.

ister of Charlestown, Massachusetts, who, a few years later, left his loved books to the struggling college at Cambridge, and by that act gained a name and remembrance wherever "Harvard" College is known. Would that "Henrico" had been as long-lived in its educational career, and that Bargarve's gift had won for him a like immortality!

"From the moment of Yeardley's arrival dates the real life of Virginia," says the historian Bancroft.¹ He brought with him, not only the authority, but the instructions, "for the better establishment of a commonwealth" in Virginia. By proclamation he announced the abrogation of "those cruell lawes" by which the colony "had soe longe been governed." He secured to the oppressed settlers the restoration of their rights as Englishmen. With a view "that they might have a hande in the governing of themselves," the holding of a general assembly was provided for, comprising the governor and council, "with two Burgesses from each Plantation freely to be elected by the Inhabitants thereof." The assembly was empowered "to make and ordaine whatsoever lawes and orders should by them be thought good and profitable."

In conformity with these instructions, and in accordance with the new policy thus inaugurated by the company at home, Sir George Yeardley "sent his summons all over the country, as well to invite those of the Councell of Estate that were absente, as also for the election of Burgesses," and on Friday, July 30, 1619, the first elective body convened upon this continent met in "the Quire of the Church" at James City.² The records of this initial legislative meeting have been preserved, and their quaint details bring vividly before the mind the scene witnessed on that midsummer day in Jamestown, so fraught with blessings for the ill-starred colony. The governor is seated "in his accustomed place." The councillors are ranged on either side. The speaker sits before the governor, with the clerk on the one side, and the sergant-at-arms "standing at the barre, ready for any service the Assembly should command." "But," proceeds the record, "for as muche as men's affaires doe little prosper when God's service is neglected, all the Burgesses tooke their places in the Quire till a prayer was said by Mr. Bueke, the Minister, that it would please God to guide and sanctifie all our Proceedings to his owne glory and the good of this Plantation." "Prayer being ended" the Burgesses-elect retired into the body of the church, from whence "they were called in order and by name" to take the oath of supremacy, and thus "entered the Assembly."

Among the earliest measures which received the consideration of this body were provisions that the company at home should take care that the ministers' glebes should be cultivated, and that the company should send "workmen of all sortes" for the "erecting of the University and College." The first enactment of this assembly was for the protection of the Indians from "injury or oppression." Idleness and gaming were made punishable offences. The minister was to reprove

¹ History of the United States, I., p. 153.

² Colonial Records of Virginia. Richmond, 1874.

drunkards, at first privately, and then "in the church," publicly. To restrain immoderate excess in dress it was provided that the rate for public contributions was to be assessed in the church, on the apparel of the men and women. Restrictions were placed upon the indiscriminate commingling of the savages with the settlers; but, at the same time, a special enactment provided for the education and Christianizing of the children of the natives: "Be it enacted by this present Assembly that for laying a surer foundation of the conversion of the Indians to Christian religion, eache towne, citty, Borough, and particular plantation do obtaine unto themselves, by just means, a certaine number of the natives' children to be educated by them in true religion and civile course of life — of w^{ch} children the most towardly boyes in witt and graces of nature to be brought up by them in the first elements of litterature, so to be fitted for the Colledge intended for them, that from thence they may be sente to that work of conversion."¹ It was further enacted that "All ministers shall duely read divine service, and exercise their ministerial function according to the Ecclesiastical lawes and orders of the Church of England, and every Sunday in the afternoon shall catechize such as are not ripe to come to the Communion. And whosoever of them shall be found negligent or faulty in this kinde shall be subject to the censure of the Govern^r and Counsell of Estate." "Ungodly disorders" were to be "presented" by the minister and church-wardens. Persistence in open sin was to be punished by excommunication, arrest, and seizure of property: "Provided alwayes, that all the ministers doe meet once a quarter, namely, at the feast of St. Michael the Arkangell, of the Nativity of our Saviour, of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgine, and about midsummer, at James citty, or any other place where the Governo^r shall reside, to determine whom it is fit to excommunicate, and that they first presente their opinion to the Governo^r ere they proceed to the acte of excommunication." For swearing, after "thrise admonition," a fine of five shillings was imposed on freemen, while servants were to be whipped and were required to make public acknowledgment of the fault in church. It was enacted that "all persons whatsoever upon the Sabbath daye shall frequente divine service and sermons, both forenoon and afternoon, and all such as beare armes shall bring their pieces, swordes, poulder and shotte." The "Great Charter of lawes, orders and priviledges" granted by the company at home was accepted by the "general assent and the applause of the whole assembly," professing themselves "in the first place most submissively thankful to Almighty God" for "so many priviledges and favours."

Full of interest are the records of this first elective legislative body that ever convened on the continent; meeting, as it did, in the little church of the first settlers, with its proceedings begun with prayer by the church's minister, and providing for the preaching of the Word, and the administration of the sacraments, according to the church's usages and laws, more than a year before the "Mayflower," with its company of Leyden Separatists, left the harbor of Southampton to found upon the bleak shores of New England the Puritan theocracy.

¹ Colonial Records of Virginia, p. 21.

In a plantation avowedly settled "for the glorie of God in the propagation of the Gospell of Christ," and for "the conversion of the savages,"¹ there could not fail to be, from the first, the wish and purpose for the provision of some institution where the higher learning then deemed indispensable for the exercise of the ministry, could be obtained without recourse to the universities of the mother-land, three thousand miles away. The Church whose "form of sound words" was first heard on our American shores, conveying to heaven the devotions of men of English speech and lineage, was foremost in the effort to meet this acknowledged want. In this attempt to lay the foundations of an educational system, by the provision of a public school and college, the coöperation of the colonists themselves was secured at the very outset. To that remarkable assembly in the choir of the church at Jamestown, on Friday, July 30, 1619, and from which, rather than to the cabin and "compact" of the "Mayflower," we may date the foundation of our popular government, we must look for the inauguration of efforts for popular and the higher education. It was in the course of its proceedings that measures were taken "towards the erecting of the University and Colledge," as well as for the education of Indian children, for whom, as well as for the sons of the settlers, these seminaries of learning were designed. All this was in accordance with the will and purpose of the Council of Virginia in England, to which was intrusted the rule of the infant commonwealth. The government of the colony by Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer of the Virginia Company, under which the settlers had languished for twelve hopeless years, was scarcely over, when, at the incoming of Sir George Yeardley as governor, orders were given for the establishment of a university in the colony, with a college for the instruction of the Indian youth. In letters from the council, previous to the accession of the new governor, reference is made to this design; but we must date the beginning of active measures for its accomplishment to the accession of the excellent Sir Edwin Sandys to the treasurership of the company. Soon after the return of Sir Thomas Dale, a "King's letter," addressed to the archbishops, had authorized four collections to be made within the two following years, in the several dioceses of the two provinces of Canterbury and York, to enable the company to erect "churches and schooles for y^e education of y^e children of the Barbarians." This paper, which we give in full, in view of its interest and importance, both in an educational and religious point of view, was addressed to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York:—

"Most Reverend Father in God, right trustie and well beloved counsellor, wee greete you well. You have heard ere this time, of y^e attempt of diverse worthie men, our subjects, to plant in Virginia (under y^e warrant of our L^{tes} patents), People of this Kingdome, as well for y^e enlarging of our Dominions, as for propagation of y^e Gospel amongst Infidells: wherein there is good progresse made, and hope of further increase: so as the undertakers of that Plantation are now in hand with the erecting of some Churches and Schooles for y^e education of y^e children of those Barbarians, w^{ch} cannot but be to them a very great charge, and above the expence w^{ch} for civill plantation doth come to them. In w^{ch} wee

¹ *Vide* "A Brief Declaration of the Plantation of Virginia," etc., in the "Colonial Records of Virginia," p. 69.

doubt not but that you and all others who wish well to the encrease of Christian Religion will be willing to give all assistance and furtherance you may, and therein to make experience of the zeale and devotion of our well-minded subjects, especially those of y^e Clergie. Wherefore wee doe require you, and hereby authorize you to write y^e Letters to y^e severall Bishops of y^e Dioceses in y^e Province, that they doe give order to the Ministers, and other zealous men of their Dioceses, both by their own example in contribution and by exhortation to others, to move our people wthin their severall charges to contribute to so good a worke in as liberall a manner as they may, for the better advancing whereof our pleasure is that those collections be made in all the particular Parishes four severall times wthin these two years next coming: and that the severall accounts of each parish, together wth the moneys collected, be returned from time to time to y^e Bishops of y^e Dioceses, and by them be transmitted half yearly to you; and so to be deliuered to the Treasurer of that Plantation, to be employed for the Godly purposes intended, and no other."¹

In response to this appeal, said to be the first instance of the issuing of a "brief" in England for any charitable purpose connected with her foreign possessions, nearly £1,500 was received, and on the 18th of November, 1618, the company in England gave these instructions to Yeardley, and placed them in full upon their records:—

"Whereas, by a special grant and license from His Majesty, a general contribution over this Realm hath been made for the building and planting of a college for the training up of the children of those Infidels in true Religion, moral virtue, and civility, and for other godlyness, We do therefore, according to a former Grant and order, hereby ratifie, confirm, and ordain that a convenient place be chosen and set out for the planting of a university at the said Henrico in time to come, and that in the mean time preparation be there made for the building of the said College for the Children of the Infidels, according to such instructions as we shall deliver. And we will and ordain that ten thousand acres, partly of the land they impaled, and partly of the land within the territory of the said Henrico, be allotted and set out for the endowing of the said University and College with convenient possessions."²

Shortly after the preparation of these instructions to the newly appointed governor, the charge of the college was offered to the Rev. Thomas Lorkin, a ripe scholar, later distinguished as the secretary of the English Embassy in France, who was promised "£200 a year and better;"³ but Lorkin did not accept the tempting offer. On the 26th of May, 1619, within a month after the election of Sir Edwin Sandys as treasurer, and Mr. John Ferrar as deputy, the attention of the court was called by the treasurer to the fact that "£1,500, or thereabouts" had been contributed under the king's letters, "to erect

¹ Anderson's "Col. Ch.," I., pp. 255, 256. *Vide, also*, Stith's "Hist. of Va.," p. 162, who refers to this Royal Letter. Neither author gives the date, which, in the copy in the State Paper Office, from which the above transcript was made, is illegible. It would appear to have been issued at least as early as 1616, and probably even earlier.

² MS. Instructions to Yeardley, quoted in Neill's "Virginia Company of London," p. 137.

³ Lorkin's letter is quoted in Neill's "History of the Virginia Company of London," pp. 137, 138, as follows: "A good friend of mine propounded

within three or four days a condition of going over to Virginia, where the Virginia Company means to erect a College, and undertakes to procure me good assurances of £200 a year and better, and if I should find there any ground for dislike, liberty to return at pleasure. I assure you, I find preferment coming on so slowly here at home, as makes me much inclined to accept it." Several interesting letters from this first president-elect of the University at Henrico are printed in the second volume of Bishop Goodman's "Court of James I."

and build a Colledge in Virginia for the training and bringing up of Infidells children in the true knowledge of God and understanding of righteousness." Upon consideration it was determined to secure an annual revenue from the investment of the means in hand, and from this source to begin in time the erection of the college. The land previously assigned for the use of the college in Henrico was definitely granted for this purpose, and provision was made for fifty tenants to cultivate the same on shares. The grant of land embraced ten thousand acres.

The zeal of Sandys in furthering every plan for the Christianizing of the Indians, and the ready will with which, under his lead, the company undertook the work of providing the means for their conversion, could not fail to win the favor of all those in England who had this great work at heart, and benefactions began at once to come in to the company's coffers. At the meeting of the court, on the 21st of July, a service for the administration of the holy communion was presented by an unknown person, through the treasurer, with the following quaint communication:—



I. II. S.

SIR EDWIN SANDYS Th^r of Virginia.

Good luck in the name of the Lord, who is dayly magnified by the experiment of your zeale and piety in giuinge beginning to the foundation of the Colledge in Virginia, the sacred worke so due to Heaven and soe longed for on earth.

Now knowe wee assuredly that the Lord will doe you good and blesse you in all your proceedings, even as he blessed the howse of Obed Edom and all that pertayned to him because of the Arke of God. Now that you seeke the Kingdome of God, all things shall be ministered unto you. This I well see already, and perceiue that by this your godlie determinacon the Lord hath giuen you fauor in the sight of the people, and I knowe some whose hearts are much enlarged because of the howse of the Lord our God to procure you Wealth, whose greater designs I have presumed to outrun with this oblacon, which I humbly beseech you may be accepted as the pledge of my devocon, and as an earnest of the vowes which I have vowed unto the Almighty God of Jacobb concerning this thing, which till I may in part perform I desire to remayne unknowne and unsought after.

The things are these:

- A Communion Cup with the cover and vase;
- A Trencher plate for the bread.
- A Carpett of erimson veluett.
- A Linnen damaske table-cloth.¹

In the following February, on the Feast of the Purification, an anonymous letter, addressed to "Sir Edwin Sandys, the faithful Treasurer for Virginia," was presented at the Quarter Court, which promised £550 for "the converting of Infidles to the fayth of Christe." The plan proposed by the donor, who signed himself "Dust and Ashes," was "the mayntenance of a conveyent number of younge Indians taken att the age of Seauen years, or younger, and instructed in the readinge and understandinge the principalls of Xtian Religion unto the age of 12 years, and then as occasion serueth, to be trayned

¹Neill's "Virginia Company of London," pp. 152, 153.

and brought up in some lawfull trade with all humanitie and gentleness untill the age of one and Twenty years, and then to enjoy like liberties and pryviledges with our native English in that place." A few days later the promised gift was received in "new golde." Other gifts came swiftly in; among them, "Faire Plate and other rich Ornaments," for the altars of the college and a church which pious benefactions had earlier founded. Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, Sen., a rich merchant of the city, in whose noble mansion the company usually met after Easter, 1619, had in his will bequeathed £300 "for the Colledge in Virginia, to be paid when there shall be tenn of the Infidels' Children placed in it, and in the mean time four and twenty pounds per year, to be distributed unto three discreet and godly men in the Colony w^{ch} shall honestly bring up three of the Infidels' Children in Christian Religion and some good course to live by."¹ The Bishop of London, Dr. King, collected and paid in £1,000 towards Henrico



NOTE. — This is a fac-simile of the engraving used in the publications of the company. Cf. "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," I. p. xxxix; Neill's "Virginia Company," p. 156. An example of this seal with the same dimensions and devices, but with the different legend on the reverse of "COLONIA VIRGINIÆ — CONSILIO

John Harvey

PRIMA," is in the collections of the Virginia Historical Society. It is of red wax between the leaves of a foolscap sheet of paper, and is allixed to a patent for land issued by Sir John Harvey, governor, dated March 4, 1638.

¹ Virginia Company of London, p. 182.

College. Bibles, prayer-books, and works of divinity were given in for the use of the college or clergy; and, early in 1620, an estimable and pious gentleman, Mr. George Thorpe, a relation of Sir Thomas Dale, and formerly holding a place of honor at the court, was sent over to take charge of the college, as superintendent, ample provision being made for his support, and for the successful accomplishment of his plans.

The records of the "quarter sessions" of the Virginia Company, held in the rooms of the elder Ferrar's spacious house, in St. Sythe's lane abound in references to this favorite scheme of English churchmen for the conversion of the American aborigines, and the furtherance of the projected Indian school. Towards the close of the year 1620, "four great books," one of them, S. Augustine's "De Civitate Dei," translated into English, and the remaining three, the works of the celebrated William Perkins, D.D., of the University of Cambridge, were given by one of the company to "be sent to the Colledge in Virginia, there to remayne in saftie to the use of the collegiats thereafter." In the company's letter to the colonial authorities, under date of July 25, 1621, the council wrote as follows:—

We exceedingly approve the course in taking in of Indian families as beinge a great meanes to reduce that nation to civility, and to the imbracing of our Christian religion, the blessed end wee have proposed to ourselves in this Plantation, and we doubt not of your vigilancie that you be not thus entrapped, nor that the Savadge have by this meanes to surprize you.¹

In the same letter, which is signed by the Earl of Southampton, Sir Edwin Sandys, Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, and others, assurance is given of the company's purpose "to send to the Colledge tennants a very sufficient minister," and the Superintendent Thorpe is desired to take steps "that a house may be ready for him, and good provision to entertaine him."²

On the 24th of October, 1621, the deputy treasurer, John Ferrar, informed the court that "one Mr. Copeland, a minister lately returned from the East Indies" and chaplain of the "Royal James," had prevailed upon the officers and crew of this ship, when on their home voyage, to contribute seventy pounds towards the establishment of a church and school in Virginia. At a meeting, a few days later, it was determined that this offering, together with an anonymous gift of thirty pounds, should be devoted "towards the erection of a public free school in Virginia," "for the education of children and grounding of them in the principles of religion." Charles city was chosen as the site of the "East India School," as it was determined to call it; and provision was made that it should depend upon the "College in Virginia." A thousand acres of land were allotted for the maintenance of the master and usher, and three hundred acres were granted to Mr. Copeland.

About this time, when the attention of so many in Church and State was turned towards Virginia, a young clergyman, nephew of the celebrated Bishop Hall, and the private secretary of that prelate at the Synod of Dort, published, in a thin quarto of eighty-four pages,

¹ Virginia Company of London, p. 228.

²*Ibid.*, p. 231.

a rudimentary grammar for the schools projected or established amongst "the Virginians," as well as elsewhere among "barbarous nations." This labor of love for "our loving countrymen of Virginia" was presented to the "Court" on the 19th of December, 1621, as the work of "a painfull schoolmaster, one Mr. John Brinsley," and received the company's thanks. Prepared, as the compiler states, "for drawing the poor natives in Virginia and all other of the rest of the rude and barbarous from Sattan to God," this little volume had the commendation of no less a scholar and divine than "James Ussher," then "Doctour and Professor of Divinitie in the Universitie of Dublin," and afterwards archbishop. The following year a carpenter was sent out to erect "the East India Schoole;" but the "monies would not reach unto the sending of an Vsher as was at first intended, and besides, upon a second consideration, it was thought good to give the Colony the choice of the Schoolmaster or Vsher." In July, 1622, the "Court thought fit to bestow a freedom vpon Mr. Pemberton, a minister of God's word, intending forthwith to go to Virginia and there to employ himself for the conuerting of the Infedels." In the midst of these efforts for the conversion of the Indians the spiritual welfare of the settlers demanded attention. The five or six clergymen¹ who were settled at the several settlements were unable to render the services required by the rapidly extending colonists. The number of boroughs was now eleven, and each required the ministrations of a clergyman. Services and sacraments were in danger of a wide-spread neglect, and, in this extremity, the company sought the aid of the Bishop of London, in supplying the colony with "pious, learned, and painful ministers." Bishop King, who then filled the See, had already shown his personal interest in the christianizing of Virginia, and in the establishment of the college for the Indians. Chosen a member of the king's council for Virginia, it was but natural that, in all matters ecclesiastical, his opinions should have great weight; and there grew out of this personal interest and episcopal care the recognition of the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop of London over the colonies which existed, almost without question, until the issue of the war for independence secured the ecclesiastical, as well as the civil, independence of the United States. Other measures for the advantage of the Colony were taken by the council. Provision was made for the increase of the number of tenants upon the company's domain. Boys and girls, indentured as apprentices, were sent out to meet the demand for servants, and an importation of young women, of blameless reputation, sent out under the auspices of the council, furnished the settlers with a much-desired supply of eligible wives. Unfortunately, at this juncture, the royal mandate required the transportation of a number of "dissolute persons;" and thus, in the indignant language of Franklin more than a century later, let "loose upon the New World the outcasts of the Old." At the same time the purchase of twenty negroes from a Dutch trading-ship, by some of the settlers at Jamestown, introduced into the colony the system of slavery. Thus, by an act of

¹ These were Whitaker, Stockham, Mease, Bargegrave, and Wickham.

private cupidity, a measure was inaugurated which was to influence for all time the fortunes of the colony and country itself.

On the expiration of Yeardley's commission, in 1621, Sir Francis Wyat, a man of character and reputation, was appointed to the governorship of the colony; the faithful treasurer, Sir Edwin Sandys, was succeeded by the Earl of Southampton, to the great annoyance of the king, who was pleased to assert that "the Virginia Company was a seminary for a seditious Parliament,"¹ and to style Sandys as "his greatest enemy." The arbitrary imprisonment of Sandys by the king, during the session of Parliament in 1621, and the committal of Southampton to the Tower after the dissolution, conclusively prove the hatred of the monarch against those members of the Virginia Company who resisted the encroachments of the royal prerogative, and sought to thwart the unwarrantable interference of the king in the affairs of the colony. Unfortunately, both for the company at home and the colony abroad, the ascendancy which Spain had acquired through her wily ambassador, Gondomar, at the English court, was sufficient to secure the adoption of a policy on the part of the king, the result of which was the development of the Spanish colonies to the prejudice of his own. The last days of the Virginia Company's corporate existence were those of strife and bitterness.

The new governor brought with him a new ordinance for constituting a Council of State, as well as regulations for the General Assembly. The first recommendation of his articles of instruction, addressed to the governor and council in Virginia, requires them "To take into their especial regard the service of Almighty God and the observance of His divine Laws; and that the people should be trained up in true religion and virtue. And since their endeavours, for the establishment of the honour and rights of the Church and Ministry, had not yet taken due effect, they were required to employ their utmost care to advance all things appertaining to the Order and Administration of Divine Service, according to the form and discipline of the Church of England; carefully to avoid all factious and needless novelties, which only tended to the disturbance of peace and unity; and to cause that the Ministers should be duly respected and maintained, and the Churches, or places appointed for Divine Service, decently accommodated, according to former orders in that behalf. They were, in the next place, commanded to keep the people in due obedience to the King; to provide that justice might be equally administered to all, as near as could be, according to the forms and constitution of England; to prevent all corruption tending to the perversion or delay of justice; to protect the natives from injury and oppression, and to cultivate peace and friendship with them as far as it should be consistent with the honour of the nation and safety of the people. They further pressed upon them, in a particular manner, the using of all possible means of bringing over the natives to a love of civility, and to the knowledge of God and his true religion; to which purpose, they observed to them, that the example given them by the English in their own persons and

¹"A short Collection of the most remarkable Passages from the Original to the Dissolution of the Virginia Company," London, 1651, p. 4.

families would be of singular and chief moment; that it would be proper to draw the best disposed among the Indians to converse and labour with our people, for a convenient reward; that thereby, being reconciled to a civil way of life, and brought to a sense of God and religion, they might afterwards become instruments in the general conversion of their countrymen, so much desired. That each town, borough, and hundred ought to procure, by just means, a certain number of their children to be brought up in the first elements of literature; that the most towardly of these should be fitted for the College, in building of which they purposed to proceed, as soon as any profits arose from the estate appropriated to that use; and they earnestly required their utmost help and furtherance in that pious and important work; not doubting the particular blessing of God upon the Colony, and being assured of the love of all good men, upon that account."¹

Private subscriptions were not wanting on the part of the members of the Virginia Company to further these schemes of settlement and evangelization. The countenance and generous support of Southampton and Sandys were not withheld, and so successful and persistent were their efforts, and so acceptable were the conditions attached to grants of land, that numerous patents for new settlements were granted to actual and intending colonists, and during the years 1619, 1620, 1621, more than three thousand five hundred emigrated to Virginia. Of these settlers a number were Puritans, and the kindly treatment they received, in a colony avowedly and unequivocally churchly in its sympathies and principles, stands out in striking contrast with the narrow bigotry towards church settlers at the North, displayed at this very period by the separatists from Leyden who had settled on the bleak New England coast. It is the confession of the historian of the United States, the painstaking and accurate Bancroft, in speaking of this period, that "Virginia was a refuge even for the Puritans,"² and, although the statute-book may have contained stringent provisions respecting the Establishment, the temper of the government and the settlers was equitable and tolerant.

The arrival of Wyat and his party in safety, and the successful initiation of the measures recommended by the council for the development of the colony, were made the occasion of a solemn service of Thanksgiving at the Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, in London, on the 17th of April, 1622. The preacher was the Rev. Patrick Copeland, who, as chaplain of an East Indiaman, had secured, while at the Cape of Good Hope, a liberal offering from the officers and men of his ship, for the establishment of a school for the Indian children in Virginia. So full of missionary spirit was this excellent divine that he was soon afterwards invited by the council to go over to Virginia. With this end in view he was chosen one of the Council of State, and made rector of the college for the education and conversion of the Indians. The pastoral care of the tenants settled on the college domain was also

¹ Smith's "History of Virginia," p. 94.

² History, I., 156; *vide, also*, I., p. 196; II., p. 459, *note*.

assigned to him, and the tithes of the produce of their lands was pledged towards his support.

It was in the midst of these glad auguries of success that a blow was struck, making the very foundations of church and state tremble. The Indians had long since, to all appearance, laid aside all thought of inflicting injury upon the settlers, and were on terms of friendship, and even intimacy, with them, guiding them through the forests in their quest for game, taking them in their canoes on their fishing expeditions, learning from them the arts of husbandry and the use of the implements of agriculture, and professing their desire to gain a knowledge and love of the Christian's God. All apprehension of danger from the savages was removed. Powhatan had been succeeded by Opeacanoough, who professed himself a firm ally of the English, and on occasion of the death of an Indian at the hands of the settlers, through his own imprudence, gave assurance that he held the peace so firm "that the sky should fall sooner than it should be violated on his part." Even then the plans were matured for a general massacre. The savages waited but the signal from their perfidious chieftain to fall upon their unsuspecting victims. The 22d of March was fixed upon as the day of slaughter. In one hour, on that day, and almost at the same moment, there fell beneath the murderous assault of the savages three hundred and forty-seven men, women, and children. Among the victims was the excellent Thorpe, with five other members of the council. In the death of Thorpe, whose zeal, piety, and gentleness, and self-consecration to the work of evangelizing those who were his murderers, had given promise of most happy results, a grievous wrong was inflicted by the savages on themselves. Such was his confidence in those who sought his life that he neglected the warnings given him of his danger, and failed utterly to realize his peril until it was too late to escape.

The massacre would have been complete had it not been for a Christian Indian, who lived with his English master, Edward Pace, as a son with his father. Solicited, the night before the outbreak, by his own brother, to engage in the fiendish plot, the faithful convert found means to acquaint his master with the impending danger. Pace hastened to Jamestown, before the dawn, to inform the governor, and the intelligence was at once forwarded in every direction. Wherever resistance was offered, the savages refrained from attempting to put their bloody purpose in execution. Where the news of their plans had not reached, the work of extermination was complete. Sickness and famine followed this wholesale slaughter. Out of eighty prosperous plantations but a tithe remained. Of the thousands who had come from England but eighteen hundred survived. A natural distrust of the natives was followed by the exercise of an unrelenting severity, which, in many instances, developed a fierce and unreasonable hatred of all measures for the conversion or the civilizing of the Indians. The appointment of Copeland as rector of the college at Henrico, and the erection of the Indian school at Charles city, were not proceeded with by the company at home, and, in fact, the clergy and colonists in Virginia, for a time at least, lost heart with respect to the advance-

ment of Christian education, or the bringing of the natives to the faith and Church of Christ.

The closing reference to educational matters in the records of the Virginia Company, ere its dissolution by the arbitrary interference of the king, is the recommendation of a grant of land to Richard Downes, who, "being bred a scholar, went over in hope of preferment in the College there."¹ He had "continued in Virginia these four years," and at length, his hopes dying out, he turned his attention towards other pursuits. The "University of Henrico," and the "East India Free School," were never to be built. In the words of Dr. Hawks, "The massacre of Opeccanough thus gave a death-blow to the first efforts made in America for the establishment of a college, and years elapsed before the attempt was renewed."²

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE records of the Virginia Company, of London, carefully copied from the originals, which are supposed to be lost, and attested by the signatures of the secretaries, are to be found in two manuscript volumes in the Library of Congress. The history of these valuable papers is curious. They appear to have been transcribed at the time when the king, who had long been inimical to the company, gave signs of his purpose of annulling their charter, and the work of copying had barely been completed when the king ordered the seizure of the papers of the company. Nicholas Ferrar,³ with the assistance of Secretary Collingwood, procured the transcription of these records at the house of Sir John Dauvers, in Chelsea. Collingwood compared and signed each page, and, when the copy was complete, committed it to the keeping of the president of the company, Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton. On the death of his son Thomas, Lord High Treasurer of England, these records were purchased in 1669 by William Bird, of Westover, Virginia, for sixty guineas, and it was from the Bird family that William Stith obtained them for use in the preparation of his "History of Virginia," which was completed in 1746. By some means these volumes came into the possession of Peyton Randolph, Stith's brother-in-law, and at his death, in October, 1775, his library was sold to Thomas Jefferson, who acquired these records as part of his purchase. On the sale of Jefferson's library to the United States these invaluable volumes became a part of the Library of Congress.

The importance of these papers led Mr. J. Wingate Thornton, in an article in the "Historical Magazine," II., p. 33-35, and in a pamphlet published the following year, "The First Records of Anglo-American Colonization" (Boston, 1859), to urge their publication. Ten years after the appearance of Mr. Thornton's suggestion, in May, 1868, Mr. Edward D. Neill, who had made use of these volumes in the preparation of his "Terra Mariæ," memorialized Congress for their publication, under his editorship. Failing in this purpose, Mr. Neill made these papers the groundwork of a "History of the Virginia Company, of London, with Letters to and from the First Colony, never before printed," Albany, 1869, which was subsequently reissued abroad with changes, as "The English Colonization of America during the Seventeenth Century," London, 1871. Interesting and important as are the extracts of these records, printed in Mr. Neill's volumes, the publication of the whole is still greatly to be desired. It is to be regretted that a second effort to secure this end, made by Senator John W. Johnston, of Virginia, in 1881, which passed the Senate, failed in

¹ History of the Virginia Company, pp. 379, 380.

² Hawks's "Ecl. Contributions," I., Virginia, p. 42.

³ Vide the "Memoir of Nicholas Ferrar," by Peter Peckard, London, 1790, a work full of references to the early colonial history of Virginia. Compare Palfrey's "New England," I., p. 192.

the House of Representatives. As Mr. Thornton says: "The republication of this work would open a new volume of our earliest existence, a most valuable chapter in Anglo-American history, in its moral and social aspect; a phase, though most important, yet most difficult to preserve, because of its evanescent character; it is not, cannot be, set forth in record and in diplomacy — always and necessarily more or less deceptive — and its spirit is only feebly discerned by the most elaborate analyses of the wisest student." The same authority refers to Nicholas Ferrar as deserving our grateful remembrance and demanding our highest regard, "as the very *soul* of Virginian colonization," adding that his life is "of unparalleled interest;" and closes his argument with these words: "As these volumes are of national rather than local interest, reaching back to the very *foundation of the English companies for colonizing America*; as they have escaped the chances and mishaps of two centuries, on either side of the Atlantic; as they have not been used by our historians, — lying virtually unknown; and as Providence has now placed them in the keeping of our National Congress, — *is it not our National duty to have them appropriately edited and published?*" — *Hist. Mag.*, II., p. 35.

The spirit in which the intelligence of the massacre was received in England is indicated in a noble sermon preached before the Virginia Company by the celebrated poet and divine, Dr. John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, on the 13th of November, 1622, from the text, Acts i. 8. We give some extracts of this quaint but excellent discourse: "Those of our profession, that goe; you, that send them who goe, doe all an Apostolic function. What action soeuer bath in the first intention thereof a purpose to propagate the gospell of Christ Iesus, that is an Apostolicall action; Before the end of the world come, before this mortalitie shall put on immortallitie, before the creature shall be deliuered of this bondage of corruption, vnder which it groanes, before the martyrs vnder the Altar shall be silenced, before all things shall be subdued to Christ, his kingdom profited, and the last enimie (death) destroyed, the Gospell must be preached to those men to whom ye send; to all men. Further and hasten you this blessed, this ioyful, this glorious consummation of all, and happie re-union of all bodies to their soules, by preaching the Gospell to those men. Preach to them doctrinally, preach to them practically, enamore them with your Iustice, and (as farre as may consist with your securitie) your Ciuilitie; but inflame them with your Godlinesse and your Religion. Bring them to loue and reverence the name of that King that sends men to teach them the wayes of Ciuilitie in this world; but to feare and adore the Name of that King of Kings, that sends men to teach them the wayes of religion for the next world. Those amongst you that are old now, shall passe out of this world with this great comfort, that you contributed to the beginning of that Commonwealth, and of that Church, though they line not to see the growth thereof to perfection. Apollos watred, but Paul planted; he that began the worke was the greater man. And you that are young now, may lie to see the enemy as much impeached by that place, and your friends, yea children, as well accommodated in that place, as any other. You shall haue made this Iland, which is but as the suburbs of the old world, a bridge, a gallery to the new; to ioyne all to that world which shall neuer grow old, the Kingdome of Heauen. You shall adde persons to this Kingdome, and to the Kingdome of Heauen, and add names to the Bookes of our Chronicles, and to the Booke of Life."

The laws of the House of Assembly, drawn up at the time when the king was seeking to effect the dissolution of the company at home, begin with the regulation of church affairs, and the first seven of the thirty-five articles in which they were comprised are wholly concerned with ecclesiastical matters. These enactments provide: "That in every Plantation, where the people were wont to meet for the worship of God, there should be a house or room, set apart for that purpose, and not conuerted to any temporal use whatsoever; and that a place of burial be enclosed and sequestered, only for the burial of the dead: That whosoever should absent himself from Divine Service any Sunday, without an allowable excuse, should forfeit a pound of tobacco, and that he who absented himself a month, should forfeit fifty pounds of tobacco: That there should be an uniformity in the Church, as near as might be, both in substance and circumstance, to the Canons of the Church of England; and that all persons should yield a ready obedience to them, upon pain of censure: That the 22nd of March (the day of the massacre) should be solemnized and kept holy: and that all the other holidays should be observed, except when two fall together in the summer season (the time of their working and crops), when the first only was to be observed, by reason of their necessities and employment: That no Minister should be absent from his cure above two months

in the whole year, upon penalty of forfeiting half his salary; and whosoever was absent above four months should forfeit his whole salary and cure: That whosoever should disparage a Minister, without sufficient proof to justify his reports, whereby the minds of his parishioners might be alienated from him, and his ministry prove the less effectual, should not only pay five hundred pounds of tobacco, but also should ask the Minister's forgiveness, publicly before the Congregation: That no man should dispose of any of his tobacco, before the minister was satisfied, upon forfeiture of double his part toward the salary; and that one man of every Plantation should be appointed to collect the Minister's salary, out of the first and best tobacco and corn."—*Stith's Virginia*, Sabin's reprint, New York, 1865, p. 319.

These laws, doubtless taken, as Stith suggests, from the Articles sent over by Sir Thomas Smith, though in some respects severe and arbitrary, are far more equitable and milder in tone than any preceding enactments. They are, we are assured by Stith, the oldest recorded statutes of the "Old Dominion."

From the "Lists of the Living & Dead in Virginia, Feb. 16th, 1623," published from the original MSS. in the State Paper Office (Colonial, Volume v., No. 2), by the State of Virginia (Richmond, 1874), we find the following clergymen recorded as living at that time, viz.:—

Grivell (Greville) Pooley, Minister at Flourdien Hundred, Sir George Yeardley's Plantation; Hant Wyatt, Minister at James City; David Sanders (or Sandys), Minister at Hogg Island; "Mr. Keth" (George Keith), Minister at Elizabeth City.

Neill, in his "Notes on the Virginia Colonial Clergy" (Philadelphia, 1877), gives the names of the clergy in Virginia up to the time of the massacre, as follows: Robert Hunt; — Glover; Alexander Whitaker; Richard Bucke; William Wickham; George Keith; William Mease; Thomas Bargrave; David Sandys (or Sanders); Jonas Stockton (or Stockham); Robert Paulet; Robert Bolton; Hant Wyatt; William Bennett; Thomas White; William Leate (or Leake), and Greville Pooley.

A list such as this affords ample evidence of the interest taken by the clergy of the English Church in the work of ministering to the colonists and savages of Virginia. This solicitude for the spiritual wants of the settlers in America, shown by the mother-church of England, appears in striking contrast with the absence of any provision for months on the part of the Plymouth "pilgrims" for a minister's presence among them, although their coming to this country was professedly on religious grounds.

CHAPTER VI.

PIONEERS OF THE CHURCH IN NEW ENGLAND.

THE New England coast, which, during the eventful winter of 1607-8, echoed the familiar words of the church's "Common Prayer" in the little chapel in which Richard Seymour ministered, at the mouth of the Sagadahoc, received, thirteen years later, the Leyden Brownists at Plymouth. Separatists from the Church, as they were, they, nevertheless, in their famous Leyden Articles, professed that "the authoryty of y^e present bishops in y^e Land wee do acknol- idg so far forth as y^e same is, indeed, derived from his Majesty unto them."¹ But it is unnecessary to say that the first visitor to this cradle home of New England Puritanism, in holy orders, the Rev. William Morell, who came over in 1623, with Robert Gorges, saw no opportunity for the exercise of his ministry. Though armed with a commission from the ecclesiastical authorities at home to exercise a *quasi* episcopal authority over the religious organization of the infant colony, Morell occupied his leisure in Plym- outh in the composition of a Latin poem, closing with the expression of a natural aspiration, —

Robert Browne

"To see here built, I trust,
An English kingdom from this Indian dust,"—

and only revealed the nature and extent of his commissarial power when on the eve of returning to his native land. Morell was "a modest and prudent priest," and during his year's residence contented him- self with collecting such information as was within his reach; and then, weary of living as a stranger in a strange land, where the strong ten- dency to "separatism" could not well be resisted, he returned to England, baffled and defeated. There were churchmen among the early settlers at Plymouth; but the ministrations of an English priest would hardly be permitted in behalf of those whose attempt at keep- ing Christmas in default of prayers by out-door sports appropriate for a holiday had been received with evident disfavor by the authorities of the settlement.²

¹ N.E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg., xxv., p. 276. Christmas-day y^e Gov^r caled them out to worke, (as it was used,) but y^e most of this new-com- pany excused them selves and said it wente

² "And herewith I shall end this year. Only I shall remember one passage more, rather of mirth then of waight. On y^e day called y^e Gov^r tould them that if they made it mate

In June, 1622, probably in the ship "Charity," which brought over a number of Weston's men, sent out to establish a trading port in the vicinity of Plymouth, Thomas Morton, of "Clifford's Inn, Gent.," as

Thomas Morton

he styled himself, and a "gentleman of good qualitie," according to the testimony of Samuel Maverick, of Boston, established himself, "with thirty servants and provisions of all sorts fit for a plantation,"¹ upon Passonagesset, or Mount Wollaston, an eminence in the present town of Quincy, Massachusetts, overlooking the bay. Morton, whose mode of life and belief was not in accord with the rigid separatism of Plymouth, was deemed by them "a maine enemy to their Church and State."² The lofty site of his settlement he named "Ma-re Mount," or Merry Mount. Here, on the feast of SS. Philip and James, he and his men, "with the help of salvages," set up a May-pole, "a goodly pine tree of eighty foote longe," with a pair of buck's horns nailed near the top, "as a faire sea marke for directions how to finde out the way to mine Host of Ma-re Mount."³ Bradford, whose interruption of the out-door sports and games, attempted at Plymouth on Christmas, 1621, we have already referred to, looked with evil eye on the roystering Morton and his company. In the view of the Puritan magistrate "Morton became the lord of misrule and maintained (as it were) a School of Atheisme." The revels around the May-pole, in his judgment, were as bad "as if they had anew revived and celebrated the Feasts of y^e Roman Goddes, Flora, or the beastly practices of y^e madd Bacchanalians." But is it not more than probable that the grave offence of the "Sachem of Passonagesset," as Morton styles himself, in the eye of Bradford, was that he "was a man that endeavoured to advance the dignity of the Church of England," one who possessed and valued the "sacred booke of common prayer," and used it in a laudable manner amongst his family, "as a practice of piety"? The unprejudiced reader of Morton's quaintly written "New English Canaan"⁴ will not dispute the assertion with which he begins one of his chapters: "In the year since the incarnation of Christ, 1622, it was my chance to be landed in these parts of New England, where I found two sorts of people, the one Christians, the other Infidels, these I found most full of humanity, and more friendly than the others."⁵ The festivities about the May-pole were as summarily ended as the Christmas-tide sports at Plymouth. "That worthy gentleman, M^r. John Endicott," "visiting those parts caused y^t May-polle to be cutt downe," and rebuked the revellers "for their profannes, and admonished them

of conscience, he would spare them till they were better informed. So he led away y^e rest and left them; but when they came home at noone from their worke, he found them in y^e streete at play, openly; some pitching y^e barr, & some at stoole ball, and such like sports. So he went to them, and tooke away their implements, and told them that was against his conscience, that they should play & others worke. If they made y^e keeping of it mater of devotion, let them kepe their houses, but ther should be no gameing or revelling in y^e streets. Since which time nothing

hath been attempted that way, at least openly."—*Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, p. 112. This "new-company" referred to, was the body of immigrants brought over in the "Fortune," which arrived at Plymouth, Nov. 11, 1621.

¹ *New English Canaan*, p. 41. Foree's "Hist. Tracts," Vol. II.

² *Ibid.*, p. 100.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁴ Morton's "New English Canaan," p. 93.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

to look ther should be better walking."¹ The "Lord of Misrule," the merry "Sachem of Passonagesset," was arrested by the Puritans, under the command of the choleric Captain Miles Standish, whom



Jo: Endicott

Morton facetiously styled "Captain Shrimp." Left with scanty provision for his wants to winter on the Isle of Shoals, and succored by the Indians, whom he found more "full of humanity" than "these Christians," Morton made his way to England, where, as Bradford acknowledges, he was "not so much as rebuked,"² and whence he shortly returned,

¹ Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 238.

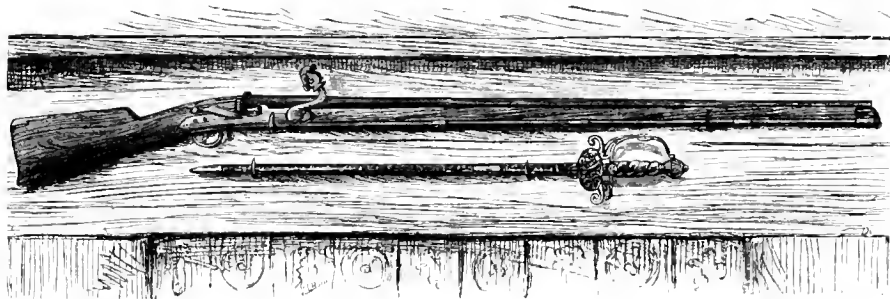
² *Ibid.*, p. 213.

under the protection of one of the leading Puritans, Isaae Allerton, who, as Bradford complains, seems to have brought him "to y^e towne (as it were to nose them) and lodged him at his owne house and for a while used him as a scribe to doe his bussiness."¹ But the opposition of the authorities compelled the friendly Allerton "to pack him away," as Bradford informs us, and "so he went to his old nest in y^e Massachusetts." This "nest"

Myles Standish

was his by patent, and but for the implacable hate of the Puritans it might long have been said of him, "Our master reads the Bible

and the Word of God, and useth the Booke of Common Prayer" within the limits of the Massachusetts Bay. But charges were made against this "proud insolent man," as Winthrop styles him, of "injuries done by him both to the English and Indians; and amongst others, for shooting hail-shot at a troop of Indians for not bringing a canoe unto him to cross a river withal; whereby he hurt one, and shot through the garments of another."² This, of course,



STANDISH'S SWORD AND A MATCHLOCK.

is the testimony of his foes. If we may judge from his book, and from the fact that, though living near Weymouth, where Weston's men had been massacred by the savages, he was unharmed, and lived evidently without fear, we should regard him as a friend of the red men, who were welcomed to Ma-re Mount, and there, initiated in a superior woodcraft, and dissuaded from the excessive use of *aqua vite*, were instructed in the kindly religion of the "Book of Common Prayer." But the court decreed on the 7th of September, 1630, "that Thomas Morton, of Mount Wolliston, shall presently be set into the bilboes, and after sent prisoner into England, by the ship called the 'Gift,' now returning thither; that all his goods shall be seized upon to defray the charge of his transportation, payment of his debts, and to give satisfaction to the Indians for a canoe he unjustly took away from them:

¹ Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 253.
Dudley, in his letter to the Countess of

Lincoln, quoted in Bradford's "Hist. of Plymouth Plantation," p. 253, *note*.

and that his house, after that his goods are taken out, shall be burnt down to the ground in the sight of the Indians, for their satisfaction, for many wrongs he hath done them from time to time."¹ In the words of a recent investigator, "these were high-handed acts of unmitigable oppression."² Evidently, to quote the same authority, "the probabilities in the case would seem to be that the Massachusetts magistrates had made up their minds in advance to drive this man out of Massachusetts."³ The cruel sentence was fully carried out, and, by a refinement of cruelty, it was ordered that Morton should "saile in sight of his howse"⁴ "fired" by order of his pitiless foes, and thus be a witness of the ruin of his hopes and home. The captain of the "Gift" refused to carry him agreeably to the order of the court, and it was three months before the authorities could rid themselves of the distasteful presence of the offender. In England he naturally sought redress for the injuries he had received, and committed the further offence of writing what Bradford styles "an infamouse and scurillous booke against many godly and cheefe men of y^e cuntrie; full of lyes and slanders, and fraught with profane callumnies against their names and persons, and y^e ways of God."⁵ Returning "after sundry years," as Maverick tells us, "to look after his land for which he had a patent," he was, to quote the testimony of Bradford, "imprisoned at Boston for this booke and other things, being grown old in wickedness."⁶ Maverick testifies as to the severity of his treatment at the hands of his relentless and unscrupulous persecutors, by whom he was refused bail, and imprisoned in the common gaol without fire or bedding through a cold winter, "although there was nothing laid to his charge but the writing of this book." Even Winthrop's account would be sufficient to convict the Massachusetts authorities of the grossest disregard of justice. "Having been kept in prison about a year, in expectation of further evidence out of England, he was again called before the court, and, after some debate what to do with him, he was fined £100 and set at liberty. He was a charge to the country, for he had nothing, and we thought not fit to inflict corporal punishment upon him, being old and crazy, but thought better to fine him and give him his liberty, as if it had been to procure his fine, but indeed to leave him opportunity to go out of this jurisdiction, which he did soon after, and went to Agamenticus, and, living there poor and despised, he died within two years

¹ Mass. Col. Records, quoted in Bradford, p. 253, *note*.

² Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., in the "Atlantic Monthly," 1877.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Coll. N.Y. Hist. Soc., 1869. Publication Fund, "Clarendon Papers," p. 40. We have the following account of Morton in a letter to the Earl of Clarendon by Samuel Maverick, reciting the acts of injustice done by the Massachusetts authorities: "One M^r Morton, a gent^l of good qualitie, vpon p^tence that he had shott an Indian, wittingly, w^{ch} was indeede but accidentally, and no hurt donn, they sentenced him to be sent for England prisoner, as one who had a designe to sett the Indians at variance w^{ch} vs, they further ordered as he was to saile in sight of his howse that it should be fired, he refusinge to goe in to the shipp, as havinge no busines there, was

hoisted by a tackle, and neare starved in the passage. No thinge was said to him heare: in the tyme of his abode heare, he wrote a booke entitled New Canan, a good description of the Cuntry as then it was, only in the end of it he pinched too closely on some in authoritie there, for w^{ch} some yeares after cominge ouer to look after his land for w^{ch} he had a patent many yeares before, he found his land disposed of and made a towneshipp, and himselfe shortly after apprehended, put into the gaole wth out fire or beddinge, no hayle to be taken, where he remained a very cold winter, nothing laid to his charge but the writings of this booke, w^{ch} he confessed not, nor could they prove. He died shortly after, and as he said, and may well be supposed on his hard vsage in prison."

⁵ Bradford, p. 254.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

after."¹ He had been robbed of his land, his house had been burned before his eyes, his goods had been distrained, he had been banished from a territory to which he had, by virtue of his patent, as good a right of eminent domain as those who sat in judgment upon him, and now, when "old and crazy," he is considerably spared "corporal punishment" at the hands of those who winced beneath the lashes of his wit, and with the burden of a fine resting upon him, — "poor" because spoiled of all he had by those in power, and "despised" only by those who were smarting under the lash of his sarcasm, — the worn-out old man sought refuge in the royal province of Maine, and died at Agamenticus. His "infamous and scurrilous booke" is still extant. Its perusal will not bear out the charge of the Puritan historian. If not better than his foes he was no worse, and churchmen may well remember that even if there were the May-time revels of Old England at Ma-re Mount, the reading of God's word and the use of the "Book of Common Prayer" were not forgotten by this motley crew of sportsmen and savages who fell under the displeasure of the zealots of Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay.

Meanwhile there had been other attempts to introduce the Church upon the New England coast, and within the limits of the patents of Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay. In 1623 the London adventurers sent over "a preacher," though, to quote Bradford's words, "none of the most eminent and rare," to minister to the colonists at Plymouth. This was the Rev. John Lyford. He had been in Ireland before his coming to New England, and "had wound himself," as Bradford writes, "into y^e esteeme of sundry godly and zelous professours in those parts, who, having been burdened with y^e ceremonies in England, found there some more liberty to their consciences."² Here he had fallen into gross immorality, the proofs of which were readily furnished when he sought to "set up a publick meeting aparte, on y^e Lord's day," and "would goe minister the sacraments by his Episcopall caling." There was no disposition at Plymouth to tolerate a schism, and Lyford and his friend Oldham were promptly banished from the colony. He became the minister, first of the little company at Nantasket, of which Roger Conant was one, and, later, of the unsuccessful settlement at Cape Ann, from whence he went to Virginia. There is no evidence that Lyford was any more of a conformist than to rely upon his ministerial commission imparted by the English Church. The records do not speak of his use of the prayer-book forms, or of his exercise of his ministry in Virginia, where none but conformists were admitted to parishes. Besides, the only charges of immorality brought against him were made during his espousal and advocacy of separatist views and practices, while of his career while in the "Episcopal caling," if we know little or nothing, we know nothing ill.

About the year 1625 the present site of Boston was occupied by a "clerk in Holy Orders," and a graduate of Emanuel College, Cambridge. The Rev. William Blaxton took the Bachelor's degree at the University in 1617, and his Master's degree in 1621; and we are told

¹ Winthrop's "Hist. of New England," II., p. 190.

² Hist. of Plymouth Plantation, p. 193.

that when he appeared in America he was still less than thirty years old.¹ The researches of Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., leave little or no doubt but that Blaxton, with his friends, and neighbors at a later date, Maverick and Walford, accompanied Robert Gorges in the expedition which left Plymouth, England, in the midsummer of 1623, which, to quote the words of this accomplished and accurate writer, "represented the whole power and dignity of the Council for New England."² It was but natural that the Rev. William Morrell, the ecclesiastical head of the new government, should be accompanied by a clerical assistant, the Rev. William Blaxton. That there was a close connection existing between Blaxton and Gorges is evident from notices of business transactions still extant. Blaxton's occupancy of "Shawmut" was known and recognized by the Puritans, who assessed him twelve shillings towards the charges of arresting Thomas Morton of Ma-re Mount. This was on the 9th of June, 1628. Later, on the 29th of April, 1629, he was empowered by Gorges to put John Oldham, Lyford's friend and companion in exile from Plymouth, in possession of lands near Boston, and in 1631 a similar authority was given him in favor of a settler at Dover, New Hampshire.

William Blaxton

with Blaxton

Prior to 1629 Blaxton seems to have lived in solitude, apart from his kind, with only nature as his study, and the savages as her interpreters.

Thomas Walford

At length a churchman like himself, Thomas Walford, is referred to as occupying a palisaded and thatched house at Mishawum, now

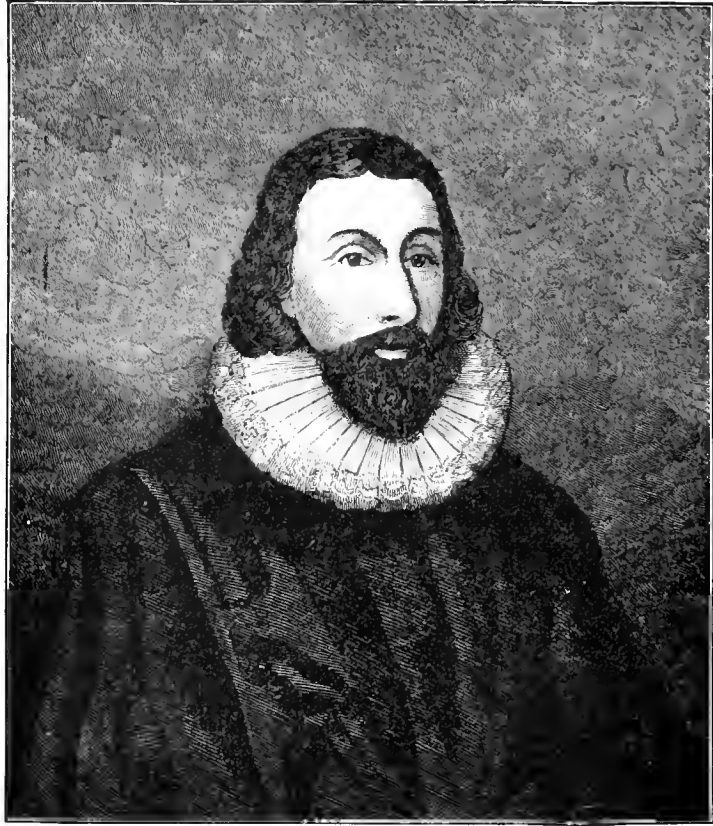
Charlestown. Later, Samuel Maverick, an uncompromising churchman, is found living at Noddle's Island, now East Boston, where he had built a small fort, "placing thereon some Murtherers, to protect him from the Indians." Thus the three peninsulas, now covered by the city of Boston, and part of the patent of Gorges, himself a churchman, were occupied by men of the same faith, who thus, as it were, took possession of this important territory in fealty to the crown and church of the mother-land. Maverick was, as Savage informs us, "a gentleman of good estate,"³ but, as we learn from Johnson's "Wonder-Working Providence,"⁴ "an enemy to the reformation in hand, being strong for the Lordly prelatieall power," "though a man of a very loving and courteous behaviour," and "very ready to entertaine strangers." "Worthy of a perpetual remembrance" is the testimony given of him by Winthrop,⁵ for his loving ministrations, and those rendered by his wife

Samuel Mavericke

¹ Dr. De Costa's "Monograph on William Blackstone, in his relations to Massachusetts and Rhode I-land," p. 4.
² Memorial History of Boston, I., p. 75. Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc., 1878, pp. 191-206.

³ Winthrop's "New England," I., p. 32. note.
⁴ Lib. I., Chap. XVII., in "Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.," II., p. 86.
⁵ I., p. 143, Savage's ed.

and servants, when the Indians in his neighborhood sickened and died of the small-pox. He "went daily," we are told, to the sufferers, "minis-



Jo: Winthrop

tered to their necessities, buried their dead,² and took home many of their children." Josselyn, who visited this noble-hearted philanthropist, in

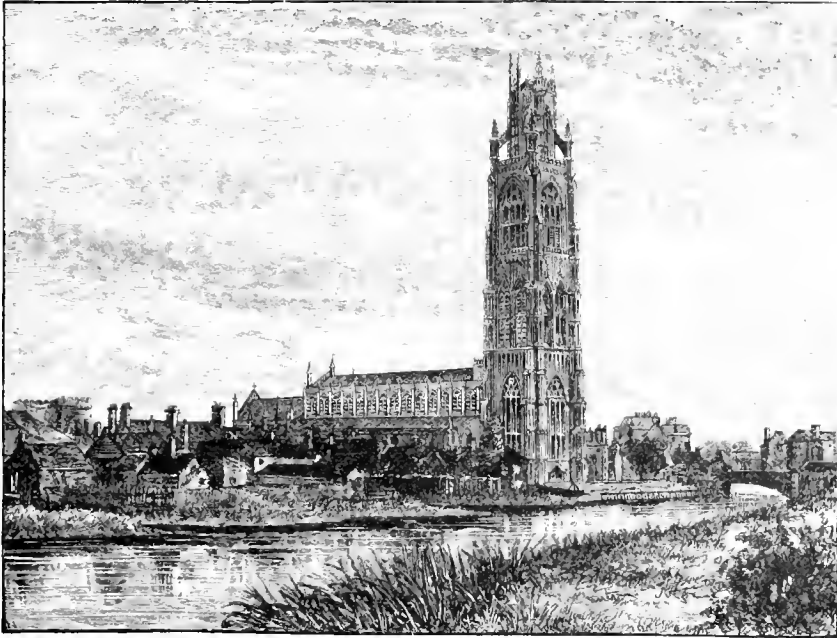
¹ The best portrait of Governor Winthrop is that in the Senate Chamber of Massachusetts, — always ascribed to Van Dyck. There is a marble statue of him, in a sitting posture, in the chapel at Mount Auburn, and another, standing, in the Capitol at Washington. A third, standing and in bronze, has been recently erected in the city of Boston. All the statues are by Richard S. Greenough. See R. C. Winthrop's "Life and Letters of John Winthrop," II., p. 408. The portrait in the Senate Chamber is that referred to in Mather's "Magnalia."

A descendant in New York has another likeness, much inferior, of which there is a copy, or duplicate, in the hall of the Antiquarian Society at Worcester. The family has also a miniature, thought to be an original, but it is in very bad condition. There are two copies of the Senate Chamber likeness in Memorial Hall at Cambridge; another in the Boston Athenæum, and one in the gallery of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

² "Above thirty buried by Mr. Maverick, of Winescmet in one day." — *Winthrop*, I., p. 112.

July, 1638, speaks of him as "the only hospitable man in all the country, giving entertainment to all Comers, *gratis*."¹ He lived in his island home for many years, falling from time to time under the animadversions of the authorities, for the too free exercise of the apostolic virtue, "given to hospitality," and apparently continuing steadfast in his devotion to the church of his baptism and early love.

In 1630 the quiet possession of the peninsula of Boston was broken by the appearance of Governor Winthrop and his followers at Mishawum. In their journey of exploration made on foot from Salem to Mattachusetts, to find out a place for our sitting down," Winthrop records² that they "lay at Mr. Maverick's," and it was not long before



ST. BOTOLPH'S CHURCH.

they had established themselves at their new home. The story of their change of location from Charlestown to Boston is recorded in the Charlestown Records :—

In the meantime, Mr. Blackstone, dwelling on the other side Charles River alone, at a place by the Indians called Shawmutt, where he only had a cottage, at or not far off the place called Blackstone's Point, he came and acquainted the Governor of an excellent Spring there; withal inviting him and soliciting him hither. Whereupon, after the death of Mr. Johnson and divers others, the Governor, with Mr. Wilson, and the greatest part of the church removed hither; whither also the frame of the Governor's house, in preparation at this town, was also (to the discontent of some) carried; where people began to build their houses against winter; and this place was called Boston.³

¹Two Voyages to New England, p. 13. Quoted in the "Memorial History of Boston," 1, p. 116.

²New England, 1, p. 32.

To this spot — “a paradise,”¹ as Winthrop styles it, when, for the first time sending a letter, dated from “Boston,” to his wife — the solitary Blaxton welcomed his countrymen. His humble home was situated on the west slope of Beacon Hill, from which he commanded an unobstructed view of the mouth of the Charles. Around him were cultivated grounds, and, it is said, an orchard. It was on the 7th of September, O.S., — the 17th as we now reckon it, — in the year 1630, that the Court of Assistants ordered “that Trimountaine shall be called Boston,” — a name endeared to the new-comers from its associations with the Lincolnshire town of Boston, England, named for St. Botolph, from which the daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, the Lady Arbella Johnson, and her husband, had come to die in this distant land, and where one whose name was long to be held in honor in the new home of his adoption — the Rev. John Cotton — was still ministering as vicar of the noble parish church.

The settlers at Shawmut were of the company which sailed from Southampton on the 22d of March in the year (1630), bringing both the governor and “the Company of Massachusetts Bay,” and bearing with them the charter of Massachusetts. In the principal ship, the “Arbella,” with the governor, were the Lady Arbella, from whom the vessel took its name, and her husband; Sir Richard Saltonstall, the Rev. George Phillips, the minister; Thomas Dudley, the deputy-governor, and others; while John Wilson, subsequently the first minister of Boston, was in one of the other vessels, which bore the names of the “Talbot,” the “Ambrose,” and the “Jewel.” Detained by unfavorable winds at “the Cowes,” and again while off Yarmouth, it was not until the second week in April that this memorable voyage, which brought to our shores “The Great Emigration,” as it was called, was fairly begun.

The delay had given opportunity for the members of the company on board the “Arbella” to address “The Humble Request of His Majesty’s Loyall Subjects, the Governor and the Company lately gone for New England, to the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England, for the obtaining of their Prayers, and the removal of suspicions, and Misconstruction of their Intentions.” In this touching farewell and address, evidently prepared for the correction of misapprehensions which were rife as to designs of these emigrants, occurs the following striking profession of their intentions and belief:—

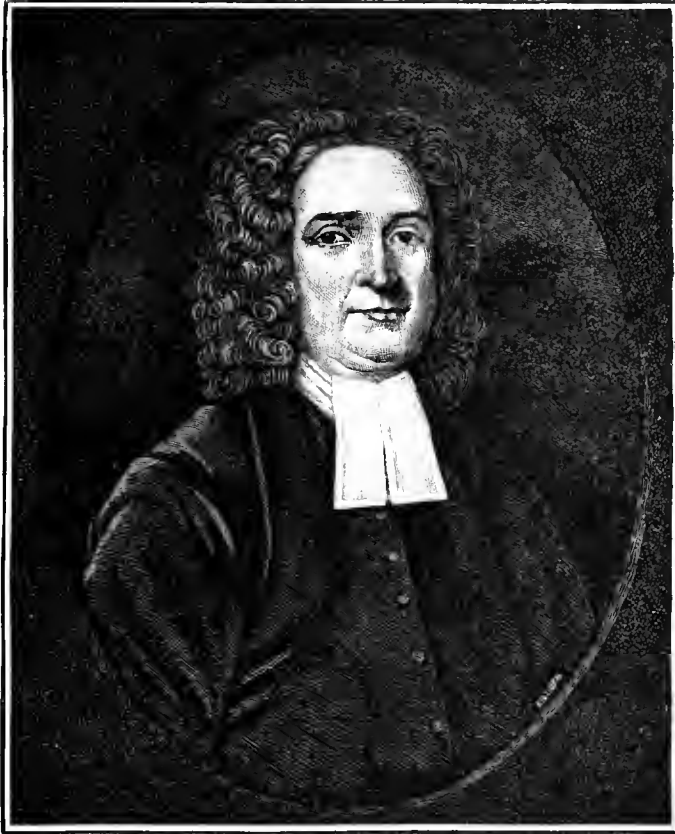
Howsoever your charity may have met with some occasion of discouragement through the misreport of our intentions, or through the disaffection or indiscretion of some of us, or rather amongst us (for we are not of those that dream of perfection in this world), yet we desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals and body of our company, as those who esteem it our honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother; and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breasts.

We leave it not, therefore, as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there; but, blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body shall always rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that

¹ Memorial History of Boston, i., p. 117.

shall ever betide her, and while we have breath, sincerely desire and endeavor the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds in the Kingdom of Christ Jesus.¹

Words such as these are conclusive as to the attitude of the leaders of "The Great Emigration" towards the Church on the "Easter Mon-



*Gods hearty in the Lord
of Cotton¹*

day, Anno Domini 1630," when the excellent Winthrop began on the "Arbella," "riding at the Cowes, near the Isle of Wight," the invaluable journal whence we derive our fullest knowledge of the colony for nearly a score of years. It was not till the ocean was crossed that those stigmatized in this "Address" as indiscreet or disaffected were found to be in the ascendant in number and influence, and speedily

¹ Quoted in the "Mem. Hist. of Boston," I., p. 108. *Vide, also,* Hutchinson's "Hist. of Mass.," I., pp. 487, 488.

drew to their side the very writer of this admirable "Address." It had been urged that "faction and separation from the Church" had been "secretly harboured" by those who were projecting this trans-Atlantic settlement, and that the colony was intended to become "a nursery of faction and rebellion, disclaiming and renouncing our church as a limb of Anti-Christ." White, in "The Planter's Plea,"¹ answers this objection by a reference to "the letter subscribed with the hands of the Governour and his associates," as affirming the contrary; and this "patriarch of New England colonization," as he is called, proceeds to defend the settlers from the imputations of "non-conformity" as well as "separation." "Some variation from the formes and customes of our church" might be hoped for or expected, but that the promoters of this enterprise were "projecting the crecting of this colony for a nursery of *Schismaticks*"² was indignantly denied. The assertion was made that at least "three parts of foure" of the planters were "able to justifie themselves to have lived in a constant course of conformity unto our church government and orders," and that the governor, "Mr. Io. Winthrop," had "beene every way regular and conformable in the whole course of his practise." "Neither all nor the greatest part of the Ministers are unconformable,"³ it was added. Thus earnestly did the adventurers themselves, at the outset of their enterprise, and their friends whom they left behind, disclaim the charge of separation or non-conformity. It is certainly noteworthy, in view of these professions of conformity and acquiescence in the teachings and practice of the mother-church, that but a few weeks elapsed after they had landed in the New World ere their "faction and separation from the Church" were openly confessed.

The fleet that bore the company and charter of Massachusetts Bay and their fortunes had but barely reached the New England coast when, on the 30th of July, six weeks after their landing at Salem, the governor, his deputy, Mr. Isaac Johnson, the husband of the Lady Arbella, and John Wilson, the minister, organized, at their new home in Charlestown, a separatist, non-conforming "congregation or church."

Sickness and death made havoc in the little community at Charlestown. The lack of fresh-water was sorely felt, and the invitation of the solitary Blaxton to the other side of the peninsula doubtless prevented the extermination of the colony.

On the 19th of October, Blaxton and Maverick were admitted as "Freemen";⁴ but the following May, Thomas Walford, the Charlestown blacksmith, a churchman who was not a freeman, was fined 40s., and, with his wife, banished from the "pattent," for "his contempt of authority and confrontinge officers, &c.,"⁵ and it was ordered, at the next meeting of the General Court, that "for time to come noe man shalbe admitted to the freedome of this body politticke, but such as

¹The Planter's Plea, London, 1630. Reprinted in Force's "Hist. Tracts," II., pp. 33, 34. "The Planter's Plea" was written by the Rev. John White, of Dorchester, Eng., who has been styled the "father of the Massachusetts Colony," and "the Patriarch of New England." At this time he was a conformist, though in

sympathy with the Puritan party, of which he subsequently became a prominent member.

²*Ibid.*, p. 37.

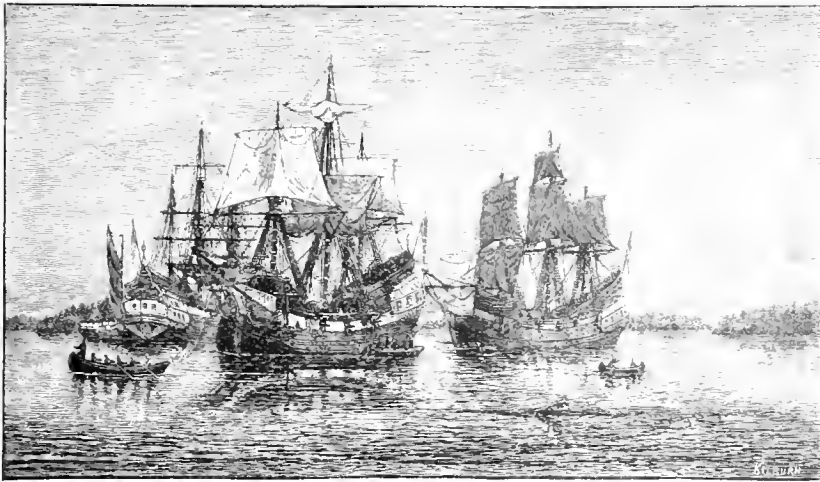
³*Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁴Records of Massachusetts, I., p. 79. Hist. General Register, III., pp. 41, 42.

⁵Records of Massachusetts, I., p. 86.

are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same."¹ The cords of restraint were thus being tightened around the few old settlers who were churchmen. Even the cut of Blaxton's coat was offensive. We find, in Johnson's "Wonder-Working Providence," a quaint passage, throwing a little light on the manners and reputation of this eccentric, but amiable, scholar and recluse, who was the earliest settler of Boston. Referring to the spring of 1629, this writer adds:—

All this while little likelihood there was of building the Temple for God's worship, there being only two that began to hew stones in the Mountains, the one named Mr. Bright and the other Mr. Blaxton, and one of them began to build, but when they saw all sorts of stones would not fit in the building, as they supposed, the one betooke him to the seas againe, and the other to till the Land, retaining no simbole of his former profession, but a Canonical Coate.²



WINTHROP'S FLEET.³

In the "Magnalia" Cotton Mather speaks of Blaxton as reckoned among the "godly Episcopalians," and refers to him as one "who by happening to sleep first in an hovel upon a point of land there, laid claim to all the ground whereupon there now stands the metropolis of the whole English America, until the inhabitants gave him satisfaction."⁴ The early settlers evidently recognized the existence of more than a claim on Blaxton's part, for, in the spring of 1633, the records state that "it is agreed, that M^r. William Blackestone shall have 50 acres of

¹ Records of Massachusetts, I., p. 87.

² II. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., II., p. 70.

³ This cut is a reduction, by permission, from an oil-painting recently completed by Mr. William F. Halsall, representing a part of the fleet which brought Winthrop and his company to Salem just as they had come round to Boston Harbor and were dropping anchor. The vessels are a careful study of the ships of the period. The "Arbella," the admiral of the fleet, a ship of three hundred and fifty tons, carrying twenty-

eight guns and fifty-two men, is in the foreground, being towed to her anchorage. The "Talbot," the vice-admiral, riding at anchor, hides Governor's Island from the spectator. The "Jewell," the captain of the fleet, is the distant vessel on the right, where Castle Island appears. The time is late in a July day. The spectator's position is between Boston and East Boston. *Title* "Memorial Hist. of Boston," I., p. 115.

⁴ Magnalia, Book III., Chap. XI. Hartford edition of 1855, p. 243.

ground sett out for him neere to his howse in Boston, to inioy for euer."¹ And when, at a later day, Blaxton proposed to remove from his home in Boston, full payment for his property was made by a tax laid on all the inhabitants of the growing "metropolis."

We have no record of services and sacraments performed by this solitary "clerk in Holy Orders," who seems to have spent much of his time in raising fruit and stock, and the rest among the tall folios and quartos that constituted his well-furnished library. A few allusions in the Puritan histories of the time, added to the reference to Blaxton and another clergyman who was among the settlers at Salem, which we have already cited from Johnson's "Wonder-Working Providence," afford us all the light we have with reference to Blaxton, or to those

William Hubbard,

who with him clung to the church of their baptism. Hubbard, in his "General History of New England," following Johnson, associated Blaxton with the Rev. Francis Bright, the conformist minister of Salem, of whom it is said that he, "not unlike Jonah, fled from the presence of the Lord, and went down to Tarshish." Finding that the settlers at Naumkeag, or Salem, were disposed to go to greater lengths in their separation from the Church than he approved, and, doubtless, having sympathized with those of the people who had already set up the "Common-Prayer-Worship after a sort," as Mather tells us, he removed to Charlestown, and there meeting the same tendency to separation he "betooke him to the seas again," or in other words, returned to England. Hubbard, alluding to these abortive efforts on the part of Bright and Blaxton, one an Oxford and the other a Cambridge graduate, to introduce the Common Prayer, repeats the sneer of Johnson as to the ecclesiastical habit of the latter, adding that he "betook himself to till the ground wherin probably he was more skilled, or at least had a better faculty, than in the things pertaining to the house of God."² Nor only this; our critic waxes eloquent in his amplification of Johnson's words. "For any one," proceeds Hubbard, "to retain only the outward badge of his functions, that never could pretend to any faculty therein, or exercise thereof, is, though no honor to himself, yet a dishonor and disparagement to the order he would thereby challenge acquaintance with."³ We cannot wonder that Boston soon became too strait for this churchman, who so pertinaciously clung to his "canonical coat." As Mather tells us, "this man was, indeed, of a particular humor, and he would never join himself to any of our churches, giving this reason for it: 'I came from England, because I did not like the *lord-bishops*; but I cannot join with you, because I would not be under the *lord-brethren*.'"⁴ Consequently, in 1634, he turned his back upon orchard and garden and spring, receiving "satisfaction" from the Bostonians he left behind, for his landed estate, to the amount of £30, every householder paying six shillings,⁵ and with his books and, tradition tells us, a herd of cattle, he pene-

¹Records of the Col. of the Mass. Bay, 1, p. 101.

²Hubbard, in II. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., v., p. 113.

³*Ibid.*

⁴Magnalia, Book III., XI.

⁵Memorial History of Boston, 1, p. 85, *note*.

trated further into the wilderness, and among "God's first temples" set up his sanctuary and home. A few years later, in 1641, Lechford, a churchman, and the author of "Plain Dealing," writes as follows:—

"One Master *Blakeston*, a Minister, went from Boston, having lived there nine or ten yeares, because he would not joyne with the Church," adding "he lives neere Master *Williams*, but is far from his opinions."¹

It was to a spot to which he gave the name of "Study Hill," within the limits of the present town of Lonsdale, Rhode Island, that Blaxton removed, thus becoming the first white inhabitant, as well as minister, of that State. From time to time he visited Boston, where he married Mistress Sarah Stephenson, July 4, 1659. He is said to have occasionally officiated at Providence, when he was old, gathering about him the children by gifts of fruit; and, without doubt, the words of the Common Prayer were heard at stated times by the little community at "Study Hill." Hopkins, of Providence, who gives us traditionary tales of this simple-minded, gentle-hearted recluse, speaks of him as "an Exemplary Christian." Fond of tilling the earth, fond of the "lowing herd," fond of study, and fond of children, as these old chroniclers depict him, we may be proud of Boston's first inhabitant and Rhode Island's earliest settler,—the Rev. William Blaxton, A.M. He died at Cumberland, Rhode Island, May 26, 1675, the Wednesday after Whitsunday, being upwards of fourscore years old, and having survived his wife nearly two years. His library, numbering nearly two hundred volumes, together with his "paper books," ten in number, and inventoried at five shillings, were destroyed by the Indians shortly after his decease.

Roger Williams

In the "First General Letter of the Governor and Deputy of the New England Company" to the settlers at Naumkeag, or Salem, in Massachusetts, under Endicott, written from Gravesend, April 17, 1629, and beginning with the pious ejaculation, "Laus Deo," appear the names of "Mr. John and Mr. Samuell Browne," as members of "the Councill of the Mattachusetts Bay,"² following next to the names of the ministers, Francis Higginson, Samuel Skelton, and Francis Bright. In a postscript to this important official communication the writers append a special recommendation of "two Brethren of our Comp: Mr. John and Mr. Sam.: Browne, who, though they bee noe adventurers in the generall stock, yett are they men wee doe much respect, being fully perswaded of their sincere affeccions to the good of o^r plantacion. The one, Mr. John Browne, is sworne an Assistant heere, and by vs chosen one of the councill there — a man experienced in the lawes of o^r kingdome, and such an one as wee are perswaded will worthyly deserve yo^r fauor and furtherance, w^{ch} we desire he may haue, and that in the first devisiion of land there may be allotted to either of them 200 acres."³

¹ Plain Dealing, or News from New England, Boston, 1867, p. 97.

² Records of Massachusetts, I., p. 387.
³ *Ibid.*, I., p. 398.

The story of the Brownes, as given by the Puritan authorities, is as follows:—

Some of the passengers that came over, observing that the ministers did not at all use the book of Common prayer, and that they did administer baptism and the Lord's supper without the ceremonies, and that they professed, also, to use discipline in the congregation against scandalous persons, by a personal application of the word of God, as the case might require, and that some that were scandalous were denied admission into the church, they began to raise some trouble. Of these, Mr. Samuel Browne and his brother were the chief, the one being a lawyer, the other a merchant, both of them amongst the number of the first patentees, men of party and post in the place. These two brothers gathered a company together, in a place distinct from the public assembly, and there, sundry times, the book of Common prayer was read unto such as resorted thither. The governour, Mr. Endicot, taking notice of the disturbance that began to grow amongst the people by this means, he convented the two brothers before him. They accused the ministers as departing from the orders of the Church of England, that they were separatists, and would be anabaptists, etc.; but for themselves, they would hold to the orders of the Church of England. The ministers answered for themselves, that they were neither separatists nor anabaptists; they did not separate from the Church of England, nor from the ordinances of God there, but only from the corruptions and disorders there; and that they came away from the common prayer and ceremonies, and had suffered much for their nonconformity in their native land, and, therefore, being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them, because they judged the imposition of these things to be sinful corruptions in the worship of God. The governour and council, and the generality of the people, did well approve of the ministers' answer; and, therefore, finding those two brothers to be of high spirits, and their speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction, the governour told them that New England was no place for such as they; and, therefore, he sent them both back for England, at the return of the ships the same year; and though they breathed out threatenings, both against the governour and ministers there, yet the Lord so disposed of all, that there was no further inconvenience followed upon it.¹

The records of the colony² show, in addition to the story as told above, that the letters of these brothers to "divers of their private friends in England," notwithstanding their official position and standing in the company and community, were "opened and publicly read." Those of Mr. Samuel Browne were not delivered, by order of the company, "but kept to bee made vse of against him as occasion shalbe offered." Banished as "factious and evil-conditioned;" their goods, left behind them in their summary and forced departure, were, as they alleged, "undervalued and divers things omitted to be praised;" and, on their presentation of "a wryting of grevances," desiring recompence for "loss and damage sustained by them in New England," it need not surprise us that it was voted that, on their submitting their case to the company's "fynall order," two of *the company* should "sett downe what they in their Judg^{mt} shall thinke requisite to bee allowed them for their pretended damage sustained, and soe to make a fynall end accordingly." The records contain no report of a committee thus constituted.

The "fynall end" does not appear. Driven from their new home, the expenses of the outfit, voyage, and settlement were, of course, a total loss. Though they had remained in New England but five or six

¹ Morton's "N.E. Memorial," p. 147.

III., pp. 50-54, 56, 65, 76. *Vide, also*, "Records of

² Published in "Archæologia Americana," Massachusetts," I., pp. 51-54, 60-69

weeks, the sacrifice of property was doubtless considerable. A learned American archaeologist,¹ in annotating on this portion of the Massachusetts Records, says, that "it is probable that a reasonable remuneration was allowed them;" but of this there is no proof. In the view of those who perpetrated this flagrant outrage on personal liberty and freedom of conscience, the behavior of the Brownes was "offensive," and their loss and damage but "pretended." Careful to have "an obsequious eye" to "the State," the authorities at home were willing to caution the ministers and magistrates of Salem to be wary of their "scandalous and intemperate speeches," in "publique sermons or prayers in N. England," and "rash innovations begun and practised in the civil and Ecclesiastical Government;"² but for the aggrieved and injured brothers there was no redress, either for the wrong done to their persons, or the injury to their property. With their forcible ejection from the settlement at Salem, the use of the Common Prayer and all efforts for conformity, of which any record is extant, ceased. The Rev. Francis Bright, either to escape a like fate, or despairing of any success with the determined separatists under the leadership of Endicott, Higginson, and Skelton, removed to Charlestown, and shortly afterwards sailed for England.

During the years 1638-1641, Thomas Lechford, "of Clement's Inne, in the County of Middlesex, Gent," who had earlier, as he tells us, "suffered imprisonment, and a kind of banishment . . . for some acts construed to oppose, and as tending to subvert Episcopacie, and the settled Ecclesiasticall government of England," resided in Boston. The offence to which he refers, as we learn from a passing allusion in Mr. Cotton's "Way of Congregational Churches Cleared," was his "witnessing against the Bishops, in soliciting the cause of Mr. Prynne." Lechford landed in Boston a little more than a year after Prynne's trial in the Star Chamber. He was accompanied from England, it is supposed, by his wife. Almost from the very hour of his landing he was regarded with distrust by those of influence and authority in church and commonwealth. His profession was objectionable, "no advocate being allowed" in matters requiring legal process; and his views in ecclesiastical matters were soon found to be diametrically opposite to those which obtained in the Massachusetts Bay.³ The "divine right of Episcopacy," which he maintained in conversations with the leading men of the colony, he sought to prove in a manuscript treatise, which he submitted to the deputy governor, Dudley, a man of marked conscientiousness, narrow vision, and intense prejudices, who saw in the toleration of novel opinions in theology "a cocatrice's egg."—

"To poison all with heresy and vice."

Dudley pronounced the book "erroneous and dangerous, if not hereticall," and sent it to Winthrop with the suggestion, "that instead of puttinge it to the presse as hee desireth, it may rather be putt into the fire as I desire."⁴ This manuscript, with another of Lechford's theo-

¹ S. F. Haven, LL.D., editor of a portion of the "Records of the Company of the Massachusetts Bay,"—*Archæologia Americana*, III., p. 76.

² Records of Massachusetts, I., p. 407-409.

³ Winthrop's "New England," II., p. 43.

⁴ J. Hammond Trumbull's Reprint of "Plain Dealing," pp. 22, 23.

logical essays, was submitted to a council of the Elders : but neither in conference nor in writing could the author be convinced of error, while the Elders would not admit that the opinions he advanced could be held "*salva fide*." Consequently the friend and supporter of Prynne was compelled to remain outside of the pale of the New England "church," and exclusion from church fellowship carried with it exclusion from the privileges of a freeman, and disqualification for civil office. "Kept from all places of preferment in the Commonwealth," he was "forced to get his living by writing petty things, which scarce found him bread."¹ By plying his pen as a conveyancer, scrivener, or draughtsman, he eked out a scanty livelihood : but regular employment as a clerk, or public notary, for which his studies and experience peculiarly qualified him, was denied him by the court, as he states, "for fear of offending the churches because of" his "opinions." Debarred from the exercise of his profession for his injudicious and unprofessional exertions in behalf of a client's cause, his apology was received by the court, and he was suffered to practise again, with, it would appear, but little improvement of his "low and poor estate." In his capacity as a copyist he was employed in writing "The court booke" for Mr. Endicott, and among other things, the "breviat of laws," subsequently adopted, with some amendments, as the Body of Liberties. It was during the execution of this latter work, which, as Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull says, "in his hands, we may be sure, was something more than that of mere transcription," he "conceived it his duty, in discharge of his conscience," and "as *Amicus curia*, with all faithfulness to present," to the governor and magistrates, his objections to certain laws proposed to be embodied in the code. But, though industrious, and evidently honest in his convictions of duty, and in his conscientious devotion to his opinions, it was evident that he was daily becoming more and more dissatisfied with both church and commonwealth as they existed in New England. That his prelatial views, and his zeal in advocating them, made him obnoxious to the magistrates, to the ministers, and to the members of the Puritan church, is evident. The wonder is that he was tolerated at all. He was neither a freeman nor a church-member. He was not even a householder. In the eye of the law he was merely a "transient person," who could be warned out of the jurisdiction of the magistrates, if need be, without the assignment of a reason. He questioned the validity of non-episcopal orders, and disapproved of the exercise by the "freemen," as they were constituted in the Massachusetts Bay, of the right to elect their own rulers. These opinions he complacently communicated to Governor Winthrop, the deputy-governor Dudley, and the preachers, Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson ; and these views, with possibly some reserve in the expression of his "full mind in some things," he doubtless expressed to all who came in his way. At length the General Court was "pleased to say something to him, as for good counsel about some tenets and disputations which he had held, advising him to bear himself in silence and as became him." The records show that he confessed that "hee had over-shot himselfe," and was "sorry for it," and on his promise "to attend

¹ Plain Dealing, p. 69.

his calling, and not to meddle wth controversies," he was dismissed.¹ The controversies in which he had "too far meddled" concerned "matters of church government and the like;" "the foundation of the church and the ministry, and what rigid separations may tend unto." Shortly after these experiences he returned to England. It was supposed that Prynne sent the money for his passage. He sailed from Boston on the 3d of August, 1641, touching at Newfoundland on his homeward route. On the 16th of November he was again an inmate of Clement's Inn, and had returned "humbly" "to the Church of England, for whose peace, purity, and prosperity" his daily prayers went up to heaven. His book was an attempt to prove that "all was out of joint, both in church and commonwealth," in Massachusetts. The book was not written in a wholly unfriendly spirit, and certainly does not deserve the sweeping criticism of Mr. Cotton, that it might be called "false and fraudulent." Dr. Hammond, his latest editor, pronounces him "conscientious, painstaking, tolerably exact, and almost always reliable."

We know nothing of Lechford's career after his return save a single sentence in Mr. Cotton's "Way of Congregational Churches Cleared," which tells us that "when he came to England, the Bishops were falling, so that he lost his friends, and hopes, both in Old England and New; yet put out his Book (such as it is) and soon after dyed."² The "Plain Dealing" is his sole legacy. It is certainly the work of an honest man, whose churchmanship was the result of con-

viction, and had the merit of being avowed at a time most inopportune for the convert's fortunes.

But a little later than the settlement of the Leyden Puritans at Plymouth, and under the authority of the Council of New England, a patent was granted to Captain Mason of all the territory from the river of Naumkeng, now called Salem, round Cape Ann, to the Merrimack, and extending up each of the rivers named to its source; then crossing from the head of one to the head of the other, and including all the islands lying within three miles of the coast comprised within these limits. This grant

received the name of Mariana, and was made in 1621.³ The following year a grant was made to Gorges and Mason jointly of all the territory between the rivers Merrimack and Sagadahock, and extending back to

James Gorges

Hon. Mason

Royce Goad

John Gorges

¹ Mass. Col. Records, I., p. 310.

² Part I., p. 71.

³ Belknap's "New Hampshire," I., p. 4.

the great lakes and river of Canada. This domain received the name of Laconia.¹

Under the authority of this grant Gorges and Mason, in connection with a number of merchants of London, and the leading cities in the west and south-west of England, organized the "Company of Laconia," and in 1623 attempted a colony and fishing-station at the mouth of the river Piscataqua. Two settlements were established, one on the southern shore of the river, near its mouth, called Little Harbor. Here a fort was erected, and a manor-house, called Mason Hall, was built on a commanding eminence protected by the fortification. A part of the original settlers, Edward and William Hilton, fish-mongers, of London, occupied a neck of land eight miles farther up the river, which they named Northam, and afterwards Dover. In 1629 the settlers at the mouth of the Piscataqua combined for mutual protection, and set on foot a scheme of local government. Two years later upwards of fifty men were in the employ of Captain Mason, as stewards and servants. Some idea of the comparative importance of this church settlement, for such it was, can be drawn from the fact that, in the assessment of the settlers at various points, towards the charges of arresting Thomas Morton, in 1628, "Pascataquaek" was rated the same as "Plymouth." Various efforts were made by Mason for the furtherance of the settlements made under his auspices, with but indifferent success; and in 1638 Winthrop, the Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, records his death as that of "the chief mover in all the attempts against us;" adding, "the Lord in mercy, taking him away."² The character of this sturdy old churchman, who was a relative of the Rev. Doctor Robert Mason, chancellor of the diocese of Winchester, to whom a reversionary interest was bequeathed in his will, may be better judged by his gift in trust of a thousand acres of land for the maintenance of "an honest, godly and religious preacher of God's Word," and a bequest of a similar nature and value for the support of a grammar school; the first bequests in New England, on record, for religious or educational purposes. That there was a clergyman of the Church connected with these early settlements in New Hampshire does not admit of a doubt; and the name of "John Michell, a Minister," is found on the Privy Council Register, June 27, 1638, as having a claim on Sir Ferdinando Gorges for remuneration for adventures in Laconia.³ In 1640, May 25th,⁴ a grant of fifty acres of land for a glebe was made by the governor, Francis Williams, and inhabitants of Strawberry Bank, since known as Portsmouth, to Thomas Walford, — the "smith" of Charlestown, who had been banished from the spot where he had been the first occupant, by Winthrop and his associates, — and Henry Sherburne, church-wardens of Portsmouth, and their successors forever as feoffees in trust, by virtue of which grant this land is still held. At this time there were a chapel and parsonage at Portsmouth. The church was furnished "with one great Bible, twelve Service Books, one pewter flagon, one communion cup and cover of silver, two fine table cloths and two napkins."⁵ These had

¹ Belknap's "New Hampshire," I., p. 4.

² Savage's "Winthrop," I., p. 223.

³ Jenness's "Transcripts," etc., p. 29.

⁴ Belknap's "New Hampshire," I., p. 28.

⁵ Batchelder's "Hist. of the Eastern Diocese," I., p. 134.

been sent over by Mason, with that thoughtful care and reverent loyalty which marked a devout and earnest churchman. The erection of "the parsonage house, with a chapel thereto united," was the "free and voluntary" act of "divers and sundry of the inhabitants of the lower end of Pascataquaack."¹ Twelve of the fifty acres granted to the church-wardens were adjoining the parsonage. The remainder was laid out at the head of "Strawberry-bank Creek." The right of presentation to the "living" was in the hands of the parishioners. The grant proceeds as follows:—

And for as much as the said parishioners have founded and built the said parsonage-house, chappell, with the appurtenances at their own proper cost and charges, and have made choise of Mr. Richard Gibson to be the first parson of the said parsonage, soe likewise whensoever the said parsonage happen to be voyd by death of the incumbent, or his time agreed upon expired, that then the patronage presently and nomination of the parson to be vested and remain in the power and election of the said parishioners or the greater part of them forever.²

In the inventories of the property possessed by the settlers at "Newitchwanicke" and "Pascataquaack," in July, 1633, we find incidental evidence of the churchmanship of the colony. Record is made of "1 Psalter"; "1 communion cup and cover of silver; 1 small communion table cloth"³ and "2 service bookes." In July, 1635, there were inventoried as belonging to the "Plantations at Piscataway and Newichewanock," "For Religious Use," "1 great bible, 12 service books, 1 pewter flaggon, 1 communion cup and cover of silver, 2 fine table cloths, 2 napkins."⁴

The independence, whether civil or ecclesiastical, of the church pioneers of New Hampshire was but short-lived. The settlements on the Piscataqua passed, in 1641, under the authority of Massachusetts. The power thus acquired was speedily and remorselessly exercised to crush out all tendencies towards "the hierarchy and discipline of the Church of England."⁵ At the "General Court," held in 1642, as Winthrop tells us, "appeared one Richard Gibson, a scholar, sent three or four years since to Richman's Island, to be a minister to a fishing plantation there, belonging to one Mr. Trelawney (Tretaway?) of Plimouth in England. He removed from there to Pascataquaack, and this year was entertained by the fishermen, at the Isle of Shoals, to preach to them. He being wholly addicted to the hierarchy and discipline of England, did exercise a ministerial function in the same way, and did marry and baptize at the Isle of Shoals, which was now found to be within our jurisdiction. This man being incensed against Mr. Larkham, pastor of the church at Northam (late Dover), for some speeches he delivered in his sermon against such hirelings, etc., he sent an open letter to him, wherein he did scandalize our government, oppose our title to those parts, and provoke the people, by way of arguments, to revolt from us (this letter being shown to many before it came to Mr. Larkham). Mr. Gibson being now showed this

¹ Batchelder's "Hist. of the Eastern Diocese," I., p. 134.

² Provincial Papers, New Hampshire, I., pp. 111-113.

³ Provincial Papers, I., pp. 78, 80.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁵ Winthrop's "Hist. of N. E.," II., p. 79.

letter, and charged with his offence, he could not deny the thing, whereupon he was committed to the marshall. In a day or two after he preferred a petition which gave not satisfaction, but the next day he made a full acknowledgment of all he was charged with, and the evil thereof, submitting himself to the favor of the court. Whereupon, in regard he was a stranger, and was to depart the country within a few days, he was discharged without any fine or other punishment."¹ There is, as a late annotator² on the men and measures of this period of New England history aptly describes it, in his reference to a similar exercise of authority, "a grim solemnity" in the Puritan governor's record of the arrest and imprisonment of this "scholar," who was willing to lay aside his books to minister the word and sacraments to the fishermen of the Isle of Shoals. Doubtless his sorrow for the offence of doubting the high-handed usurpation of the Massachusetts authorities over the churchmen of his cure, and scandalizing the government of Winthrop and his fellow-magistrates, was quickened by a realization of the despotic power at whose mercy he was placed. Even the "corporal punishment," thought unfit for Morton, "being old and crazy," as well as the winter imprisonment on scanty fare, and without either fire or bedding, added to a heavy fine, which was "awarded to a member of the legal profession," whose offence, as stated by Winthrop, was that he had made a "complaint against us at the Council Board," might have been anticipated in the case of the "scholar" Gibson, but for his timely submission to the powers that were. To question the "right divine" of the Puritan theocracy; to petition against gross abuses to the source whence whatever authority claimed or possessed under the Massachusetts charter was derived; or to "provoke the people by way of *arguments* to revolt" against the unscrupulous usurpation, were no light offences. Well was it that the "scholar" was disposed to seek refuge in his home across the seas. Well might the non-conformist Burdet, in his letter to the primate, speak of the Massachusetts government, at this very time, in language such as this: "She is not merely aiming at new discipline, but sovereignty; — for even her General Court account it perjury and treason to speak of appeals to the king."³

The time of Gibson's coming to New England is not known. Even his birthplace and college are not recorded. As we have seen, Winthrop asserts that he was sent over by Trelawney, or Tretaway, as another reading has it, to minister to the plantation on Richmond's Island, on the coast of Maine. Others say that he came at the instance of Sir Alexander Rigby, "the patron of Episcopal ministers, and the friend of the enterprising, ignorant poor."⁴ He was probably on the coast as early as 1636. It was at this time that Sir Ferdinando Gorges, under the authority of a royal grant, set on foot at Winter Harbor, on the Saco river, the first organized government within the limits of the present State of Maine. In common with the Provincial Charter, secured by Gorges in 1639, this grant provided for the estab-

¹ Winthrop's "Hist. of N.E.," pp. 79, 80.

² Charles Francis Adams, Jr., in his introduction to "The New English Canaan," Prince Society's edition, p. 97.

³ Williamson's "Hist. of Maine," I., p. 270.

⁴ *Vide, also*, Hutchinson's Mass., I., p. 85, and Winthrop's, *passim*.

⁵ Williamson, I., p. 299.

lishment of the Church of England, and gave to the patentee the nomination of the ministers of all churches and chapels which might be built in the province. In the autumn of 1636 "a book of rates for the minister to be paid quarterly, the first payment to begin at Michaelmas next," was drawn up at Saco, and subscriptions to the amount of £31 15s. were raised among the few settlers at this spot. The pioneer clergyman was accompanied by his wife, Mary Gibson, and the faithfulness of his ministrations, and his fidelity to his convictions, are both matters of record at the hand of the keen and observing historian of Puritan Massachusetts. The historian of Maine, Williamson, although destitute of ecclesiastical affiliations with Gibson, speaks of him as "a good scholar, a popular speaker, and highly esteemed as a gospel minister."¹

Gibson was succeeded, in part of his field, by the Rev. Robert

By me Richard Jordan

Jordan.² The church interest in New Hampshire had faded out before the re-

pressive measures of the Massachusetts authorities. But at Scarborough, Casco, now Portland, and at Saco, Jordan, who arrived about the year 1640, labored assiduously and with success. He was but twenty-eight years of age when he undertook the work from which Gibson had been practically banished. But the aggressions of the Puritan magistrates were not to cease with the obliteration of church ministrations in New Hampshire. The restless longing for further acquisitions of territory, and a wider range of power, could not be satisfied, while, as the author of "Ancient Pemaquid" asserts, "Maine was distinctively Episcopalian, and was intended as a rival to her Puritan neighbors."³ But the task of subjugation was not an easy one. Jordan bore no inconsiderable part in the opposition to the policy of Massachusetts and the Puritans; and as by his marriage with Sarah, the only child of John Winter, the leading settler at Richmond's Island, he became one of the great landed proprietors and wealthy men of the colony, the faithful mission priest of the coast of Maine was in a position to wield a powerful influence in favor of the Church, as well as to contend against the intrigues of those who sought to overthrow the independence of Maine.

At the time of Jordan's arrival on the coast Richmond's Island was an important commercial plantation. It is probable that a church was erected there. In an inventory of the property on the plantation at Richmond's Island and Spurwink, taken in October, 1648, mention is made of "The minister's bedding: the communion vessels: one cushion: one table cloth: 1½ pint pot, £4."⁴ In an account against "The plantation," rendered by Jordan at this time, we find as follows: "Dr. for his charge, ½ a year, £20: for his ministry as by composition, ½ a year,

¹ Williamson's "Hist. of Maine," II., p. 291.
² Names of the family of Jordan, contributed by John Winzate Thornton, are to be found in the first volume of the "Hist. Magazine" for 1877, p. 54. *Idem*, also, W. H. Whitmore's article, on the same subject, in the "N. E. Hist. General Register," XIII., pp. 221, 222.

The signature of Jordan is copied from an original deed executed by him in 1660, and preserved in the "Willis" collection of MSS., in the Public Library in Portland.
 Thornton's "Pemaquid," p. 175.
⁴ Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 228.

£10." Charge is also made for his tithe of "train or mackerel," and "share of fish."¹ In 1648 Jordan removed from Richmond's Island to a place on the Spurwink river, adjoining the property of his late father-in-law. On the 18th of December, by virtue of a "Decree of the General Assembly of the Province of Lygonie, holden at Casco Bay," the preceding September, Mr. Jordan became possessed of "all the goods, lands, cattle, and chattels belonging to Rob^t. Trelawny, dec'd," in payment of a debt of £609 0s. 10½^d. The settlement of the estate which he inherited from his father-in-law involved Jordan in much litigation, but the respect shown to him by his fellow-settlers is attested by his frequent choice as assistant and justice. He lived in Falmouth thirty-one years, preaching and administering the sacraments according to the usages of the Church of England, save when silenced by the Puritan authorities of Massachusetts. The baptismal basin brought from the old home, and used by this devoted churchman and colonist, is still preserved in the family of one of his descendants, and is an interesting memorial of the ministrations that proved so distasteful to the Puritan rulers. The "Records of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," under date of October 16, 1660, contain the following proof that the frontier priest was not forgotten in his exercise of his sacred calling:—

Whereas it appeares to this Court, by serneal testimonies of good repute, that Mr. Robert Jordan did, in July last, after exercise was ended vpon the Lord's day, in the house of M^r. Mackworth, in the toune of Falmouth, then & there baptize three children of Nathanel Wales, of the same toune, to the offence of the gouernment of this Comonwealth, the Court iudgeth it necessary to beare witness ag^t such irregular practises, doe therefore order that the secretary, by letter, in the name of this Court, require him to desist from any such practises for the future, and also that he appeare before the next Generall Court to ans^u what shall be layd ag^t him for what he hath donne for the tyme past.²

That the General Court did not confine itself to words may be inferred from the testimony of Col. Cartwright, one of the Royal Commissioners in 1665, who, in his official report, preserved among the "Clarendon Papers,"³ states that "They did imprison, and barbarously use Mr. Jordan for baptizing children, as himselfe complayned in his petition to the Commissioners." A few years later, in 1671, a warrant was issued against him, requiring his presence at the next court, "to render an account why he presumed to marry Richard Palmer and Grace Bush, contrary to the laws of this jurisdiction."⁴ There is little doubt, from the documents of the period, that this intolerance and persecution produced its natural result. Exasperated at the treatment he had received, and impatient of the rule of the Puritans, whom he despised, bitter speeches of his against the ministers and magistrates of the Massachusetts Bay are on record, and charges of falsehood and profanity⁵ were made against him by men who scrupled at nothing to silence, or even annoy, a man so influential and so difficult to control. It is but just to state that the witnesses to these charges were Falmouth men, who had

¹ Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 230.

² Shurtleiff's "Records," Vol. IV., Pt. I., Society, "Collections," 1869, p. 84.

³ Published by the New York Historical Society, "Collections," 1869, p. 84.

⁴ Ballard's "Church in Maine," p. 16.

⁵ Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 108.

p. 436.

little or no reputation, and their violence was discountenanced even by those whose interests they sought to serve. Complained of and silenced by the usurpers, he, in his turn, brought a complaint to the court against the Puritan minister at Scarborough, for "preaching unsound doctrine

To y^e Honourd Governo^r Deputy Governo^r & Magist^r
of this present Court of Assistants

The Humble petition of Robert Jordan

Shewes y^e Petitione^r by warrant from Gentlemen Courtiers
-red by y^e Generall Court, was in y^e heate of his fishing business
so his no small losse forceably brought away to Boston Prison
& here he hath bin so his great Inhumant committ^d.
& detained divers months, his familiers occasions depend
upon y^e necessary ^{winter} supply of y^e small stocke of Cattle to him
left, & not knowing when he may be brought so byable
the expediting whereof would be no small favo^r to him;
These are humbly to request y^e petitione^r may have a
present hearing at this Court, & if it might be y^e
Majesties pleasure in way of privacy, or else if they w^{ill}
please so acquitt him of what is charged unto him
upon his declaration of subjection to his Government
(salva lege, & conscientia) & promise of peaceable behavior
for y^e future, wherein you will follow y^e example of our
gracious Princes who hath acceptid of small satisfaction
for great errors committed in point of Government
Inuring thereby you seeke y^e Reformation, & not y^e increase
of his Majesties Subjects. Thus humbly craving y^e your
will from this Court cast y^e favo^r upon

from y^e prison at Boston
y^e 4th of Sept. 1663.

Y^e poor prisoner
& humble petitione^r
Robert Jordan. *clm*

PETITION OF ROBERT JORDAN TO THE COURT OF ASSISTANTS,
AT BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 4, 1663.

to the settlers." But enough of these recriminations. It is pleasant to turn to other representations giving us a kindlier view of this stout-hearted and fearless champion of the Church. When even the celebrated Lord Chief Baron, Sir Matthew Hale, and Sir Thomas Browne, the famous physician of his time, were not superior to the belief in witchcraft, and favored the punishment of those supposed to have dealings

with familiar spirits, the clear-headed and sensible minister of Spurr-wink, when a "drunken preacher" sought to convict a witness of his unfaithfulness of this offence, "unriddled the knavery and delivered the innocent."¹

In the Indian war, excited by the Chieftain Philip, Jordan's house was attacked by the savages. The aged clergyman, with his family, barely escaped the fury of the assailants. His house was destroyed, and he and his family were forced to take refuge on Great Island (now Newcastle), near Portsmouth, N.H. Invited, in 1677, by the Governor of New York, to settle at Pemaquid with his friend, Giles Elbridge, he preferred to remain in his quiet retreat. Old age had crippled his physical powers, and, after a residence of four years at Great Island, he died, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, in 1679. His will was made on the 28th of January, and proved on the 1st of July, 1679. Enfeebled and infirm, he had lost the use of his hands before his death, and was unable to sign the will that divided between his widow and his six sons a landed domain comprising several thousand acres. "Weak in body, but of sound and perfect memory, praysed be God," the old preacher professed himself to be at the time of making his last will and testament, and the document in which he bequeaths his "soule to God, hoping by the merits of Christ" his "Saviour, to enjoy eternal life," recognized the fact that the temporalities he possessed were his "all by y^e providence of Almighty God." He died as he had lived, the sole priest of the Church on New England soil who was faithful to his ordination vows, and when his utterance of the words of Common Prayer was hushed in death, there was no voice to take up the familiar words, and the century drew near its close ere their sound was heard again. In April, 1688, a lay reader, John Gyles, reported that "ever since June last" he "had read prayers at the garrison, on Wednesdays and Fridays, and had not received anything for it."² No further reference to Church, to clergymen, or to the common prayer, appears in the history of the times. Thus ended for years the Church's possession of the coast of New Hampshire and Maine.

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

MR. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, JR., who had already, in one or two exceedingly clever papers, referred to the points at issue between Morton and his assailants, has recently (1883) edited for the "Prince Society," of Boston, a reissue of "The New English Canaan." The volume is carefully prepared, and the annotations throw no little light on obscure allusions and metaphorical subtleties of this "most careless and slipshod of authors." But Mr. Adams, who, in his

¹ Vide "A Modest Inquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft," By John Hale. England Historical Genealogical Register," XIII., p. 19.
Quoted by W. H. Whitmore, in the "New

² Ballard's "Church in Maine," p. 22.

earlier notices of Morton, had shown some sympathy for his hard usage, in this later and more elaborate treatment of the subject essays the complete vindication of Morton's opponents, and has only unstinted blame for this ill-starred adventurer. So plainly does Mr. Adams recognize the fact that the Puritans themselves are on trial, even by their own showing, that he feels it requisite to reproduce the ungenerous surmises and slanders respecting Morton that have no foundation other than the testimony of the men who persecuted him to death. The charge that Morton had fled to New England "upon a foule suspicion of murder," is dwelt upon at length and pronounced not "improbable," although Mr. Adams is forced to acknowledge that, "though he was subsequently arrested and in jail in England, the accusation never took any formal shape." Forced to disavow much of Bradford's abuse of Morton's views, as well as his mode of life, Mr. Adams is certainly inconsistent in his charge that "he cared little for either law or morals," and then in confessing that he was "better versed in the law of England than those who admonished him," and in one of the two points at issue with Bradford and his people was "clearly right." Nor is this all that Mr. Adams is forced to concede. In regard to the second point in question, "that the King's proclamation died with him," he admits that "this distinction was, a century and a half later, stated by Hume to have existed in James's time." Confessedly wrong in their legal exceptions to Morton's practices in his trade with the Indians, the defence is urged that "the question with the settlers was one of self-preservation." It is difficult to see why the necessities of self-preservation did not apply as well to Morton's smaller colony, and, in fact, to all the scattered representatives of the Gorges interest, as to the compact and well-fortified settlement at Plymouth. Bradford admits that, so far as the Plymouth people were concerned, they "had least cause of fear or hurt." But for the "straggling plantations," as Bradford says, of "no strength in any place," the Plymouth settlers were willing to interfere, carefully assessing the costs of their undertaking on those whom they proposed to aid. Even Blaxton, the church clergyman who first settled upon the site of the present city of Boston, was assessed twelve shillings towards this martial exploit of which the doughty Captain Standish was the leader, and life as well. There is no proof, however, that Blaxton paid this arbitrary assessment, or had any share in the persecution of his fellow-churchman. There is not a little reason to infer that Morton's success in the peltry trade was a moving cause in this interference on the part of the Puritan settlers, quite as much as their dislike of the Maypole revelry. Sent to England with Oldham, whom, as Bradford intimates, he "foold," there is no question that Mr. Adams is correct in stating that "Bradford's letter and complaints were quietly ignored; and his 'lord of misrule,' and head of New England's first 'schoole of Atheisme,' escaped without, so far as could be discovered, even a rebuke for his misdeeds." And yet this was not an age when offences were likely to be condoned or lightly punished. The inference is certainly strong that Bradford's charges were found to be too trivial or too much exaggerated to be made the foundation for legal process, and "that unworthy man and instrumente of mischeefe, Morton," was almost immediately found domiciled in Allerton's house in Plymouth, brought over, as Bradford admits, "as it were to nose them." From Plymouth Morton returned to Mount Wollaston, and was soon embroiled with Endicott in his controversy with the "old planters." Required, in common with the other "old planters," to subscribe the articles drawn up by Skelton, to the effect "that in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as politifical, the tenor of God's word should be followed," on pain and penalty of banishment, he refused to set his hand to these papers without the proviso, "So that nothing be done contrary or repugnant to the laws of the kingdom of England." Thus were the very words of the royal charter made use of in thwarting the establishment of the Massachusetts Theocracy. Morton also refused compliance to the dictation of Endicott with reference to trading with the natives. For a time he was unmolested. But Endicott was not a man to forget one so open in his opposition to the Massachusetts "Church and State." Apprehended by order of the court, "set into the bilboes," his house burned before his eyes, "that the habitation of the wicked should no more appear in Israel," sent to England in a ship, as Adams states it, "unseaworthy and insufficiently supplied," we can certainly agree with the editor of the "New English Canaan," though not in the meaning he intends, that this "second arrest of Morton was equally defensible with the first." Certainly, the statement that "he had systematically made himself a thorn in Endicott's side," or that he had "refused to enter into any covenants, whether for trade or governments," or even the charge that "he had openly derided the magistrate and eluded

his messengers," are not a sufficient warrant for the high-handed measures of Endicott and his followers. That even the forms of law were disregarded may be inferred from Mr. Adams's words, that "he was apparently cut short in his defence and protest by impatient exclamations and even bidden to hold his peace and hearken to his sentence." We may further quote Mr. Adams, whose sympathies are wholly with the Puritan authorities, and acquiesce in his judgment of the proceedings of the so-called "court": "Nothing was said in the sentence of any disregard of authority or disobedience to regulation. No reference was made to any illicit dealings with the Indians or to the trade in fire-arms. Offences of this kind would have justified the extreme severity of a sentence which went to the length of ignominious physical punishment, complete confiscation of property, and banishment; leaving only whipping, mutilation, or death, uninflicted. No such offences were alleged. Those which were alleged, on the contrary, were of the most trivial character. They were manifestly trumped up for the occasion. The accused had unjustly taken away a canoe from some Indians; he had fired a charge of shot among a troop of them who would not ferry him across a river, wounding one and injuring the garments of another; he was 'a proud, insolent man, against whom a multitude of complaints were received for injuries done by him both to the English and the Indian.' Those specified, it may be presumed, were examples of the rest. They amount to nothing at all, and were afterwards very fitly characterized by Maverick as mere pretences." It was "a serious blunder," Mr. Adams confesses, to send Morton to England; but "the Massachusetts magistrates had made up their minds before he stood at their bar." They "proposed to purge the country of him," and in doing it they regarded, as in other cases, neither law nor right.

In England Morton naturally sought redress. His Puritan foes had underestimated his abilities, and they soon found reason to tremble for themselves. It was in evidence that "the ministers and people did continually rail against the state, church and bishops," and among the men of note arrayed against the Puritan theocracy was the celebrated Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. To Morton's testimony, and that of others who, like him, had felt the relentless persecutions of the Puritans, was added this significant fact, that Endicott had dared to cut the red cross from the standard of England. The apologists for the Puritan settlers were styled "imposterous knaves." Winslow was imprisoned, and the charter, which had been surreptitiously taken to Massachusetts, was declared void. Morton was in a fair way to be avenged.

It was at this juncture that the "New English Canaan" appeared. Bradford, with characteristic strength of expression, is pleased to style it as "an infamous and scurrilous booke against many godly and cheefe men of the cuntry; full of lyes and slanders, and fraught with profane callumnies against their names and persons, and the ways of God." Written before the close of 1635, the "New English Canaan" was printed at Amsterdam, by Jacob Frederick Stam, in 1637. It was reprinted by Peter Force, in the second volume of his "Tracts on American History." Mr. Force, following the "Bibliothecæ Americæ Primordia," of White Kennett, erroneously assigns the publication to the year 1632. This is disproved by internal evidence. It was not entered in the "Stationers' Register," in London, until November 18, 1633, and was, doubtless, incomplete at that time. Copies appear to have been issued with the imprint "Printed for Charles Greene, and are sold in Paul's Churchyard." The work is of exceeding rarity.

In the summer of 1643 Morton again appears in New England, and at Plymouth. The civil war had begun. Gorges was a royalist, and it may have been in the interests of the king that this restless churchman and politician revisited the scenes of his earlier experiences and trials. Edward Winslow, whom eight years before he had "clapte up in the Fleete," on the 11th of September, wrote to Winthrop as follows: "Concerning Morton, our governor gave way that he should winter here, but before as soon as winter breaks up. Captain Standish takes great offence thereat, especially that he is so near him at Duxbury, and goeth sometimes a fowling in his ground. He cannot procure the least respect amongst our people, liveth meanly at four shillings per week, and content to drink water, so he may diet at that price. But admit he hath a protection, yet it were worth the while to deal with him till we see it." Winslow proceeds to style him one of "the arrantest known knaves that ever trod on New England shore,"—devoted "to the ruin of the country,"—"this serpent," and "the odium of our people." Winslow feared lest "God, who hath put him in our hands," might make them "suffer for it" if they fostered him.

In June, 1644, Morton was in the vicinity of Caseo Bay. In August he was in Rhode Island, advocating his royalist views, and indulging, as Coddington wrote to Winthrop, in "bitter complaints," that "he had wrong in the Bay [to the] value of two hundred pounds." He professed his willingness to "let it rest till the governor came over to right him, and did intimate he knew whose roasts his spits and jacks turned." Five weeks later, on the 9th of September, he was in custody in Boston. We turn to Mr. Adams for his explanation or extenuation of this arrest. His account of the transaction is as follows:—

"The prisoner now arraigned before the magistrates had, fourteen years before, been arrested and banished; he had been set in the stocks, all his property had been confiscated, and his house had been burned down before his eyes. He had been sent back to England, under a warrant, to stand his trial for crimes it was alleged he had committed. In England he had been released from imprisonment in due course of law. Having now returned to Massachusetts, he was brought before the magistrates, 'that the country might be satisfied of the justice of our proceedings against him.' As the result of this proceeding, which broke down for want of proof, the alleged offender is again imprisoned, heavily fined, and narrowly escapes a whipping."

There is a grim sarcasm in this *résumé* of the case, of which Mr. Adams, in his anxiety to befriend the cause of the Massachusetts authorities, is evidently unconscious.

The sequel is soon told. Kept "in prison about a year in expectation of further evidence out of England," as Winthrop informs us, he was finally arraigned, and "fined one hundred pounds and set at liberty." "Old and crazy," Winthrop styles him; "imprisoned manie moneths and laide in irons to the decaying of his limbs," as he complains in his petition to his oppressors for release, the only mercy meted out to him by these vindictive men of Massachusetts, was to refrain from the infliction of "corporal punishment upon him," and to connive at his removal to Maine, where, "poor and despised," he shortly died. It will require a more trenchant pen than that of Mr. Adams to refute the charge that Morton's churchmanship did not enter into the account in the vindictive treatment he received from the Puritans, or to prove that he was not unfairly dealt with in life and most foully slandered when dead, by the men who persecuted him to the bitter end.

In connection with Winthrop's testimony to the devotion of Maverick to the Indians when sick and dying, it should be noted that in the manuscript there appears to have been an attempt at the erasure of the epithet "worthy of a *perpetual* remembrance." We append the words of Mr. Savage, Winthrop's editor, "that Maverick was not in full communion with our churches, was not, we may hope, the cause of striking a pen through this honorable epithet. No man seems better entitled by his deeds to the character of a Christian. The MS. appears to testify that the mutilation was not Winthrop's."—*Note to Savage's Ed. of Winthrop's History*, I., p. 143.

In the "Memorial History of Boston" (I., pp. 83–86), Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., gives, in his chapter on "The Earliest Settlement of Boston Harbor," an interesting account of Blaxton, to which Mr. Justin Winsor contributes annotations of great value. Dr. De Costa's monograph on "William Blackstone in his relation to Massachusetts and Rhode Island" (New York, 1880) is a reprint of articles originally published in "The Churchman" newspaper, and is interesting and accurate. A pamphlet published in Pawtucket, R.I., 1855, by S. C. Newman, bears the following title: "An address delivered at the formation of the Blackstone Monument Association, together with the preliminaries and proceedings at Study Hill, July 4, 1855." This address eulogizes the first settler of Boston, and gives many interesting details of his life and labors. No history of Boston can ignore the existence of this amiable recluse and simple-hearted churchman. His name must live forever with that of the city of which he was the earliest inhabitant.

We cite from "The Memorial History of Boston" (I., p. 114) the following notice of the organization of "The First Church in Boston":—

"Here, in Charlestown, on the 30th of July, six weeks after their landing at Salem, after appropriate religious exercises, Governor Winthrop, Deputy-Governor Dudley, Isaac Johnson, and John Wilson adopted and signed the following simple, but solemn church covenant:—

"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in obedience to his holy will, and divine ordinances: We, whose names are here underwritten, being by his most wise and good providence brought together into this part of America, in the Bay

of Massachusetts, and desirous to unite into one congregation or church, under the Lord Jesus Christ, our head, in such sort as becometh all those whom he hath redeemed, and sanctified to himself, do hereby solemnly and religiously, as in his most holy presence, promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the rule of the Gospel, and in all sincere conformity to his holy ordinances, and in mutual love and respect to each other, so near as God shall give us grace.'

Jo: Winthrop

John Wilson

Isa: Johnson

Tho: Dudley

AUTOGRAPHS OF THE SIGNERS.

"The church thus formed is now known as the 'First Church of Boston.' Winthrop, in his 'History' (i., pp. 36-38), thus records the completion of the organization the following month:—

"Friday, 27. We of the congregation, kept a fast, and chose Mr. Wilson our teacher, and Mr. Nowell an elder, and Mr. Gager and Mr. Aspinwall, deacons. We used imposition of hands, but with this protestation by all, that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England.' The Rev. John Wilson was a graduate at King's College, Cambridge. He was 'ordained' again the following year (1632), as appears from Winthrop (i., pp. 114, 115), November 22. 'A fast was held by the congregation of Boston, and Mr. Wilson (formerly their teacher) was chosen pastor, and [Thomas] Oliver, a ruling elder, and both were ordained by imposition of hands, first by the teacher and the two deacons, (in the name of the congregation) upon the elder, and then by the elder and the deacons upon the pastor.'"

Dr. Henry Martyn Dexter, in his admirable volume, entitled "Congregationalism, as seen in its Literature," gives us further light upon what he styles "the curious change which the New England air wrought." Besides citing the words of John Higginson, as given by Cotton Mather in the "Magnalia," as follows:—

"We will not say as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, Farewell Babylon! Farewell Rome! But we will say, Farewell dear England! Farewell the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there! We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England; though we cannot but separate from the Corruptions in it; but we go to practise the positive Part of Church Reformation, and propagate the Gospel in America." Dr. Dexter calls attention to the fact that "the company which came over to Salem in 1629 was non-conformist, but not separatist, in its tastes and intentions. So rigid, in fact, on this point was the policy of the New England Company, that the Rev. Ralph Smith, who afterwards became the first pastor on this side of the sea of the church at Plymouth, having desired passage in the ships with the Salem people, and his request having been granted, and it afterwards coming to the knowledge of the Governor and Council of the Company that his views inclined towards separatism, or, as they phrased it, that he had a 'difference of judgm' in some things from o' ministers,' it was at first thought best to forbid his coming, but afterwards judged better to let him come, with the order that vñless hee wilbe conformable to o' governm', yo^u suffer him not to remaine w^hin the limitts of o' graunt.'" Quoting the strong expressions of the "Arbella" letter, Dr. Dexter proceeds to state that "the Rev. George Phillips was one of the signers of this 'Humble Request,' and he acted as a chaplain, preaching twice on Sunday, and catechising on board of the "Arbella," during the voyage over; and yet, within sixteen days after

his landing, we find him privately telling Deacon Doctor Fuller, who had been again summoned from Plymouth to attend the sick among these new-comers, that 'if they will have him stand minister, by that calling which he received from the prelates in England, he will leave them;' and Winthrop — another signer — hoping that the Plymouth church will 'not be wanting in helping them' toward their necessary church organization; and four weeks later we find Fuller, who had been at Mattapan, letting blood and talking polity till he was weary, writing from Salem to Bradford and Brewster, that after counselling with Winslow, Allerton, and himself, and with the Salem brethren, Winthrop's company had decided to form a church by covenant on the next Friday, and that the company do 'earnestly entreat that the church at Plymouth would set apart the same day' for fraternal prayers that God would 'establish and direct them in his ways.' — *Congregationalism, etc.*, p. 417.

The development from non-conformity to separatism, under the persuasive influences of the Plymouth settlers, proved easy and speedy. The Rev. John Cotton had advised the Massachusetts settlers "that they should take advice of them at Plymouth, and should do nothing to offend them;" and, in accordance with the advice thus had, a separation from the Church was effected almost as soon as the New World was fairly reached. In what light this was regarded by the company at home Dr. Dexter informs us. In letters from the home authorities, of date some months later, we find alarm expressed at 'some innovations attempted by yo^r,' with the intimation that they 'viterly disallowe any such passages,' and entreat them to look back upon their 'miscarriage wth repentance;' while they add that they take 'leav to think that it is possible some vndigested counceills haue too sodainely bin put in execucion w^{ch} may haue ill construccion wth the state heere and make vs obnoxious to any adversary. The plain English of all which was, that the patentees in England were surprised and offended that the colonists should so suddenly and so widely have departed from the Church as by law established; and were apprehensive of the royal displeasure therefor, and of consequent harm to the secular interests they were seeking to promote." — p. 419. In the words of Cotton, as addressed to Skelton, we have the whole story simply told: "Yon went hence of another judgment and I am afraid your change hath sprung from New Plymouth."

In 1882 an interesting and most valuable contribution to our knowledge of the pioneer mission-priest of Maine appeared under the following title:—*The Jordan Memorial. Family Records of the Rev. Robert Jordan, and his Descendants in America. Compiled by Tristram Frost Jordan.* (Boston, 1882.) From this painstaking and accurate work we cite the following introductory notice of its subject:—

"The Rev. Robert Jordan, a priest of the Church of England, came to Maine about the year 1640. In that year he became the successor of the Rev. Richard Gibson. It is evident that he found but little countenance as a representative of the Church of England. The exercise of his functions led to imprisonment, and he sought a maintenance by the employment of his talents in the way of business. Marrying Sarah, the daughter of John Winter, prominent in the settlement of the Spurwink river, and himself a large proprietor and merchant, he succeeded to a portion of Winter's estates, and developed great capacities as a manager and trader. For many years he held a prominent position in all the affairs of Richmond's Island and the adjacent region, and the early history of Maine shows him to have been a man able to conduct difficult enterprises, and to administer important trusts at a time when the unsettled condition of a new country, the imperfect execution of the laws, and the terrors of warfare with savage Indians, were combined and formidable obstacles to success. The nature and magnitude of the trusts committed to him, the journeys, law-suits, and contests to which he was subjected, and the fact that, at the conclusion of a long life, he left to numerous heirs a large and very valuable estate, sufficiently exhibit him as a man of no ordinary powers."

It is evident that the testimony of Edward Godfrey, who was long associated with Jordan as a magistrate, given in a letter to the authorities at home under date of March 14, 1660, that he was "equal with any in Boston," and that he was "an orthodox divine of the Church of England, and of great parts and estate," is fully borne out by the records of the time. As Godfrey proceeds, we may not doubt but that "he was conceded by all to be an active, enterprising man, placed by education above the mass of the people with whom he connected himself."

From the Jordan Memorial we have, with the author's kind permission, taken the illustrations on p. 106.

CHAPTER VII.

THE COLLEGE AT WILLIAMSBURG AND PRESIDENT BLAIR.

TOO great praise can hardly be ascribed to the members of the Virginia Company of London, when we remember their unflagging zeal for the introduction of religion and culture into their transatlantic domain. With them the propagation of the faith, and the support of that faith by the institutions of learning, and that, too, under the care and nurture of the Church of Christ, were objects for which they labored assiduously. In the many resolutions on their private records, — providentially discovered after years of forgetfulness, to attest this faith and zeal; in their instructions to the governors they sent out; in the annual sermons they listened to in the Bow Church, and applauded to the echo, from the most famous preachers of the day, such as the noted Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Donne, and others of like spirit and prominence; in their personal gifts and wise administration of the charity of the nation and the Church, — they deserved well of posterity. *Non sibi, sed aliis*, was the motto of their lives and labors; and the names of the Ferrars, of Sandys, of Thorpe, of Copeland, and the Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's friend and patron, must ever be inseparably connected with the introduction of letters as well as religion upon our shores. Nor should it be forgotten, in connection with the mention of these honored names and all we owe their memory for their actual efforts and successes and their ever higher and holier intentions in behalf of the Church and cause of Christ in America, that on the James river, where now a few mouldering ruins of church and fort recall the historic past, George Sandys, son of an Archbishop of York, and treasurer of the colony, completed in moments "snatched from the howers of night and repose," his "Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologiz'd, and Represented in Figures," which, with the "First Book of Virgil's Æneid," was the first poetical offering to the Old World from the New. In view of this service to letters and literature, well may old Anthony Wood hold that the author's "memorie" should

"a relique be
To be ador'd by all posteritie."

It was a dark day both for Church and college, as well as for the commonwealth itself, when, shortly after the Indian massacre, the proprietary government was dissolved by the arbitrary exercise of the royal prerogative. Years passed, and in the midst of the trials preceding and attending the civil war in England, in which the colony bore its part, there was no further mention of a college in Virginia

until the year 1660-61, when the "Grand Assembly," held at James City, on the 23d of March, amidst the rejoicings attending the restoration of church and monarchy at home and in the colony, passed an act entitled "Provision for a Colledge," as follows: —

Whereas the want of able and faithful ministers in this country deprives us of those great blessings and mercies that alwaies attend upon the service of God; which want, by reason of our great distance from our native country, cannot in probability be alwaies supplied from thence; Be it enacted, That for the advance of learning, education of youth, supply of the Ministry, and promotion of piety, there be land taken upon purchases for a colledge and free schoole, and that there be, with as much speede as may be convenient, houseing erected thereon for entertainment of students and schollers.

At the same session of the Assembly a further act was adopted, quite in the spirit of the action of the House of Burgesses half a century before, entitled "A petition in behalf of the Church," in these words: —

Be it enacted, That there be a petition drawn up by this Grand Assembly to

William Berkeley

the King's Most Excellent Majestie, for his letters pattents, to collect and gather the charity of well disposed people in England, for the erecting of colledges and schooles in this country, and also for his Majestie's letters to both Universities of Oxford and Cam-

bridge to furnish the Church here with ministers for the present, and this petition be recommended to the Right Honorable Governor, Sir William Berkeley.

Further action in support of this plan for "the colledge" in Virginia is recorded under the same date, in the following preamble and resolution: —

Whereas, for the advancement of learning, promoting piety, and provision of an able and successive ministrie in this countrie, it hath been thought fit that a colledge of students of the liberal arts and sciences be erected and maintayned; in pursuance whereof his Majestie's Governor, Council of State and Burgesses of the present Grand Assembly have severally subscribed several considerable sums of money and quantities of tobacco (out of their charity and devotion) to be paid to the Honorable Grand Assembly, or such treasurer or treasurers as they shall now, or their successors hereafter at any time appoint, upon demand, after a place is provided and built upon for that intent and purpose; it is ordered, that the commissioners of the severall county courts do, at the next followinge courts in their severall countys, subscribe such sums of money and tobacco toward the furthering and promoting the said persons and necessary worke, to be paid by them or their heirs, as they shall think fitt, and that they also take the subscriptions of such other persons at their said courts who shall be willing to contribute toward the same. And that after such subscriptions taken, they send orders to the vestrys of the severall parishes in their severall countys for the subscriptions of such inhabitants and others who have not already subscribed, and that the same be returned to Francis Morrison, Esq.

Thus do we find the Church and the college again, as from the first, in fact, in closest connection. The troubled days of the Puritan rule — felt, indeed, but lightly in the "Old Dominion," where Church and State alike resisted the edicts of the English Commonwealth, when all other opposition had been crushed out, but yet felt — had passed, and in the

reëstablishment of the authority of the Crown and the Common Prayer, there were these initial measures thought of for the establishment of "a colledge of the liberal arts."

The following year the act of the preceding session was reënacted, and, although in consequence of fresh troubles, in the colony, and the "rebellion" of Bacon, which for a time engrossed all thought, these endowments and subscriptions, coupled with the legislative approval, were not followed by immediate and noticeable results, still we find from the preamble to the royal charter, granted, in 1693, to William and Mary College, that a site was actually selected, which was afterward changed, doubtless after some trial as to its fitness for collegiate use, to that of Williamsburg.

Thus "the Colledge" was created by legislative act, and endowed by individual and public charity, as early as 1660-61. Possibly there may have been at "Townsend's Land," the site already referred to as originally named in the charter of 1693, and doubtless purchased with the original subscriptions authorized in 1660-61, some earnest of the future College of William and Mary. Be this as it may, the action of the Assembly, and the favorable reception accorded to the plan throughout the colony, are gratifying proofs of a wide-spread interest in church education at this early date.

In the year 1685 the Rev. James Blair, a graduate of one of the Scottish Universities, and a priest of the (Episcopal) Church in Scotland, came over to Virginia at the suggestion of Dr. Compton, the Bishop of London, and became the rector of Henrico. Here he continued in the exercise of his ministry for nine years, removing thence to Jamestown, and finally to Bruton parish, that he might be near and useful to the college which owed its very corporate existence to his zeal and patient toil. Traditions of the earlier promise of Henrico, the scene of his first ministerial labors in Virginia, may have inspired the restless brain of this indefatigable clergyman to plan the realization of these hopes of the past. In any event, in 1688-89 the further sum of twenty-five hundred pounds sterling was subscribed towards the establishment of "The Colledge" by a few wealthy Virginians, aided by the benevolence of some English merchants. The Colonial Assembly, in 1691, approved the scheme, and sent the Rev. Mr. Blair to England to solicit a charter from the crown. In these efforts, both in Virginia and in England, the assistance of the lieutenant-governor, Francis Nicholson,

James Blair

RO. BOYLE

was freely given, and no little encouragement was found in the will of the Hon. Robert Boyle, Esq., dated July 18, 1691, which directed his executors, "after debts and legacies paid," to dispose of the residue of his personal estate "for such charitable and pious uses as they in their discretion should think fit." These executors agreed to lay out five thousand four hundred pounds sterling in land, and to apply the yearly rent thereof "toward propagating the Christian religion

amongst Infidels," and after some delays, assigned the annual rents of their purchase, subject to a charge in perpetuity of ninety pounds per annum to be paid to the company for Propagating the Gospel in New England, to the president and professors of the College of William and Mary, in Virginia, for the maintenance and education of Indian pupils. The agency of the Rev. Mr. Blair in securing both the charter and this appropriation may be inferred from the interesting letters we print from the original MSS. in the Library of the Bishop of London at Fulham. They were addressed to the governor of the colony, whose unfriendly offices, at a later date, were made the subject of more than one "memorial" for his removal, addressed to the home authorities by the zealous commissary:—

LONDON, Decr. 3d, 1691.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOR: In my last from Bristol I gave your Honour an account of our passage, our landing in Ireland, my passage from thence to Bristol, with all the news I had then heard. This letter I left with M^r. Henry Daniel, who promised to take care of it & to send it by a ship that he said was there, almost ready to sail from Bristol to Virginia. M^r. Randolph, of New England, & M^r. Sherwood, who are now both bound for Virginia, will save me the trouble of writing news, so that I shall need only to give your Honour an account of my proceedings in the affair of the College. When I came first to London, which was the first day of September, there were many things concurred to hinder my sudden presenting of the address about the College, for M^r. Jeffreys was in Wales & did not come to Town to present the address upon their majesties' accession to the crown; the Bishop of London thought it not so proper to present an address about business; then the King was in Flanders; my friend, the Bishop of Salisbury, was at Salisbury; the Bishop of St. Asaph at his diocese in Wales, and before M^r. Jeffreys came to Town the Bishop of London was taken very sick, so that for a month's time he was not able to stir abroad; upon all which accounts I found it necessary to delay in the beginning, for which I had one reason, which was enough of itself if there had been no more, and that was that I found the court so much altered, especially among the Bishops (who were the most proper persons for me to apply myself to), that really I found myself obliged to take new measures from what I had proposed to myself. The Bishop of London was at this time under a great cloud, and mighty unwilling to meddle in any court business, for notwithstanding his great merit from the present government, he had been passed by in all the late promotions, & the two archbishopricks had been bestowed upon two of his own clergy, viz., D^r. Tillotson & D^r. Sharp, so y^t notwithstanding the Bishop of London's great kindness to Virginia, yet I found he was not at this time in so fit circumstances to manage a business at court as we expected. I found that the Archbishop of Canterbury was the man who was wholly entrusted by the King and Court for all Ecclesiastical affairs, & I was told by everybody who had skill in Business that it was absolutely necessary to get him to be our friend. Thus the time past on, & I did nothing but make friends in private against the King's coming over, which was expected about the beginning of October, but happened not till the 19th of that month.

All this while I waited duely on the Bishop of London, as knowing well that whenever this business came to be done he must appear cordially in it, or else no interest that I could make could prevail to get it done without him, it belonging so entirely to his province. I both discoursed him at large, and plyed him with memorials till I got him to be very perfect in the business of the College, but at the same time I disliked the method in which he was going to put it, which was this. He advised me to put in the address by way of petition to the King in Council, & the council he said would defer it to the committee for plantations where he did not doubt but that it would pass. I told his Lordship that I never doubted the obtaining of the charter, but the great difficulty would be in obtaining a gift of such things from his Majesty as we had a mind to ask for the College, and that in order to this, the best way seemed to me to be to engage the Bishops about Court zealously in the thing & to get the King so prepared that when the address was presented to him he should consult the Bishops in it, it being an Ecclesiastical affair, & that by

their advice the whole business should be approved by his Majesty & all promises for the encouragement of it that we had a mind to ask, & then at last, if it was necessary, that it might be brought before the Committee of Plantations to see what they had to say against it, but for the council and the Committee of Plantations to be the first meddlers & contrivers of the business I did not like it, because as his Lordship told me himself the church of England party was the weakest in the council, & if there is any of the revenue to be spared the courtiers are more apt to beg it for themselves than to advise the bestowing of it upon any publick use. But all that I could say could not prevail with the Bishop of London to have the business managed in this manner with the King himself. This was the first week in October when the King was daily expected, & I was really in a great deal of trouble & knew not how to help myself, when by God's good providence, by means of a minister of my acquaintance, I was introduced to Dr. Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, one thought to be as much in favour with the Queen as any Bishop in England. I found the Bishop of Worcester exceeding well prepared to receive me kindly. The very first word he said to me was that he was very glad of this opportunity of being acquainted with me, that he had heard a great deal of me from the Bishop of London, of good things I had done and still designed to do for the Church in America, & he freely proffered to do me all the service that lay in his power.

After some discourse with him I found that we had already run into one error, & seemed like to run into another. The first was, that all this time we had neglected the Queen, who he assured me would be the best friend that I could find in a business of this nature, as being a person that is a very great encourager of all works of charity. The other was that, as I told him, we intended to bring it before the council & committee of Plantations, which he assured me, was the ready way to spoil all. For the first I had this to say, that by my instructions I was to depend upon the Bishop of London, who presently after my coming to London was taken sick and was but just now beginning to stir abroad again. I desired him to be so kind as to acquaint her majesty with it, & withal to ask whether her majesty would have the address presented to her, or whether we must wait for his majesty's coming, who was now expected every minute. He promised me that he would do it, & for the other wrong step we were like to make I was as much convinced of it as he could be, but I showed him the difficulty and begged that he would make use of his interest with the Bishop of London to persuade him to take another course. About the same time I received a letter from the Bishop of Salisbury (whose assistance I had desired) with one enclosed for the Archbishop of Canterbury, wherein he recommended me & the business of our college to his Grace. And upon my address to him I was received very kindly; he told me that he remembered me since I was with the master of the rolls. He heard me very patiently discourse the business of our college, and enquired concerning the state of our clergy in Virginia; he assured me that he would do me all the kindness that he could in my affair, & desired me to draw him up a couple of memorials, one about the college, and another about the clergy, and withal told me that if I would follow his advice he did not question but the business would do very well. He told me I must have patience for the King at his first coming would be full of his Parliament business, but if I would leave it to him he would tell me when was the proper time to deliver the address, & would before hand prepare his majesty. He was utterly against the making of it a council business, and promised me to talk with the Bishop of London in it, and to shew him the necessity of managing it first with the King himself. Both these Bishops were as good as their words, for the Bishop of Worcester opened the business of the college to the Queen who seemed to like it extraordinarily, promised to assist in recommending it to the King, but ordered that the address should not be presented till the King came himself. And the Archbishop took an occasion to speak to the Bishop of London about it in the presence of the Bishop of Worcester. They all commended the thing & for the right managing of it, the Archbishop proposed that the King should be prepared and then the address delivered to him, & if he thought fit to make a council business of it he might. The Archbishop desired leave of the Bishop of London to manage it with the King, to which the B^p of London willingly assented to & so the thing was put again into a right method. The Archb^p told me afterwards that he never saw the King take anything better than he did the very first proposal of our college, & that he promised frankly if I could find any thing in that country which was fit for him to give towards it he would give it. After which I made it my whole business to wait upon those Bishops & to give them memorials of my affair. I have

already writ out three quires of paper in this sort of work, and all things seem to be in a right disposition towards it.

After the heat of the parliament business was a little over, the Archbishop got the King himself to name a day for presenting the address. It was Nov^r. 12th, in the Council chamber, before the council sat. I was introduced by the Archbishop of Canterbury & my Lord Ellingham (the Bishop of London should have been there, but was that day taken again with a fit of the stone). I kneeled down & said these words, "Please your majesty, here is an humble supplication from the Government of Virginia for your majesty's charter to erect a free school & college for the education of their youth," & so I delivered it into their hand. He answered, "Sir, I am glad that that colony is upon so good a design, & I will promote it to the best of my power." The King gave it to the principal Secretary, my Lord Nottingham, at whose office, within two days, I had it again, with this account from Mr. Warre, my Lord's Secretary, that the King had ordered me to give in to the Bishop of London, both a scheme of the college, and an account what was expected of him toward the encouragement of it; & if I could concert the matter with the Archbishop and the Bishop of London, then it should be brought before the committee for plantations, & pass, if they had nothing to object against it. The parliament sits so close that it is an hard matter to find anybody at leasure, yet I persuaded the Bishop of London, on Wednesday last to come for half an hour to his chamber at Whitehall, where I presented & read to him a memorial I had prepared for his majesty's use, & the Archbishop & he were to wait an opportunity to speak to the King about it. Every one thinks it is in so good a way that it cannot well miscarry. I make it my whole business to wait upon it, & if I hear further before the ships go, your honour may expect another line about it. I find there will be a great deal of difficulty in finding of able masters, & yet I am sensible the life of the business lies in this. In England their masters of their colleges have a much easier life than is designed for the masters and professors of our college in Virginia. I can have several young men that are fit enough to be ushers, but cannot perswade any of the Eminent, experienced masters to go over. I have two in my eye that are very fit for it, if I can prevail with them to undertake it.

There was one thing which was forgot in my instructions (and it was my fault, for I was not sensible of the necessity of it at this time), that is that I should have been ordered to provide a president of the college at the same time with the schoolmaster & usher. I thought y^t at first a Grammar school, being the only thing we could go upon, a good Schoolmaster & Usher were enough to manage that. But the Bishop of London and some other Bishops and a great many other skillfull men whom I have consulted, have undeceived me, & persuaded me that the president of the college ought to be the first man of all the masters we provided for it. Their reasons are these: First, that the good success of the whole business depends upon the setting up & executing of a good discipline at first both among masters & Scholars, which, if it be left wholly to the Schoolmaster, he will be sure to make it easy enough for himself, & will contrive to lead the scholars in such a method as will keep them a great deal longer at school than they needed to be kept, only for his own advantage. Most of the masters here in England keep their scholars seven years at the Latin, which might be as well taught in four if they pleased. 2nd, It may so happen y^t the school master & usher may want as much to be instructed themselves as any of the scholars. . . .

LONDON, Feb^r. 27, 1691-2.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR: By the Virginia fleet which put to sea about six weeks ago, I sent you a whole packet of letters, which if they are come to hand will give you a very particular account of what I am doing here. Since that time my patience has been sufficiently exercised, for our college business (as indeed all business whatsoever), has been at a stand, the King being so wholly taken up with the thoughts of the war & the transportation of the household & the army, that for a long time he allowed not the Lords of the Treasury to lay any other business before him till all affairs of that kind were dispatched. There was another reason too why my business was delayed, & y^t was that my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, who is the person I depend upon for managing of it with the King & Queen, was for five weeks frozen up at Lambeth so that he could neither get to Court nor Parliament but by coming round by the bridge, which he found to be so long and so bad a way that he choose for the most part to stay at home. But to

make up this loss of time there happened two accidents in it, by which I believe I shall get £500 to our college, of which I should not have had one farthing if I had been out of the way. M^r Boyle died about the beginning of the last month, & left a considerable Legacy for pious uses, which, when I understood, I made my interest with his executors by means of the Bishop of Salisbury, and I am promised £200 of it for our college. The other is y^t Davis & his partners having been long kept in suspense about that money which Captain Roe seized in Virginia, & their friends being quite tired interceding for them, & no money was like to come at last, I undertook to get them their money provided they would give a considerable share of it to our Virginia College. They engaged to give 300 pound, & I presently employed the Archbishop of Canterbury & Bishop of London who have so managed it with the council that the council is very glad of the expedient & I am assured it will take effect. This day their petition was read before a committee for plantations & I subscribed it signifying that the petitioners had devoted £300 of the money towards the carrying on the design of a college in Virginia if they might have an order for the rest, and the thing would have past but y^t the Lords thought they offered too little money; so I am desired to try if I can bring them up to £500. So y^t tho' my main business is not yet finished, yet I make use of my time for some thing else than mere waiting. But I confess the trouble of managing the affair is so vastly great beyond expectation, that I doubt, could I have foreseen it, I should never have had the courage to have undertaken it.

The chief news here since the Virginia fleet sailed is the disgrace of my Lord Marleborough. The reasons of it are not divulged, but it is said he is suspected by the King to have made his peace with France. His place of Lieutenant-General of the English & Scotch forces is bestowed upon Coll. Falmagh, his troop of Guards upon my Lord Colchester, his regiment of fusileers upon L^d George Hamilton, one of Duke Hamilton's Sons, & his place of the bed chamber, for aught I know, is still void. My Lady Marleborough was likewise forbid the court, & the Princess Anne was desired by the Queen to dismiss her from her services, which the Princess took so ill that she has left the cockpit upon it & gone out to live at Sion house. But the news which concerns your Honour most nearly to be informed in is y^t my Lord Effingham has suddenly laid down the Government of Virginia which was immediately conferred upon Sir Edmund Andros who is to sail from hence with all expedition along with Coll. Fletcher, Gov^t of New York. M^r Blathwayt is a going for Flanders with the King's Secretary of War. On Wednesday last the Parliament was adjourned till the 12th of April, & it is expected that it will be adjourned from time to time till the King's return. I received yours of Nov^r 19. shall be carefull of the contents. My Lord Bishop of S^t. Asaph has not yet been in Town, but is now shortly expected being to preach at the chapel on Easter day. I give my service to all my masters of the council & house of Burgesses, & hope to give you shortly a good account of my proceedings in the affair wherewith I am entrusted. This with my prayers for your honour's health & prosperity being all at present, from

Yours, Sir, &c., &c.,

JAMES BLAIR.

Vivid, and amusing even, as are these notices of court intrigues and the intricacies of the paths leading to political preferment and success, it is evident from their perusal that the interests of the College of William and Mary were in safe hands. Dr. Blair, from the time of his coming to Virginia, had been prominent both as a priest and preacher and as a politician as well. His ministry of upwards of half a century was so intimately connected with the history, not only of the city, the college, and the Church, of which he was the commissary and leading divine, that we cannot separate his public and official career from that of a devoted and faithful service of souls. As a preacher he won no little reputation. His four printed volumes of discourses upon our Saviour's "Sermon on the Mount," containing upwards of one hundred sermons, went through two editions in England. The celebrated Waterland published a preface to the second edition, and Doddridge

refers to them with high praise. As specimens of practical divinity, couched in scholarly language, and enforced with earnestness and power, they are worthy of commendation; and in their original delivery before the colonial authorities, and the leaders of the political and fashionable world of Virginia, or as read in the homes and by the hearth-stones of the godly, both in the colony and in the mother-land, they must have had no little influence for good, in advancing the cause of practical and personal holiness they were intended to serve. Few men and few ministers had more difficulties to contend with than the rector of Bruton Parish; but an indomitable will, a tireless persistence, a patience and perseverance almost unexampled, enabled him to surmount all opposition, and to secure for himself and the Church of which he was the representative the respect and sympathy of those with whom he was brought in contact. Brought constantly into conflict with corrupt and tyrannical men, — the arbitrary, and often vindictive, officials sent from England to rule the colonists; fighting manfully the battles of the Church and the college against indifference or obstructiveness in high places; made by his position and prominence the object of envy and malevolent criticism, — we have, both in the annals of the time and in the documents on either side of the controversies in which he was again and again engaged, abundant proofs of his sincerity of purpose, his devotion to his work, and his blamelessness of life. As commissary and representing the vaguely defined Episcopal authority of the Bishop of London, he was constantly hampered by the interference of the governor in his efforts for the maintenance of godly discipline among the clergy of his charge. As President of the "Royal College of William and Mary," as well as its founder, he found himself again and again forced into an attitude of determined opposition to the measures of the representative of the crown, which threatened the loss of chartered rights, or the subordination of the college to the vice-regal will. As a member of the council, brought into intimate and personal relations with the leading men of the province, and representing there the church's interest in debates and in decisions affecting the interests, civil and religious, of the commonwealth, he proved himself to be conscientious and incapable of corruption. One thus pure-minded and devoted to the cause of the Church and crown could not fail of being misrepresented and misunderstood, and of becoming personally obnoxious to a venal or a time-serving administration. That one of his marked ability, his personal influence, and his official position, should, for more than half a century, be so intimately connected with the affairs of Church and State without frequent collisions with those in power, whose schemes he thwarted, and whose malfeasance in office he unsparingly proclaimed, was not to be supposed. The folios of manuscript telling the story of his trials, his labors, his difficulties, and disputes, still on file among the records in England, or reproduced in print in late contributions to our American ecclesiastical annals, are to be numbered by scores and hundreds. That throughout his career he retained the respect and confidence of successive primates and bishops of London, with whom he was in constant and most unreserved communication, attests his character and worth. Accused

again and again by indignant and disappointed officials, or by envious and iniquitous clergymen, he never failed to justify his conduct, and to turn the tables upon his assailants. At the outset of his labors in behalf of the college he was brought in conflict with Andros, who had come from the North, where he had been driven ignominiously from his government, to try his hand in ruling the Virginians. By virtue of his instructions the royal governor was not only the representative of the crown, and consequently the civil head of the province, but he was also the "ordinary," the representative of the crown and Church as well in spiritual things, the commissary being subordinated to him. Against Andros, the fearless commissary, while in England, brought charges in detail, and amply supported his accusations by testimony, representing the governor as an enemy to religion, to the clergy, the Church, and the college. The record of the examination of the commissary before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, with reference to these charges, in which the governor was represented and defended by colonial officials and gentlemen of distinction, is still extant. Two days were spent at Lambeth Palace in this searching investigation, in which the astuteness and ability of Blair appear as more than a match for the four able men arrayed against him. Never was vindication more complete than that of the commissary; never was an indictment more fully sustained than that in which in full detail and with logical precision he assailed the character and conduct of the royal governor. The result was, as might have been anticipated, the commissary was sustained, and Andros was recalled in disgrace. The successor of Andros was Sir Francis Nicholson, elsewhere a friend and patron of the Church, and still remembered for his munificent benefactions towards the erection and support of churches all along the Atlantic coast from Massachusetts to Virginia. Vain, conceited, passionate, and changeable, an affair of the heart, which resulted in an unlooked-for disappointment, made of the governor a madman, of whose conduct both the council, the commissary, and a portion of the clergy complained. Nicholson had been in conflict with Dr. Bray, while Governor of Maryland, and complained of his usage "by a parcel of Black Coats." In his defence he referred with no little bitterness to the Bishop of London's commissaries, whose names are "monosyllables and begin with B."¹; but neither his conduct nor his explanations found favor at home. Again was the commissary successful, and the irascible and lovesick governor was recalled. His successor, Gov. Nott, an amiable and excellent man, died shortly after entering upon his duty, and was followed in 1710 by Col. Spotswood, a man of resolute character and noble bearing, who for some years seconded all the efforts of the commissary on behalf of the Church and the college, and received in turn the commissary's support and sympathy. It was not till nearly ten years had passed that any disagreement arose, and then, as had been always the case, the commissary again triumphed, and the governor was recalled from his post.

¹Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch., I., p. 182.

Meanwhile the college, established with this comprehensive object in view, as expressed in its charter, "to the end that the Church in Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the Gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated in good letters and manners, and that the Christian faith may be propagated amongst the Western Indians, to the glory of Almighty God," was formally opened, and began its beneficent career. Its charter named the commissary as its first president, and appointed the Lord Bishop of London, Dr. Henry Compton, as its first chancellor. Towards the endowment her Majesty contributed out of the quit-rents of the colony, £1,985 14s. 10d.; a penny per pound on all tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland; the office of surveyor-general, with all "its issues, fees, profits, advantages, conveniences, liberties, places, privileges, and preëminences whatsoever;" ten thousand acres of land lying on the south side of Blackwater swamp, and ten thousand acres on Pamunkey Neck, between the forks of York river. The right of representation in the House of Burgesses was also granted to the faculty, who could elect one of their own number, or "one of the better part of the inhabitants of the colony." The college building was planned by Sir Christopher Wren, and was designed "to be an entire square when completed." Professorships of the ancient languages, mathematics, moral philosophy, and divinity were provided for in the charter; and another endowment, called the "Brafferton," the gift of the celebrated Robert Boyle, had for its object the instruction and conversion of the Indians.

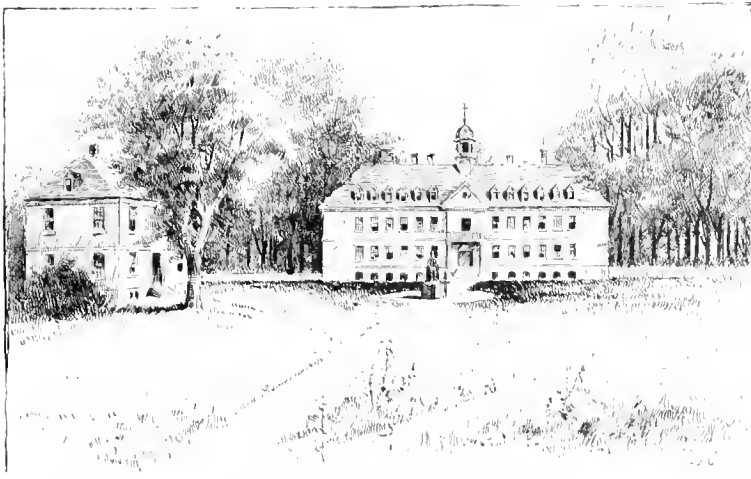
In 1700 the first commencement was held at the College of William and Mary,¹ attracting a great concourse of people. The neighboring planters came in coaches to witness this unwonted spectacle, and other visitors, from the provinces of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and even from distant New York, arrived in sloops, or by other means of conveyance, it being, as the chronicler tells us, "a new thing in that part of America to hear graduates perform their Exercises." Even some of the Indians, to whom commissioners had been sent to secure the attendance of a number of their children at the new college, upon the foundation established by Boyle, had the curiosity to join the crowd at Williamsburg upon this interesting occasion, and "the whole country rejoiced, as if they had some relish of learning." Two years later the death of King William was made the occasion of a suitable observance in the college hall, in the presence of the Governor, the Council, the House of Burgesses, and others. A "Pastoral Colloquy in English Verse" was spoken by some of the younger scholars. Other scholars spoke a "pastoral" upon the "succession of her Sacred Majesty Queen Ann," while the commissary delivered a "funeral oration," which excited the governor's ire, in consequence, as Dr. Blair asserts, of his "making use of that opportunity to commend the mildness and gentleness of the King's reign, which our great man took to be a tacit reflection on himself for his furious and mad way of government."²

The General Assembly of Virginia was held at "his Majesty's

¹ Campbell's Va., pp. 361, 362.

² Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch., i., p. 125.

Royal College of William and Mary," from 1700 until 1705, when, together with the library and philosophical apparatus, the college building was destroyed by fire. This occurred during the first year of Gov. Nott's administration. "The fire broke out about ten o'clock at night, in a public time. The Governor, and all the gentlemen that were in town, came up to the lamentable spectacle, many getting out of their beds. But the fire had got such power before it was discovered, and was so fierce, that there was no hope of putting a stop to it, and therefore no attempts were made to that end." The college was not rebuilt until Gov. Spotswood's time. To accomplish this end it was found necessary to board the revenues, which else would have gone for salaries, while the president "freely parted"¹ with his



THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY AS IT APPEARED A CENTURY AND A HALF AGO.

salary for this purpose. But during this period of depression the care of the Indians was not forgotten. An expedition against the aborigines, under the command of the gallant Spotswood, resulted, as the governor reported to the General Assembly, in November, 1711, in compelling the Indians "to give pledges of a faithful peace by yielding up several of their chief ruler's children to be educated at our college."² "This fair step towards their conversion," as the governor styled it, which was "the more valuable by how much all attempts of this kind have hitherto proved ineffectual," was undertaken with the conviction, we are assured, that "whilst by kind and gentle means we endeavor to change the savage nature of their youth, they will imbibe with the English language, the true principles of our Excellent Church, from whence will arise two of the greatest benefits, the salvation of many poor souls, and withal the best of securities to our persons and estates, for once make them good Christians

¹ Hist. Coll. Am. Col., Ch. I., p. 183.

² *Ibid.*, p. 129.

and you may confide in them." The worthy governor was as good as his word. At no little pains and personal cost he established an Indian school, at Christanna, on the south side of the Meherrin river, in Southampton county. Here, under the protection of a fort, built on rising ground, in the form of a pentagon and enclosed with palisades, on which five cannon were mounted, and where twelve men kept guard, a school-house was erected. The Rev. Charles Griffin was appointed to the charge of this school, in which, the governor writes to the Bishop of London, there were in 1712 fourteen Indian children and six more expected. In 1716 Mr. Griffin reports to the Bishop of London, as follows:—

We have here a very handsome school built at the charge of the Indian Company at which are at present taught 70 Indian children, and many others from the Western Indians, who live more than 400 miles from hence, will be brought hither in the spring to be put under my care in order to be instructed in the religion of the holy Jesus. The greatest number of my scholars can say the Belief, the Lord's Prayer and Ten Command^t perfectly well, they know that there is but one God and they are able to tell me how many persons there are in the Godhead and what each of those blessed Persons have done for them. They know how many Sacraments Christ hath ordained in his Church and for what end he instituted them. They behave themselves reverently at our daily Prayer and can make their responses; which was no little pleasure to their great and good benefactor the Gov^t., as also to the Rev^d. M. J^r. Cargill, M. Attorney General and many other gentlemen who attended him in his progress hither.¹

The celebrated William Byrd, of Westover, in his "History of the Dividing Line,"² attests the excellence of Griffin, who was "a Man of a good Family who by the innocence of his life, and the sweetness of his temper, was perfectly well qualified for that pious undertaking." Byrd, whose only idea of christianizing the Indians was, as appears from repeated allusions throughout his work, their intermarriage with the settlers, speaks of "the bad success Mr. Boyle's charity has hitherto had towards converting any of these poor Heathens to Christianity." On the return of the pupils to their tribes, whether from the school from Christanna, or from the college at Williamsburg, "they have immediately relapsed into infidelity and barbarism themselves." He adds, that "as they unhappily forget all the good they learn, and remember the ill, they are apt to be more vicious and disorderly than the rest of their Countrymen."³ We cannot but hope that the testimony of the worthy surveyor may have been a little colored by prejudice.

The new building was sufficiently advanced for occupancy by the convention of the clergy, which met in April, 1719, and in 1723 it was completed, the delay arising from the want of means and the scarcity of skilled workmen. The Rev. Hugh Jones, in his "Present State of Virginia," published in 1722, gives the following description of the edifice:—

The College, which looks due east, is double and is one hundred and thirty-six feet long. At the north end runs back a long wing, which is a handsome hall, answerable to which the Chapel is to be built. The building is beautiful and com-

¹Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch., I., pp. 196, 197.

²Dividing Line, I., pp. 74, 75.

³*Ibid.*

modious, being first modelled by Sir Christopher Wren, adapted to the nature of the country by the gentlemen there, and since it was burnt down, it has been rebuilt, nicely contrived and adorned by the ingenious direction of Governor Spotswood, and is not altogether unlike Chelsea Hospital.

The college being fully equipped for its work, the transfer of corporate rights contemplated in the charter was made to the faculty, and the trustees became in form and in fact "the visitors and governors

Thomas Dawson

of the College of William and Mary in Virginia." The first entry in the oldest record book of the faculty begins with the pious invocation, "IN NOMINE DEI, PATRIS, FILII ET

SPIRITUS SANCTI. AMEN." Its presidents were the Commissaries of the Bishop of London till the war of Independence; and the names of Dr. James Blair, William Dawson, William Smith, the historian of Virginia, Thomas Dawson, William Yates, James Horrocks, and John Camm, who filled this honorable post prior to the breaking out of the war, have their place in a list which after the war comprised two Bishops of Virginia, James Madison and John Johns. Thus closely connected with the Church was the nursery of religion and learning from the first.

John Camm

The chapel to which reference has been made, in the quotation from Jones's description of the college buildings, was opened on Wednesday,

James Horrocks

June 28, 1732. The President, Dr. James Blair, preached from the text: "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." Prov. xxii. 6. At this time Will-

iamsburg was a copy of the Court of St. James, the seat of the royal government and of learning. The culturing influences of the college were felt throughout the colony. Its scholars became men of mark in all departments of letters and life. To Washington, William and Mary gave, in his untried youth, the commission by which he bore the surveyor's staff into the trackless wilds of his native State, while the father of his country gave back in turn to her the latest public services of his honored and reflective age. She was the alma mater of Jefferson and Monroe and Tyler, Presidents; of Marshall, Chief Justice; of Peyton Randolph, first President of the American Congress; of Edmund Randolph, who drew up the original draft of the Federal Constitution; of Madison, the first bishop of Virginia, and of countless others, distinguished on the field, at the bar, as divines and men of letters. Her records note the bestowal of academic honors on Benjamin Franklin, who received the degree of A. M., conferred upon him in person on the 2d of April, 1756, — the first instance in which an honorary degree was given by the college. But the highest praise of this ancient institution of learning, second alone in point of years to Harvard, is the testimony of Bishop Meade, the historian of the Church in Virginia. "One thing is set forth in praise of

William and Mary which we delight to record ; namely, that the hopes and designs of its founders and early benefactors in relation to its being a nursery of pious ministers were not entirely disappointed. It is positively affirmed by those most competent to speak that the best ministers in Virginia were those educated at the college and sent over to England for ordination." The names of Indian students educated at "Brafferton" appear in the list of alumni before the breaking out of the war for Independence ; and in connection with the names of Bolling, Byrd, Carter, Harrison, Page, and Randolph, in the class graduated in 1776, are the suggestive names of Baubes, Gunn, and Sampson, who were the last of the long list of aborigines to receive the fruits of the pious bounty of Robert Boyle.

ILLUSTRATIVE AND CRITICAL NOTES.

GEORGE SANDYS was of high social connection in England, his father being Archbishop of York and an elder brother being the Sir Edward Sandys referred to in the text as the treasurer of the Virginia Company. As Tyler, in his "History of American Literature" (i., pp. 51-58), informs us, "At the time of his arrival in America, George Sandys was forty-four years old, and was then well known as a traveller in Eastern lands, as a scholar, as an admirable prose writer, but especially as a poet. His claim to the title of poet then rested chiefly on his fine metrical translation of the first five books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the second edition of which came from the press in that very year (1621) in which the poet sailed away to America in the retinue of Sir Francis Wyatt. This fragment was a specimen of literary workmanship in many ways creditable. The rendering of the original is faithful ; and though in some places the version labors under the burden of Latin idioms and of unmusical proper names, it often rises into freedom and velocity of movement, and into genuine sweetness, ease, and power. 'How great a pity,' perhaps some of his readers thought in 1621, 'that a man of such gifts and accomplishments should banish himself to the savagery of the Virginia wilderness, when, by staying at home, he might give us, in a version so pure and masterful, the remaining ten books of the *Metamorphoses*!' But there was one great poet then in England, Michael Drayton, who did not take so melancholy a view of the departure of George Sandys for Virginia. He, too, wished the translation of Ovid completed by that same deft and scholarly hand ; but he saw no reason why the lamp of letters should not burn on the banks of the James river as well as on those of the Thames. Therefore he addressed to his dear friend a poetical epistle, in which he exhorts him to keep up his literary occupations, even in the rough desert to which he had gone : —

"And, worthy George, by industry and use,
Let's see what lines Virginia will produce ;
Go on with Ovid as you have begun
With the first five books ; let your numbers run
Glib as the former ; so shall it live long,
And do much honor to the English tongue.
Entice the Muses thither to repair ;
Entreat them gently ; train them to that air —
For they from hence may thither have to fly."¹

"These exhortations were not wasted on the gentle poet. His vocation to the high service of letters was too distinct to be set aside even by the privations of pioneer life in Virginia and by the oppressive tasks of his official position there. And yet those privations and those tasks proved to be greater, as it chanced, than

¹ Drayton's Works, Anderson's ed., p. 542.

any human eye had foreseen; for, only a few months after his arrival, namely, in March, 1622, came that frightful Indian massacre of the white settlers along the James river, which nearly annihilated the colony; which drove in panic into Jamestown the survivors from the outlying settlements; which turned the peaceful plantations, just beginning to be prosperous, into an overcrowded camp of half-fed but frenzied hunters, hunting only for red men with rifle (?) and blood-hound, and henceforward for several years living only to exterminate them from the earth. It was under these circumstances,—the chief village thronged with the panic-struck and helpless people, all industry stopped, suspicions, fears, complaints filling the air, his high official position entailing upon him special cares and responsibilities, without many books, without a lettered atmosphere or the cheer of lettered men,—that the poet was to pursue his great task if he was to pursue it at all. It is not much to say that ordinary men would have surrendered to circumstances such as these; George Sandys did not surrender to them; and that he was able during the next few years, robbing sleep of its rights, to complete his noble translation of the fifteen books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, is worthy of being chronicled among the heroisms of authorship. It is probable that Sandys returned to England in 1625; at any rate, in the year 1626 he brought out in London, in a folio volume, the first edition of his finished work; and in his dedication of it to King Charles, he made a touching reference to the disasters in Virginia from which he had only just escaped, and to the great difficulties he had overcome in the composition of the book that he thus laid at his sovereign's feet. He speaks of his translation as "This . . . piece learned by that imperfect light which was snatched from the hours of night and repose. For the day was not mine, but dedicated to the service of your great father, and yourself, which, had it proved as fortunate as faithful in me, and others more worthy, we had hoped, ere many years had turned about, to have presented you with a rich and well peopled kingdom, from whence now, with myself, I only bring this composure: *Inter victrices hederam tibi serpere laurus*. It needeth more than a single denization, being a double stranger; sprung from the stock of the ancient Romans, but bred in the New World, of the rudeness whereof it cannot but parteciate, especially having wars and tumults to bring it to light instead of the muses."

"This production, handed down to us in stately form through two centuries and a half, is the very first expression of elaborate poetry, it is the first utterance of the conscious literary spirit articulated in America. The writings which precede the book in our literary history—the writings of Captain John Smith, of Percy, of Strachey, of Whitaker, of Pory—were all produced for some immediate practical purpose, and not with any avowed literary intentions. This book may well have for us a sort of sacredness as being the first monument of English poetry, of classical scholarship, and of deliberate literary art reared on these shores. And when we open the book, and examine it with reference to its merits, first, as a faithful rendering of the Latin text, and, second, as a specimen of fluent, idiomatic, and musical English poetry, we find that in both particulars it is a work that we may be proud to claim as, in some sense, our own, and to honor as the morning star at once of poetry and scholarship in the New World."

Bishop Burnet, in his "History of his own Times," styles Commissary Blair "a worthy and good man," and this eulogium cannot be gainsaid. His voluminous correspondence, from which the two interesting specimens in the text are quoted, fills many pages of the first volume of the "Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church," edited by the author of this present work, and giving the documentary history of the Virginia Colonial Church. Bishop Meade, in his "Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia," gives frequent references to the life and labors of this "worthy" of the Virginia Church; and, in fact, the story of our ecclesiastical, educational, or literary annals, is incomplete without notices of this eminent divine.

The difference between the commissary and Governor Nicholson gave rise to a memorable controversy, which culminated in the preparation of charges of malfeasance in official duty and personal conduct, especially in the matter of his attachment to Miss Burwell, and his ill-treatment of the Rev. Stephen Fouace, which were transmitted to England, and formed the indictment against him which occasioned his recall. No little feeling was occasioned in the colony, as quite a number of the clergy, with whom the commissary, a strict disciplinarian, was unpopular, espoused the cause of the governor, who had also ingratiated himself with these disaffected clergymen, by taking sides with them against the vestries. A convocation was sum-

moned, and the friends of the governor prepared an answer to the charges made by the commissary and the council. Their meeting was satirized in a ballad, which set forth the unclerical hilarity of the gathering, and depicted the participants in the merrymaking in most unfavorable colors.

This piquant *brochure* soon appeared in London, and contributed towards the downfall of the governor, whose supporters were represented in so disgraceful a light. Although but six of the clergy espoused the side of the commissary, while seventeen arrayed themselves on the side of the governor, the integrity and indomitable energy and perseverance of Dr. Blair triumphed, and upon the complaint signed by six of the council and the commissary, the governor was recalled in August, 1765. After several years of active military service, the governor received the honor of knighthood in 1720, and as governor of South Carolina, Sir Francis Nicholson conducted himself so as to throw a lustre over the closing years of his American career. Returning to England in 1725 he died in March of the following year. His character is summed up by Campbell, the historian of Virginia, as "brave, and not penurious, but narrow and irascible; of loose morality, yet a fervent supporter of the Church." — *History*, p. 369.

The efforts for the instruction of the Indians were productive of but little permanent results, though the names of a number of Indian students appear on the catalogue of the College of William and Mary. In 1754 there were seven scholars at the Indian school. The name of one is found recorded as attending the college in 1764, another in 1765, and two are enrolled in 1769. One appears in 1771, two in 1775, and three in 1776. At Christanna, there were at one time, according to Jones's "Present state of Virginia," seventy-seven Indian children at school, and on the removal of the master, Mr. Charles Griffin, and his school to the college, there continued, from year to year, a number of the natives under instruction. "These children could all read," says Jones, "say their catechism and prayers tolerably well, but this pious Design being laid aside thro' the Opposition of Trade and Interest, Mr. Griffin was removed to the College to teach the Indians instructed there by the Benefaction of the Honourable Mr. Boyle. The Indians so loved and adored him, that I have seen them hug him and lift him up in their arms, and fain would have chosen him for a King of the Saponny Nation." The success so evidently attained at Christanna was not maintained at Williamsburg. In 1728, Col. William Byrd, in the "Westover Manuscripts," laments the "bad success Mr. Boyle's charity has hitherto had towards converting any of these poor heathens to Christianity." "Many children of our neighboring Indians," he proceeds to say, "have been brought up in the College of William and Mary. They have been taught to read and write, and have been carefully instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, till they come to be men. Yet, after they returned home, instead of civilizing and converting the rest, they have immediately relapsed into infidelity and barbarism themselves." This testimony is accordant to that of the Rev. Hugh Jones, who, at the same time, gives them credit for "admirable capacities, when their humors and tempers are perfectly understood."

CHAPTER VIII.

COMMISSARY BRAY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE CHURCH IN MARYLAND.

PRIOR to the founding, on the 27th of March, 1634, of St. Mary's, by the "Pilgrims of Maryland," under the leadership of Leonard Calvert, or even the earlier landing on St. Clement's, and the raising of the Cross after "Mass" had been said on "Lady-day," the 25th March, and the formal occupancy of "Terra Mariæ,¹ in the Name of the Saviour of the World, and the King of England," a settlement had been made by Virginians and churchmen on the "Isle of Kent," on the eastern side of the Chesapeake Bay, at the mouth of Chester river, opposite the city of Annapolis. Here ministered the Rev. Richard James, who, at the age of thirty-three years, embarked for Virginia in August, 1635.² But not only on the Isle of Kent were there churchmen. It is evident, from records and documents still existing, that a large number of the "Pilgrims of Maryland" were members of the National Church of England, and, although no clergyman appears to have been sent over to care for their souls, the ordinances of the reformed faith were not neglected, even at St. Mary's. A chapel was erected, and the more zealous members of the reformed church met from time to time for worship and the reading of sermons. In July, 1638, some "redemptioners,"³ or servants of Captain Cornwaleys, a member of the council, were in charge of a zealous Romanist named William Lewis, in whose house they were quartered. Among the number were Francis Gray and Robert Sedgrave. While reading aloud from Henrie Smith's sermons, where the writer alludes to the Pope as Anti-Christ, and to the Jesuits as Anti-Christian ministers, Lewis interrupted them with the assertion "that it was a falsehood, and came from the devil, as all lies did, and that he that writ it was an instrument of the devil, and he would prove it, and that all Protestant ministers were of the devil," and forbade them reading any more. At the request of Gray, Sedgrave drew up a petition, to be signed by the Church of England members on the following Sunday, at the chapel, couched in the following language:—

Beloved in the Lord, etc. — This is to give you notice of the abuses and scandalous reproaches which God and his ministers doe daily suffer by William Lewis, of St. Maries, who saith that our ministers are the ministers of the divell, and that our books are made by instruments of the divell; and further saith, that those servants

¹ Named for Queen Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I.

² N.E. Hist. Genecal. Register, xv., 144. The Rev. Mr. James may not have been the first, and was not the only, minister of the Church at the Isle of Kent. In the depositions taken in Virginia in 1640, "allowances for ministers" are sworn to as among the expenses incurred on the

island by Claiborne, between the years 1631–1636, inclusive. — *Allen's Maryland Toleration*, p. 25. Allen gives (pp. 29, 30) an interesting account of Mr. James.

³ Settlers who had sold themselves for a term of years to pay the expenses of the voyage over.

which are under his charge shall keepe nor read any booke which doth appertaine to our religion, within the house of the said William Lewis, to the great discomfort of those poor bondmen, which are under his subjection, especially in this heathen country, where no godly minister is to teach and instruct ignorant people in the grounds of religion. And as for people which cometh unto the said Lewis, or otherwise to passe the weeke, the said Lewis taketh occasion to call them into his chamber, and there laboreth with all vehemeny, craft, and sublety to delude ignorant



LORD BALTIMORE.

persons. Therefore, we beseech you, brethren in our Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, that you who have power, that you will doe in what lieth in you to have these absurd abuses and the ridiculous crimes to be reclaimed, and that God and his Ministers may not be so heinously troden downe by such ignominious speeches: and no doubt but he or they, which strive to uphold God's ministers and word, he shalbe recompenced with eternall joy and felicity, to reigne in that eternall kingdome, with Christ Jesus, under whose banner we fight for evermore. (All which words aforesaid, which hath been spoken against Wm. Lewis, the parties hereunder written wilbe deposed when time and opportunity shalbe thought meete.) Chris-

topher Carnoll, Ellis Beache, Ro. Sedgrave, and others which hereafter may be brought forth.¹

On the morning of the sixth Sunday after Trinity, July 1, 1638, Lewis informed Capt. Cornwaleys that some of his servants had prepared a paper with a view of effecting a combination of the Church of

John Harvey

England men in a petition to Sir John Harvey and the Council of Virginia, for the arrest of himself, on the charge of having spoken disrespectfully of the clergy of the Establishment, and forbidden his servants to read authorized productions of divines of the English Church. Secretary Lewger,² himself a convert to the Church of Rome by the persuasions of his friend the celebrated William Chillingworth, was sent for, and, as Sedgrave and Gray were passing the house on their way to the chapel, they were brought face to face with their accuser. Sedgrave acknowledged the preparation of the paper which he had given to Gray, with the purpose of communicating its contents to some of the freemen, through whose intervention the redress of these grievances was expected. At a formal investigation before the governor and secretary the latter pronounced Lewis "guilty of an offensive and indiscreete speech in calling the author of the booke read in his house an instrument of the divill; and in calling Protestant ministers the ministers of the divill;" that he had exceeded his authority in forbidding the reading of "a book otherwise allowed and lawful to be read by the State of England;" adding, "and because these his offensive speeches and other his unseasonable disputations in point of religion, tended to the disturbance of the publique peace and quiett of the colony, and were committed by him against a publique proclamation sett forth to prohibite all such disputes; therefore he fined him 500 weight of tobacco to the Lord of the Province; and to remaine in the Sheriff's custodie untill he found sufficient sureties for his good behaviour in those kinds in time to come."³ The Governor, Leonard Calvert, concurred wholly in this sentence with the Secretary, although both, and Cornwaleys as well, were Roman Catholics themselves.

Leonard Calvert.

¹ Streeter's Papers relating to the Early or Lewgar, is found in Streeter's Papers, quoted History of Maryland. Md. Hist. Soc. Fund above, pp. 218-276. *Vide, also*, pp. 147, 148. Publication No. 9, pp. 212, 213.

² An interesting Memoir of John Lewger,

³ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

In 1642 a petition from the Church of England colonists, or the "Protestant Catholics," as they styled themselves, at St. Mary's, was brought before the Assembly, complaining of Mr. Thomas Gerard, a prominent Roman Catholic, for having taken away the key

John Leuger Secretary.

and removed the books belonging to their chapel. Influential as was the offender his station failed to secure him from being adjudged guilty of

a misdemeanor. Compelled to restore the key and books, and to relinquish all title to them and to the building itself, he was also amerced a fine of 500 lbs. of tobacco "towards the maintenance of the first minister that should arrive."¹

The same year "the chapel of St. Mary's," with other buildings and land adjoining, was purchased "in the name and for the use of the

Tho: Cornwallays.

Lord Proprietary," for the sum of two hundred pounds sterling; but Lord Baltimore refused to complete the purchase on the plea that there "were certain mistakes in the business"² which he proposed to

rectify on his approaching visit to the province. But troubles with the Indians and the political changes at home, consequent upon the overthrow of the monarchy, prevented or interfered with the adjustment of this matter, and we hear nothing more of the "Protestant Catholics" or their chapel. In a few years the proprietary government was overthrown. Officers were appointed of Protestant, if not Puritan, proclivities; a large immigration from Virginia was encouraged; the principles of religious toleration were recognized by legislative enactments, and the pre-



THE BALTIMORE ARMS.

ponderance of Romanists in positions of power or trust was gradually overcome.

Years passed, and in the reëstablishment of the monarchy and the restoration of the authority of the Proprietary in Maryland we find but

¹ Streeter's Papers, pp. 164, 165, 255, 256.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 183, 184.

little mention of the Church, though the records inform us that about the year 1650 the Rev. William Wilkinson, "clerk," fifty years of age, with his wife and family and servants, arrived in the colony and engaged in trade for his support. Notices of his officiating are to be found. It



CECIL, SECOND LORD BALTIMORE.

would seem that Mr. Wilkinson was the first resident clergyman of the Church in the province, other than the ministers of Kent Island, during Clayborne's rule, and prior to the landing of the "Maryland Pilgrims." At length there appear to have been in the colony in the year 1675 three clergymen of the Church of England, and a letter from one of the number, the Rev. John Yeo, of Pautuxent, addressed to Sheldon, then in the closing years of his primacy, was laid by

Compton, Bishop of London, before the Committee of Plantations, and is preserved in the State Paper Office. This letter is as follows:—

MOST REVEREND FATHER

Be pleased to pardon this presumption of mine in presenting to y^{or} serious notice these rude and undigested lines, w^{ch} (with humble submission) are to acquaint y^{or} Grace with y^e deplorable estate and condition of the Province of Maryland, for want of an established Ministry. Here are in this Province ten or twelve countys, and in them at least twenty thousand soules, and but three Protestant Ministers of us y^t are conformable to y^e doctrine and discipline of y^e Church of England. Others there are (I must confess) y^t runne before they are sent, and pretend they are Ministers of the Gospell, y^t never had a legall call or ordination to such an holy office, neither (indeed) are they qualified for it, being, for the most part, such as never understood any thing of learning, and yet take upon them to be dispensers of y^e Word, and to administer y^e Sacrament of Baptisme; and sow seeds of division amongst y^e people, and no law provided for y^e suppression of such in this Province. Society here is in great necessitie of able and learned men to confute the gainsayers, especially having soe many profest enemies as the Popish Priests and Jesuits are, who are encouraged and provided for. And y^e Quaker takes care and provides for those y^t are speakers in their conventicles, but noe care is taken or provision made for the building up Christians in the Protestant Religion, by means whereof not only many dayly fall away either to Popery, Quakerisme or Phanaticisme, but also the Lord's Day is prophaned, religion despised, and all notorious vices committed, so that it is become a Sodom of uncleannesse and a pest-house of iniquity. I doubt not but y^{or} Grace will take it into consideration and do y^{or} utmost for our eternal welfare; and now is y^e time y^t y^{or} Grace may be an instrument of a universall reformation with greatest facility. Cæcilius Lord Barron Baltemore, and absolute Proprietor of Maryland, being dead, and Charles Lord Barron Baltemore and our Governour being bound for England this year (as I am informed) to receive a farther confirmation of y^e Province from His Majestie, at w^{ch} time, I doubt not, but y^{or} Grace may soe prevaile with him as y^t a maintenance for a Protestant ministry may be established as well in this Province as in Virginia, Barbados, and all other His Majestie's plantations in West Indies, and then there will be encouragement for able men to come amongst us, and y^t some person may have power to examine all such ministers as shall be admitted into any county or parish, in w^t Diocis and by w^t Bishop they were ordained, and to exhibit their l^{fs} of Orders to testifie the same, as y^t I think y^e generalitie of the people may be brought by degrees to a uniformitie, provided we had more ministers y^t were truly conformable to our Mother y^e Church, and none but such suffered to preach amongst us. As for my own p^t (God is my witness) I have done my utmost endeavour in order thereunto, and shall (by God's assistance), whiles I have a being here, give manifest proof of my faithfull obedience to the Canons and Constitutions of our sacred Mother.

Yet one thing cannot be obtained here, (viz.) Consecration of Churches and Church-yards, to y^e end y^t Christians might be decently buried together, whereas now they bury in the severall plantations where they lived; unless y^{or} Grace thought it sufficient to give a Dispensation to some pious Ministers (together with y^e manner and forme) to doe y^e same. And confident I am y^t you will not be wanting in any thing y^t may tend most to God's glorie and the good of the Church, by w^{ch} you will engage thousands of soules to pray for y^{or} Grace's everlasting happiness, but especially y^{or} most obedient Son and Servant.

JOHN YEO.¹

Patuxant River, in Maryland, 25th day of May, 1676.

A letter from Archbishop Sheldon to the Bishop of London, Dr. Henry Compton, requesting him to lay this letter and Lord Baltimore's reply before the Committee of the Privy Council, is still extant. The proprietor had pleaded in his answer the impossibility of applying an immediate or complete remedy to the evils complained of,

¹ Anderson's "Col. Ch.," II., pp. 394-396.

the existence of which he does not appear to have attempted to deny. The character of the statutes then in force and the incongruous opinions of the members of an Assembly made up of Romanists, Independents, and Quakers, as well as Churchmen, combined to prevent the adoption of the measures desired for the church's relief. The four clergymen in the province his lordship affirmed were "in possession of plantations which offered them a decent subsistence."¹ Already the majority of the settlers in Maryland were Protestants, and in the very year in which Yeo addressed the Archbishop of Canterbury Mr. Jeremiah Eaton devised five hundred acres of land for the first Protestant minister settled in Baltimore County,² and during the following year another churchman conveyed his personal estate to the corporation of St. Mary's "for the maintenance of a protestant ministry from time to time among the inhabitants of St. George's and Poplar Hill hundred."³ Besides the correspondents of the archbishop, there appear to have been in the province, from the statement of Lord Baltimore, three other church clergymen. One of them may have been the infamous John Coode, though it is to be hoped that one so profligate and abandoned in life and so avowed a disbeliever in religion, though at one time in holy orders, was not included in this enumeration. A clergyman, whose name has not been preserved, had been sent over by King Charles II., and Wilkinson, of whom we have spoken, may have been still alive. Yeo shortly left the province, and officiated for a time at Lewes in



Delaware. After a few years' absence he returned to Maryland, where he died, in Baltimore County, about the year 1686. In 1681 an allowance was made from the king's secret-service fund for the payment of the passage of the Rev. Jonathan Sanders to Maryland, and there is among the records in the State Paper Office a recommendation of the Rev. Ambrose Sanderson by the Privy Council, dated October 8th in the same year, as a suitable minister for Maryland; while two years later the Rev. Duell Pead and the Rev. William Mullett were designated for service in the province. Sanders, after a little, removed to Virginia. Pead was a faithful clergyman in Maryland for a number of years; but of Sanderson and Mullett no trace has been found. In 1685, as we learn from a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, by Mary Taney, the wife of the Sheriff of Calvert County, and an ancestor of the late distinguished Chief Justice of the United States of America, there was no church clergyman residing in her neighborhood. In this appeal from a Christian mother for the ministration of the Word and sacraments, the words of the faithful Yeo, pleading for the settlers' souls, were echoed with no uncertain sound:—

¹ Maryland MSS., State Paper Office, quoted by Anderson's "Col. Ch.," II., pp. 397, 398.

² Griffith's "Annals of Baltimore," p. 9.

³ Hawks's "Ecl. Contrib." Md., pp. 51, 52.

May it please your Grace:—

. . . . Our want of a minister, and the many blessings our Saviour designed us by them, is a misery, which I and a numerous family, and many others in Maryland, have groaned under. We are seized with extreme horror when we think, that for want of the Gospel our children and posterity are in danger to be condemned to infidelity or to apostasy. We do not question God's care of us, but think your Grace, and the Right Reverend your Bishops, the proper instruments of so great a blessing to us. We are not, I hope, so foreign to your jurisdiction, but we may be owned your stray flock; however, the commission to go, and baptize, and teach all nations is large enough I question not but that your Grace is sensible, that without a temple it will be impracticable, neither can we expect a minister to hold out, to ride ten miles in a morning, and before he can dine, ten more, and from house to house, in hot weather, will dishearten a minister, if not kill him.

Your Grace is so sensible of our sad condition, and for your place and piety's sake, have so great an influence on our most religious and gracious King, that if I had not your Grace's promise to depend upon I could not question your Grace's intercession and prevailing. £500 or £600 for a church, with some encouragement for a minister, will be extremely less charge, than honor, to his Majesty.

Our Church settled according to the Church of England, which is the sum of our request, will prove a nursery of religion and loyalty through the whole Province. But your Grace needs no arguments from me, but only this, it is in your power to give us many happy opportunities to praise God for this and innumerable mercies, and to importune His goodness to bless His Majesty, with a long and prosperous reign over us, and long continue to your Grace, the great blessing of being an instrument of goodness to his Church. And now that I may be no longer troublesome, I humbly entreat your pardon for the well-meant zeal of

Your Grace's most obedient Servant,

MARY TANEY.

Accompanying this letter was a petition to the archbishop and bishops, reciting that the province of Maryland was "without a church or any settled ministry," and that the minister whom King Charles II. had sent (together with a "parcel of Bibles and other church books of considerable value") was dead, and praying "that a certain parcel of tobacco, of one hundred hogsheads or thereabouts, of the growth or product of the said Province may be custom free, for and towards the maintenance of an Orthodox Divine, at Calvert Town." To this was added the request that their lordships, to whom the petition was addressed, would "contribute towards the building of a church at Calvert Town." Shortly after this earnest petition was received, on the 29th of September, 1695, an allowance was granted, from the secret-service fund of the king, to defray the passage of the Rev. Paul Bertrand to Maryland. The report of the clergyman, written in French, addressed to the Bishop of London, under date of September 12, 1689, is still extant, describing the condition of religion in the province at that time. A little later, among the host of "grievances" forwarded to King William by a self-appointed convention, the outgrowth of the so-called "Protestant Revolution," was the allegation that "this church, which, by the charter, should be consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of England, was converted to the use of popish idolatry." The revolution was successful. "The convention" meeting in 1689, and again in 1690, did not attempt to organize the government, but sought the interference of the crown. In June, 1691, King William complied with the popular wish, and Maryland was constituted a royal colony. The following year, on the arrival of the royal governor, Sir Lionel Copley,

the crown was finally recognized as the sole source of authority, the Protestant religion was established, and with it "the inviolability of the rights and franchises of the church;" the ten counties were divided into thirty-one parishes; the constitution of vestries was provided for, and a poll-tax of forty pounds of tobacco was laid, as a fund for the building or repairing of churches, the support of the clergy, or other pious uses. In July, 1694, Sir Francis Nicholson succeeded Copley. The new governor was a liberal and devoted patron of the Church, hasty in temper, utterly lacking in self-restraint, naturally imperious and arbitrary; in demeanor, vain and conceited, and often tyrannical. There were still many redeeming qualities in his character, which made him popular among those over whom he bore rule, and secured for him the respect and admiration of men of widely differing opinions and beliefs. The purse and pen of Nicholson were ever at the service of the Church. More than a score of churches scattered throughout the colonies owed in great part their existence to his encouragement and liberality. His letters, many of which are still extant, manifest a solicitude for the church's welfare, and a disposition to further her growth, quite unusual among the correspondence of the times. While his foes were not backward in blazoning his faults and in exposing to public gaze the infirmities of a temper far from perfect, his friends, in equal numbers and with equal devotion, ascribed to him "every virtue under heaven." Energetic, intelligent, refined and courtly in manners, and possessing a statesman-like wisdom, he would have deserved well of the Church, of which he was so ardent a supporter, had his life been more in accordance with her holy teachings.

At the coming of Governor Nicholson there were but three clergymen of the Church in the province. These three clergymen had, to quote their own language in a representation to the Bishop of London, "made a hard shift to live" "some time after they came" over, but "did afterwards marry and maintain their families out of the plantations they had with their cures."¹ These three representatives of the Church had to contend with double their number of priests of the Church of Rome. Half-a-dozen clergymen accompanied the governor on his coming to the province, or were at once attracted by the new life of the Church, consequent upon the favor of vice-regal authority. Eight clergymen were speedily settled in the newly formed parishes, and at Annapolis, which was made the provincial capital in place of St. Mary's, the governor began at once the erection of the only brick church in the province. The establishment of a "free school" at the new capital of Maryland was another result of the change in administration which thus, in the language of the Council and House of Burgesses addressed to the Bishop of London, sought "to make learning an handmaid to devotion."² Addressing the same source, recognized by the House of Burgesses as "our Diocesan," the clergy represented "the great and urgent necessity of an ecclesiastical rule here, invested with such ample power and authority from your lordship as may capacitate him to redress what is amiss, and to supply what is wanting in the church."³

¹ Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church, iv. (Maryland), p. 9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

This prayer for more direct episcopal supervision, which was not new, and which was heard continuously during the century just about to open, till in the "upper room" at Aberdeen, nearly a hundred years later, Samuel Seabury was made a bishop of the Church of God, was listened to so far as to secure the appointment by the Bishop of London of a commissary for Maryland. The choice fell on one most worthy of the office, and most willing to undertake the work. Dr. Thomas Bray, first commissary of Maryland, was born at Marton, in Shropshire, in 1656. Prepared for the University at Oswestry, he was entered at Hart Hall in Oxford; but narrowness of means required his removal from college soon after he had commenced Bachelor of Arts. Entering upon the work of the ministry, his zeal and abilities commended him to the notice of Lord Digby, from whom he received the living of Sheldon. In this parish he prepared and published a series of Catechetical Lectures, which, by their popularity and merit, won for the author the notice and patronage of the highest dignitaries of the Church. It was at this time that the Governor and Assembly of Maryland had unanimously agreed upon "a petitionary act" for the appointment and support of a "superintendent, commissary, or suffragan," and had addressed the Bishop of London, Dr. Compton, with the request that he would appoint and send to the province some experienced and unexceptionable clergyman for this purpose. In April, 1696, the bishop offered the appointment of commissary to Dr. Bray. In accepting this post, which he did at no little social and pecuniary sacrifice, he made as a condition the provision of parochial libraries for the ministers who should be sent out to the province. It was by means of this provision that he hoped to be able to secure from among the unbeneficed and poorer clergy studious and sober men to undertake the service of the Church in America. The wisdom of this plan was apparent. In the library at Lambeth is still preserved a paper bearing the signatures of Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury; and Sharp, Archbishop of York; of Compton, Bishop of London; of Lloyd, Bishop of Lichfield; of Stillington, Bishop of Worcester; of Patrick, Bishop of Ely; and of Moore, Bishop of Norwich, expressing the readiness of these eminent divines and scholars to "contribute cheerfully towards these Parochial Libraries," and adding the hope that "many pious persons, out of love to religion and learning," would do the same. The wish thus expressed was fully realized. Nor this alone. The indefatigable commissary spared neither labor nor time in securing mission-priests for the work of the Church abroad. Detained for several years from visiting the province under his spiritual charge he was by no means idle. Through his exertion the number of the clergy was increased to sixteen ere he set foot upon the soil of Maryland; and besides other labors of love and devotion he formed the design of a Church of England "congregation, *pro fide propaganda* by charter from the king." This design, out of which grew within a few years the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, was laid aside for a time, while the busy brains of its author were occupied in another scheme, which, ere he left England, took form in the establishment of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The original sketch in manuscript, prepared by

Apostolick Charity,
 ITS
 Nature and Excellence
 CONSIDER'D.
 IN A
 DISCOURSE

Upon *Dan* 12. 3.

Preached at *St. Paul's*, at the Ordination
 of some Protestant Missionaries to be sent into the
 Plantations.

To which is Prefixt,

*A General View of the English Colonies in America, with respect to
 Religion; in order to shew what Provision is wanting for the Pro-
 pagation of Christianity in these Parts.*

*Together with Proposals for the Promoting the same: And to induce
 such of the Clergy of this Kingdom, as are Persons of Sobriety and
 Abilities to accept of a Mission*

And to which is subjoin'd

The Author's Circular Letter lately sent to the Clergy there.

By *Thomas Bray*, D. D.

LONDON,

Printed for *William Hawes*, at the Sign of the Rose in *Ludgate
 Street*, 1699.

¹ A copy of this exceedingly rare tract is in the library left by the late Bishop Whittingham, of Maryland, to the diocese of which he was for years the honored head. It is from this copy

that the above fac-simile has been furnished by the accomplished custodian of the library, Miss Whittingham, of Baltimore, Md.

the Maryland Commissary, detailing the plan of this now venerable organization, is still extant in the Library of Sion College, London; and Dr. Bray was one of the five members who met together for the first time, March 8, 1698-9, to inaugurate this noble charity. On his return from his first visit to Maryland, charged with important business for the Maryland Church, the opportunity offered for entering upon the department of labor earlier marked out, and the unwearied commissary lost no time in soliciting and securing from the king a charter for the incorporation of a society whose special duty should be to propagate the gospel throughout the colonies and foreign dependencies of the British empire. The influence of Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Compton, Bishop of London, was exerted in behalf of this application; but nothing can take from Thomas Bray the distinguished honor of being the originator and founder of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Reaching Maryland on the 12th of March, 1700, the commissary directed his attention at the outset to the settlement and maintenance of the parochial clergy. Convening the clergy on the western shore for consultation, at a time when their assembling was feasible, the commissary then proceeded on a visitation, throughout the progress of which he was received by the community with every demonstration of respect and regard. The result of his inquiries and observation was that but a twelfth of the entire population were Romanists, and a similar proportion were Quakers; while almost the entire residue were at least nominal adherents of the Establishment, including many of the leading families of the province. That this was the case might be inferred from the unanimity with which laws for the establishment of the Church had been again and again adopted by the assembly.

When the assembly convened, and the question of the establishment of the Church was under discussion, the course of the commissary was so judicious and conciliatory that the formal thanks of the body were tendered him, and the attorney-general ordered to advise with him in preparing a draft of the bill desired. The act provided "that the Book of Common Prayer and administration of the Sacraments, with the rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England, the Psalter and Psalms of David, and Morning and Evening Prayer therein contained be solemnly read, and by all and every minister, or reader in every church or other place of public worship within this province." The closing words of this clause proved fatal to the approval of the act by the crown. To require the use of the common prayer "in every church or other place of public worship" in the province was to deny all toleration to dissenters from the Establishment. Upon the completion of this act of legislation, by the Legislature, the commissary summoned all the clergy of the province to a visitation at Annapolis, on Thursday, in Whitsun-week, the 23d of May. Seventeen clergymen answered to their names at the opening of the session, to whom the commissary delivered a charge enforcing his views with reference to catechising, preaching, and private ministerial instruction. It was resolved by the clergy that they would preach to their respective flocks a "scheme of divinity;" that they would "more religiously

observe the great festivals of the Church" by preaching "upon the subjects proper to such days: as at Christmas, upon the Incarnation of the Son of God; on Good Friday, on the Death, Sufferings, and Satisfaction of Christ; on Easter-day, on the Resurrection; and on Ascension-day, upon the Ascension of Christ into Heaven; on Whitsunday, upon the Divinity and Operations of the Holy Ghost; and upon Trinity Sunday, on the Doctrine of the Holy and ever Blessed Trinity."¹ The nature and necessity of the sacrament of holy baptism and the removal of prejudice against the assumption of the sponsorial relation were also to be made subjects of sermons, while profaneness and immorality were to be openly rebuked from the pulpit. The maintenance of discipline among the clergy was made a theme of discussion, and deeds were added to words in a strict enforcement of the needed reforms in this matter. The case of a clergyman who had fled to Virginia, to escape the consequences of his misconduct, was brought before the clergy, who united with the commissary in his effort to expose and punish the offender. Nor was this the only evidence of a disposition to maintain godly discipline. Solemnly addressing one of the assembled clergy, the commissary charged him in open session with a grievous crime, and assigned a time for the trial of the accused. In pressing home upon the offender the heinousness of his guilt, the commissary urged as an aggravation of the offence: "First, That it is done by a person in Holy Orders; Secondly, By a missionary (which, by the way, my brethren, should be a consideration of no small weight with all of us); Thirdly, As to time, that this Scandal is given at a Juncture when our Church here is weakest, and our friends seem to be fewest, and our Enemies strongest; And lastly, as to place, it so happens that you are seated in the midst of Papists, nay, within two miles of the Chief amongst the numerous Priests at this time in the Province; and who, I am credibly informed by the most considerable Gentlemen in these Parts, has made that advantage of your scandalous living that there have been more perversions made to popery in that part of Maryland, since your Polygamy has been the talk of the country, than in all the time it has been an English colony."² Turning from these evidences of the need of episcopal restraint and oversight in this missionary outpost of the Church, it is pleasing to find the story of this important visitation closed with proofs of a zeal for Christ's Church on the commissary's part which knew no bounds. The same love for souls and generous interest in, and care for, all who needed spiritual guidance, leading the worthy commissary to send two of the clergy who applied to him for work at the first instance, the one to Pennsylvania and the other to North Carolina, induced him to propose that the Maryland clergy, out of their penury, should contribute for the support of an additional missionary among the Quakers in Pennsylvania. It hardly need be added that the commissary's subscription was nearly equal to that of all the others whose names are appended to this first missionary offering made in any portion of the American Church for carrying the gospel to "unbelievers."

¹ The Acts of Dr. Bray's visitation, held at Annapolis, in Maryland, May 23, 24, 25, Anno 1700. London: 1700. Folio. Reprinted as an

Appendix to Hawks's "Ecl. Contributions," Maryland.

² Acts of Dr. Bray's Visitation.

The visitation closed with the earnest and repeated request of the clergy that the commissary would return to England to care for the interests of the Church at home, by securing fitting action with reference to the law establishing the Church, and to obtain a further supply of clergy for the vacant cures. Though the journey was undertaken at his own cost, and at the sacrifice of his commissarial stipend while absent from his post, Dr. Bray acceded to the request of the clergy, and, by his presence in England, was able to defeat the machinations of the Quakers and Romanists in opposition to the Church, and after the present law had been refused the royal assent, to secure, at length, the passage of a bill which, approved by the authorities at home, was finally passed in Maryland, and confirmed by the king. The royal assent was given in the following terms: "Have the Quakers the benefit of a toleration? Let the Established Church have an established maintenance." It was during the discussion at home of the questions involved in the passage of this act that the tireless commissary published "A Memorial Representing the Present State of Religion on the Continent of North America." This important paper, by its timely appearance and its careful presentation of facts, went far to awaken the attention of earnest members of the establishment to the spiritual wants of the American colonies. It described the needs of the Maryland Church in detail. There were seventeen clergymen. Churches had been erected in most of the parishes. These parishes were of large extent, and often but thinly inhabited. In these sparsely settled parishes the livings would yield but £25 or £30 per annum, the payments being made in tobacco, the staple article of produce in the province. In the better class of parishes the clergyman's income was, at that time, about £80, though a depreciation in values was apprehended in the near future. Not more than a twelfth of the population were Romanists, though the number of their priests had been largely increased. The Quakers numbered about a tenth of the whole population, and were far from wealthy, when compared with the members of the establishment. At least forty mission-priests were required for Maryland alone, and the commissary detailed at length the qualifications of head and heart that they should possess. "Common men," he asserted, "the refuse of the clergy in England, would not do for American missionaries." The clergymen required for work in the colonies must be exemplary in their outward walk and conversation: men of the world, prudent, experienced in pastoral work and duty, and possessing "*a true missionary spirit*, having an ardent zeal for God's glory and the salvation of men's souls." Strength, learning, and youth were required for a work, the importance of which could not be over-estimated. The fertile mind of the commissary devised a scheme for the selection of missionaries and their support, and although the plan thus originated was not literally carried out, the end proposed was attained, through the agency of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which, on Dr. Bray's petition, was incorporated by the king, and of which the commissary was both the founder and a life-long friend. Of these exertions in Maryland and at home he was at length, after expending the greater

part of his private fortune, constrained to say: "The expense as well as fatigue had been insupportable. But as what has been hitherto done does but let me into the view of so much more which is still wanting to propagate and maintain Christianity in those parts; if any effort of mine shall contribute anything to promote the design, I shall obtain an end, to accomplish which I could be content to sacrifice my life, with the remainder of my small fortunes."¹ The issue of circular letters to the clergy, enforcing the subjects discussed and approved at the recent visitation, occupied a portion of the commissary's time; but these official communications and subsequent efforts in the direction of the appointment of others in his place poorly supplied the lack of Bray's return to the Province of Maryland. It was in no spirit of shrinking from duty that he remained at home, but in deference to the judgment of those, his superiors in the Church, who thought his influence would be more wisely exerted in England than in America. His efforts to secure the blessings of the Episcopate for America;² his untiring interest in missionary work of every kind; his connection with charitable efforts for the education of the negroes, out of which grew the chartered body known as the "Associates of Dr. Bray;" and his labor for the relief, release, and colonization in America of poor debtors, from which the colony of Georgia took its origin, added to his literary and clerical work, made up an honored and most useful life, the memory of which is still fragrant, after the lapse of years. What might not have been the story had the Church of England, instead of retaining the devoted Bray in London, sent him back, not merely with commissarial, but with episcopal, powers, to win to Christ and his Church the province and the people he so patiently served and so ably vindicated!

In 1702 the law drawn up under the direction of Dr. Bray, and approved in England, and then transmitted to Maryland to be enacted by the Assembly there, was duly returned, and received the royal assent. Then, at length, was the Church in Maryland established by law. By the provisions of this act the "Book of Common Prayer" was ordered to be read in all the churches of the establishment, and every place of worship or congregation, for the maintenance of whose ministers a certain revenue or income was directed by law to be raised, was to be deemed part of the established church. Every minister having no other benefice, and "presented, inducted, or appointed" by the governor, was to receive forty pounds of tobacco per poll, out of which he was to pay yearly a thousand pounds to the parish clerk. For the prevention of "all illegal and unlawful marriages, not allowable by the Church of England, but forbidden by the Table of Marriages," copies of the Table of Affinity were to be set up in the churches; justices and magistrates were forbidden to solemnize matrimony, and the exaction of a fee of "five shillings sterling, and no more," was authorized, "provided such persons come to such parish church or chapel at time of divine service, for solemnizing such marriages." The sheriffs

¹ Introduction to Dr. Bray's "Apostolic Charity Considered," pp. 9, 10.

² Dr. Bray's "Memorial, showing the necessity of one to superintend the church and clergy

in Maryland, with a proposal relating to his support, and an account, also, how far the latter is advanced," is printed in full in the "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch.," IV., pp. 51, 52.

of the several counties were required to collect and pay over the ministerial tobacco to the incumbent of the cure. Select vestries, of at least six members, were to be chosen for each parish by the freeholders who "contribute to the public taxes and charges of the said parish," the incumbent, being *ex officio*, "one of the vestry, and principal" thereof. On the death or resignation of a vestryman the freeholders supplied the vacancy, and on every Easter Monday two of the vestry who had served the previous year retired, and two were chosen to fill their places. Provision was made for a registrar of the vestry, and "the true and fair registry" of the proceedings of the vestry, "and of all Births, Marriages, and Burials (Negroes and Mulattoes excepted)". Record books were to be provided. Vestries were ordered to hold monthly meetings under penalties for unexcused absences. Churchwardens were to be appointed yearly, who were to take the oaths of office, and to serve under penalty of fine. The churchwardens and vestry were to provide for the "Parochial charges," and "all necessary repairs," and improvements of churches, chapels, or church-yards, for which purpose all fines and forfeitures were to be appropriated; and, if required, rates were to be levied on the taxables of the parish, not exceeding ten pounds of tobacco per poll in any one year, to be collected by the sheriff, and paid over for the uses named. No clergyman was to hold more than two livings, and the consent of both vestries was necessary for the union of two. A "sober and discreet person" might serve as lay-reader in the case of there being no incumbent who should be approved by the Ordinary, and to whose use a portion of the ministerial tobacco might be applied. The licensed lay-reader, on taking the oaths, was permitted to "read Divine Service, Homilies and such other good authors of practical divinity as shall be appointed." Eleven o'clock A.M. of the first Tuesday in each month was appointed as the time for vestry meetings. The vestry books and accounts were to be open to inspection of the parishioners. The acts of toleration were extended to Protestant dissenters and Quakers, provided that they respectively conformed to the provisions of the acts, and their places of meeting were certified to, and registered at, the county courts.¹

Such was the nature of the "Establishment" in Maryland, under which the Church existed, until the war for independence placed all religious beliefs and organizations on the same footing, in the eyes of the law. Some features of this carefully drawn act have survived the dis-establishment of the Maryland Church, and have become part and parcel of the "common law" of the American Church. We owe a debt of lasting gratitude to the life and public services of Dr. Thomas Bray.

¹ Bacon's "Laws of Maryland," 1702, Chap. 1. Hist. Coll. Am. Ch., iv., pp. 139-148.

CRITICAL AND ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

TO Maryland belongs the honor of having been the first government which pro- claimed and put in practice the novelty of religious toleration. This grant of religious freedom was secured by the Charter given by Charles I., in 1632, to Cecilius, second Lord Baltimore.



It will be borne in mind that this Charter, though given to a professed member of the Roman Catholic Church, was granted by the head of the reformed Church of England, and that the two references to religion, con-

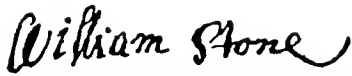
tained in this important patent, were the exact phrases earlier used in the Avalon grant, issued to Sir George Calvert, when he was still a member of the English Communion. These references to religion in the Charter are found, in the first instance, in the fourth section, giving the proprietary the liberty of erecting churches, and the advowsons of all that should be built, and requiring the consecration of the said churches according to the ecclesiastical laws of England; and, in the second place, the twenty-second section provided that no law should be made prejudicial to God's holy and true Christian religion. The original is as follows: *Proviso*



semper, quod nulla fiat interpretatio, per quam sacro sancto Dei, et vera Christiana religio . . . immutatione, prejudicio vel dispendio patiantur. Certainly the holy service of God and the true Christian religion, as understood by the power using these words to limit rights and privileges elsewhere conferred, could only mean that which was held by the established Church of England. The very exercise of the Romish faith at this time was contrary to law. The Charter, by this somewhat vague proviso, secured, though it by no means directly enjoined, toleration, and the "Protestant Catholics," as we have seen, were not slow in claiming the protection of law, in the exercise of their religious freedom, and the Romish authorities were equally prompt in allowing and enforcing their claim of right.

The Assembly of 1639 declared that the "Holy Church within this Province shall have her rights and liberties." A similar law was enacted the following year. Each of these provisions is founded on the first clause of Magna Charta, which expresses the same idea, and applies, of course, to the Church of England. This could not be otherwise in a legislative enactment, made by subjects of the English crown, who were, by their very common law of the kingdom, required to recognize the establishment as the national church. Besides, the continuity of the Church of England as reformed, with the Church of England prior to the Reformation, was asserted by the highest authorities of the realm, both legislative and legal. In these very references to "Holy Church," the church settlers of Maryland found their rights protected and their religious faith acknowledged.

In April, 1649, the Assembly met under the new governor, William Stone. The faith of the members of this body, which passed "the first law securing religious



liberty that ever passed a legally constituted legislature" (Narrative and Critical History of America, III., p. 534), has been a matter of dispute; but it is certain that out of the sixteen members, including the governor, nine burgesses and six councillors; the governor, three

of the council, and at least two of the burgesses, were Protestant, while of the rest the faith of two is doubtful. If the governor and council sat as a separate house, as is probable, the claim of the Roman Catholics to the enactment of this law is

overthrown, and, in any event, the Romish element in the Assembly is not likely to have been in majority. The words of this act, so far as it relates to toleration, are as follows:—

“Whereas, the enforcing of the conscience in matters of religion hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it hath been practiced, and for the more quiet and peaceable government of this province, and the better to preserve mutual love and unity amongst the inhabitants here” it was enacted that no person “professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall, from henceforth, be any waies troubled, molested, or discomtented for, or in respect of, his or her religion, nor in the free exercise thereof within this province, . . . nor any way compelled to the beleefe or exercise of any other religion, against his or her consent.” By other sections of this act of toleration, blasphemy and the denial of the divinity of Christ, or the Trinity, were made punishable with death, and those using reproachful words concerning the Blessed Virgin or the Apostles, or applying epithets to any one in matters of religion, were punished by a fine, and in default thereof by whipping or imprisonment. It does not appear that these penalties were ever inflicted, and they were far less severe than those attached to an act of Parliament passed the year before for preventing the spread of heresy and blasphemy. Later, when the rule of the Commonwealth was extended over Maryland, the Puritans, who had been welcomed to a home by Governor Stone in 1649, when fugitives from penal laws in Virginia, exempted the Romanists from the privilege of toleration. On the restoration of the monarchy there was a return to the previous state of things.

Following Chalmers, who was the earliest historian of Maryland, the Assembly of 1649 has been generally regarded as containing a Roman Catholic majority. Mr. Sebastian F. Streeter, in his “Maryland Two Hundred Years ago,” claimed that this Assembly was Protestant by majority. This question was carefully discussed by Mr. George Lynn-Lachlan Davis in his “Day Star of American Freedom; or, The Birth and Early Growth of Toleration in the Province of Maryland;” a work based on an examination of wills, rent-rolls, and other records. Dr. Richard McSherry, in an article originally published in the “Southern Review” and afterwards reprinted in his “Essays and Lectures,” attacked the

*Acts of Assembly of
1649
Confirmed by the Lord
Proprietor by an instru-
ment under his hand &
seal dated 26th of
August 1650.
Philip Calvert.*

INDORSEMENT OF THE TOLERATION ACT.

position of Streeter. The Rev. Edward D. Neill contributed an article on the relations of Protestants and Roman Catholics to the spirit of toleration in his “Lord Baltimore and Toleration in Maryland,” printed in the “Contemporary Review,” September, 1876. The Rev. B. F. Brown has added a valuable contribution to the discussion in his “Early Religious History of Maryland; Maryland not a Roman Catholic Colony,” 1876. The Rev. Dr. Ethan Allen, Historiographer of the Maryland Church, in his “Who were the Early Settlers of Maryland?” published by the Historical Society in 1865, shows that the vast majority of the settlers from the very first were Protestants. The late John P. Kennedy, in his discourse on the “Life and Character of the First Lord Baltimore,” 1845, delivered before the Historical Society, maintained that toleration was in the Charter and not in the Act of 1649, and that as much honor was due to the king who granted this boon as to the nobleman who received it. Reviewed in 1846, by Mr. B. U. Campbell, Mr. Kennedy felt called upon to reply. In 1855 Dr. Ethan Allen published in pamphlet form his “Maryland Toleration,” which had earlier appeared in the “Church Review,” in which he denied that Maryland was a Roman Catholic colony, and claimed that protection to all faiths was guaranteed by the royal charter. The subject received attention in the discussion between Mr. W. E. Gladstone and Cardinal Manning concerning the Vatican decrees, in 1875. The cardinal had appealed to the toleration granted, as he assumed, by Roman Catholics in Maryland, to meet the charge



ALL HALLOWS' PARISH CHURCH, SNOW HILL, MARYLAND.

of the premier that the Roman Church would, if it were in her power, enforce by pains and penalties the acceptance of her creed. In his "Vaticanism" Mr. Gladstone replied, and in his reissue of his essay, under the title "Rome and the Newest Fashions in Religion," reiterated his arguments. Numerous other publications might be named, if it were worth while to attempt the bibliography of this interesting subject. The notes to Chapter XIII. of the "Narrative and Critical History of America," Vol. III., pp. 553-562, and the chapter itself by W. T. Brautley, *ibid.*, pp. 518-553, are full of valuable and important references to the whole subject of the early history of Maryland.

"The deplorable state and condition of the Province of Maryland for want of an established ministry," referred to by the Pautuxent priest, is shown by the statements of the two Labadists, Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, who visited Maryland in 1680, and left on record their impressions of the religious condition of the province as follows: "The lives of the planters in Maryland and Virginia are very godless and profane. They listen neither to God nor his commandments, and have neither church nor cloister. Sometimes there is some one who is called a minister, who does not, as elsewhere, serve in one place, for in all Virginia and Maryland there is not a city or a village — but travels for profit, and for that purpose visits the plantations through the country, and then addresses the people; but I know of no public assemblages being held in these places; you hear often that these ministers are worse than anybody else, yea, are an abomination." — *Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society*, I., p. 218.

Dickinson, a Quaker preacher, as quoted by Neill, in his "Founders of Maryland" (p. 171), under date of "8th 11 mo. 1695, O.S.," writes from the Downs: "Several priests were going over into Maryland, having heard that the government had laid a tax of forty pounds of tobacco on each inhabitant for the advancement of the priest's wages." These were, possibly, the clergy ordained at Saint Paul's for the mission-work in America.

CHAPTER IX.

BEGINNINGS OF THE CHURCH IN NEW YORK AND THE MIDDLE COLONIES.

THE annals of the Church in New York begin with an amusing episode. Hudson, who, in the "Half Moon," discovered the island of Manhattan, was an Englishman and an English churchman, and at the outset of his earliest voyage of discovery received the sacrament as his *Viaticum*;¹ but the Dutch, in whose employ he sailed, reaped the advantages of his discovery, and on the settlement of

Richard Nicolls

New Netherlands the faith of the National Church of Holland was first introduced. At the conquest of the colony by the English, under Colonel

Richard Nicolls, in 1664, guarantees of liberty of conscience in "divine worship and church discipline,"² thus including the rights of the transplanted church, were granted to the vanquished.

Still the occupancy of the town by the English was followed by the introduction of the Church of England Service, and as there was no place of worship but the Dutch church within the fort, it was cordially arranged by the articles of capitulation, that after the Dutch had finished their use of the building, the chaplain of the British forces should have the occupancy of the same. "This," says Brodhead, "was all the footing that the English Episcopal Church had in New York for more than thirty years."³

Recaptured by the Dutch in 1673, and again surrendered to the English the following year, it is to be noted that stipulations were made by Governor Colve in his communications with Major Edmund Andros, that the inhabitants "be allowed to retain their customary church privileges in Divine Service and Church Discipline;" to which Andros replied, that "the usall discipline of their church bee continued to them as formerly."⁴ The pastor of the old Dutch Church in New York at this time was Domine Wilhelmus Van Nieuwenhuysen, who had been sent out from Holland by the classis of Amsterdam, in 1671. In the ship which brought Governor Andros from England there came a clergyman who had both Dutch and English orders, Domine Nicolaus Van Rensselaer, a younger son of the first Patroon of Rensselaerswyck. Meeting King Charles II., when the latter was in exile, at Brussels, and predicting the restoration of the monarch to his hereditary rights and

¹ Anderson's "Col. Ch.," I., pp. 343, 344.

² Brodhead's "Hist. of N.Y.," I., p. 762.

³ *Ibid.*, II., p. 44.

⁴ Doc. Hist. of New York, Quarto Ed., III., p. 49.

throne, the domine accompanied the king on his return and served as chaplain to the Dutch ambassador, Van Gogh, and afterwards as minister of the Dutch Church at Westminster and lecturer at St. Margaret's, Lothbury, London. While in England he received both deacon's and priest's orders at the hands of John Earle, Bishop of Salisbury, between the years 1663-5, and sailed for America in company with Andros, bearing a letter from the Duke of York recommending him, at his own request, "to be minister of one of the Dutch churches in New York or New Albany, when a vacancy shall happen."¹ The duke had provided for a chaplain for the garrison at New York, with a stipend of £121 6s. 8d. *per annum*,² and it is probable that a clergyman accompanied Andros on this expedition; but no record of the name of either of these is extant, nor is there mention of any other prior to the induction of the Rev. Charles Wolley, in 1678.

Domine Van Rensselaer appears to have remained only a short time in the city of New York, but proceeded soon after his arrival to his father's colony at Albany, where, in accordance with the mandate of the Duke of York and by order of Governor Andros, he was subsequently inducted into the charge of the Dutch Church in that city as associate with Domine Schaats.³ On Domine Van Rensselaer's proposing to baptize some children in New York the pastor of the Collegiate Church interposed with a peremptory refusal; the matter reaching the council, on Van Rensselaer's complaint, the Dutch minister, who had on the street asserted that Van Rensselaer "was not 'a Lawfull minister,' nor his admittance at Albany to be Lawfull,"⁴ stoutly maintained that "no one y^t only had orders from y^e Church of England had sufficient Authority to be admitted a Minister here, to administer y^e Sacraments without a certificate" from the classis. The irregularity of the proceedings in the induction of Van Rensselaer is evident from the fact that, instead of claiming his right to baptize on the ground of his ordination in Holland, he produced his English letters of orders and certificates of his ministering in London, together with the Duke of York's recommendation to any vacancy either in New York or Albany. The question before the council was "whether the ordination of y^e Church of England be not sufficient qualification for a minister comporting himself accordingly, to be admitted, officiate and administer y^e Sacraments according to y^e Constitution of y^e Reformed Churches of Holland."⁵ Finally, though with evident reluctance, the Dutch domine, with his elders and deacons, presented in writing the following amended answer, with which all the parties litigant appeared to have been satisfied, to wit:—

To the Noble, High, Honorable Sir, the Major EDMUND ANDROS, Governor-General of all His Royal Highnesses' Territories in America:—

NOBLE, HIGH, HONORABLE SIR.—A minister, according to the Order of the Church of England lawfully called, is sufficiently qualified to be admitted to the

¹ N.Y. Col. Docs., III., p. 225. Brodhead's "Hist. of N.Y.," II., p. 272.

² N.Y. Col. Docs., III., p. 220.

³ Brodhead's "History of New York," II., p. 228.

⁴ O'Callaghan's "Doc. Hist. of N.Y.," III., pp. 526, 527.

⁵ Council Minutes in "Doc. Hist. of N.Y.," III., pp. 526, 527. Munsell's "Annals of Albany," VI., pp. 67-74.

-serving and administering of the Sacraments in a Dutch Congregation belonging to His Majesty's Dominions, having promised to conduct himself in his service according to the constitution of the Reformed Church of Holland.

Noble, High, Honorable Sir,
Your Excellency's servants and subjects,
THE CONSISTORY OF THIS CITY OF NEW YORK,
IN THE NAME OF ALL,

WILHELMUS VAN NIEWENHUYSEN,
Pastor.

NEW YORK, October 1, 1675.¹

On the following day Van Rensselaer yielded the point in controversy, by subscribing the following agreement:—

I, the undersigned, have promised, and hereby promise, to conduct myself in my Church service as Minister of Albany and Rensselaerswyck according to the Low Dutch Church, conformably to the public Church service and discipline of the Reformed Church of Holland, pursuant to that which I have solemnly promised in my public installation before the whole congregation of Albany, etc.

Done in the presence and view of Domine Wilhelmus Van Nieuwenhuysen, minister of the Word of God within New York, and Jeronimus Ebbing, Elder, and the Burgomaster Oloff Stevensen Van Cortlandt.

NICOLAUS VAN RENSSELAER,
Minister of the Word of God of New Albany and Rensselaerswyck.

NEW YORK, October 2, 1675.

The subject of all this controversy, a minister on whom the vows of ordination seemed to rest but lightly, was shortly brought before the court for "false preaching." On being imprisoned by the magistrates at Albany for "some dubious words in his sermon or doctrine," the court required accuser and accused to "forgive and forget." In 1677 Andros deposed Van Rensselaer from his ministry "on account of his bad and scandalous life,"² and the following year he died.

It being evident that little good to the Church could be expected from the services of the eccentric Van Rensselaer, on the return of Governor Andros to New York, in August, 1678, he was attended by a Cambridge graduate, in holy orders, the Rev. Charles Wolley, appointed by the Duke of York, chaplain of the forces at Fort James. The place of worship was the chapel in the fort, shared as it was for many years with the Dutch minister and his congregation, and, doubtless, the place in which the Episcopally ordained Van Rensselaer was forbidden to minister the sacrament of baptism. Among the first acts of the new incumbent was the compliance with the governor's "Brief"

HANDWRITING OF B.A. DEGREE.

HANDWRITING IN M.A. DEGREE.³

¹ Hist. Mag., ix., pp. 351-354.

² Brodhead, "Hist. of N.Y.," ii., p. 300.

³ The signatures copied above are from the "degree-book" at the University of Cambridge, where, as we learn from the records, "Ch. Wolley of Linc." (Lincolnshire) was "admitted

sizar, 13 June, 1670." He was matriculated a sizar of Emmanuel College, on the 9th of July, 1670. He took the B.A. degree in January, 1673-4, and proceeded Master of Arts in July, 1677.

of the 17th of August, 1678, authorizing and requiring the collection of the charity of the well-disposed towards the redemption of Jacob Leisler, and several other inhabitants of New York, who had been taken captive by Turkish corsairs. The appeal was successful, and the captives were speedily released from slavery. An interesting, if not flattering, account of Mr. Wolley's ministrations is furnished us in the journal of two Dutch "Labadists,"¹ Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, who had come from Wiewerd in Friesland, to select in the New World a site for the settlement of a colony of their people. Shrewd and observing men as these humble travellers were, their quaint narrative of the church service at New York, on the 20th Sunday after Trinity, October 15, 1679 (N. S.) is well worthy of reproduction in our pages: "15th. *Sunday*. We went at noon to-day, to hear the English Minister, whose services took place after the Dutch Church was out. There were not above twenty-five or thirty people in the church. The first thing that occurred was the reading of all their prayers and ceremonies out of the prayer-book, as is done in all Episcopal Churches. A young man then went into the pulpit and commenced preaching, who thought he was performing wonders; but he had a little book in his hand out of which he read his sermon, which was about a quarter of an hour or half an hour long. With this the services were concluded, at which we could not be sufficiently astonished. This was all that happened with us to-day."² Peter Sluyter is reported by Dankers, the writer of the journal, as having attended the church service again and again, with a view of "exercising himself in the English language."³ On the return of these simple-minded enthusiasts to New York they had occasion to call on the governor, which they did on the afternoon of Palm Sunday, about five o'clock, "who was still engaged, at our coming, in the *Common Prayer*; but as soon as it was finished he came and spoke to us."⁴

But, in spite of his use of "a little book" in preaching and his failure to win the praise of the critical Labadist missionaries, Chaplain Wolley is entitled to kind remembrance for a contribution to the literature of the time, which, though encumbered with pedantry, and fuller of notices of the savages than the European settlers, still gives us valuable information of the state of the city and province at the period of its composition. "A Two Years' Journal in New York, and part of the Territories in America," by C. W., A.M., published in London, in 1701, assures us with respect to his American home that it is "a place



ARMS OF SIR FRANCIS
NICHOLSON, 1693.

¹ Followers of Jean De Labadie, a French enthusiast.

² Long Island Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 118.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 160, 164.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

of as sweet and agreeable air as ever I breathed in, and the inhabitants, both English and Dutch, very civil and courteous, as I may speak by experience, amongst whom I have often wished myself and family, to whose tables I was frequently invited, and always concluded with a generous bottle of Madeira."¹ The chaplain's kindly disposition is shown by his participation in the effort for the erection of the new Dutch church, to which the governor, despite his churchly inclinations, contributed liberally, and for which he applied the surplus moneys raised in response to his brief in behalf of the captives in Turkey. Wolley bore with him, on his return, the following attestation of his worth and services:—

A Certificate to Mr. Charles Wolley to goe for England in the Hopewell. S^r Edmund Andros, Kn^t., &c. Whereas Mr. Charles Wolley (a Minister of the Church of England) came over into these parts in the month of August, 1678, and hath officiated accordingly as Chaplaine under his Royall Highnesse during the time of his abode here. Now upon applicaçon for leave to return for England, in order to some promoçon in the Church to which hee is presented, hee having liberty to proceed on his voyage, These are to certify the above, and that the s^t M^r Wolley hath in this place comported himselfe unblameable in his Life and Conversaçon. In testimony whereof² I have hereunto sett my hand and seal of the Province in New Yorke, this 15th day of July, in the 32^d yeare of His Maj^{ty}'s Raigne, Annoq. Domine, 1680. Exammed by mee, M. N. Sec^r.³

It is possible that Chaplain Wolley returned to New York. In the preface to his published journal he speaks of having been "taken off, from the proper studies and offices of his Function, for his unprofitableness;" and, whatever this may mean, the records of New York show that "Charles Wooley" was admitted a freeman in 1702. If this was the former chaplain, it is evident that he did not resume the exercise of his ministry, and it is probable that death soon closed his career.

Two years elapsed ere the vacant chaplaincy was filled. Andros had been superseded by Colonel Thomas Dongan, who was a Roman Catholic, and who arrived in New York on Saturday, the 25th of August, 1683. Accompanying him was an English Jesuit priest, Thomas Harvey, of London. In the same frigate, the "Constant Warwick," and accompanying the new governor came the



Rev. Dr. John Gordon, who was commissioned as chaplain to the forces at New York. Dr. Gordon remained but a short time with his charge, and, on his return, the Rev. Josias Clarke received the appointment. Mr. Clarke was commissioned on the 16th of June, 1684, and his certificate, or "Letter-dimissory," on record at Albany,⁴ may be taken to indicate the term of his service. This document bears date of

¹ A reprint of Wolley's Journal was published by W. Gowans, of New York, in 1860, with an Introduction by Dr. O'Callaghan.

² *I*de Dr. O'Callaghan's Introduction to Wolley's Journal, p. 15, and Valentine's "Hist. of New York," p. 377.

³ General Entries in Sec. of State Min.,

Albany, xxxii., p. 83. Contributed by Dr. O'Callaghan, in the "Hist. Mag.," i., pp. 371, 372. Wolley's salary ceased October 6, 1683. Camden Soc. Secret Services. Charles II. and James II., p. 128. — *Brodhead*, II., p. 375, note.

⁴ N. Y. Col. MSS., xxxiii.

October 7, 1686. Mr. Clark's character and disposition may be inferred from an incident occurring soon after his arrival at his post. Among the emigrants brought from Scotland in the "Seaflower" was an enthusiast, named David Jameson, who, though liberally educated, had allied himself with a body of ranters, who abjured the various creeds of Christendom and rejected as well the received version of the Holy Scriptures. Having been examined before the Duke of York, at Edinburgh, Jameson was condemned to transportation to America, and Dr. George Lockhart, one of the proprietors of the "Seaflower," was authorized to sell him as a "Redemptioner" to any one who would pay the cost of his passage. With the humane and kindly impulses of a Christian and a scholar, Clark, on the arrival of Jameson, promptly paid the redemption money, which "the chief men of the place" at once repaid to the charitable chaplain. The Scotch exile, thus saved from slavery, found occupation and a livelihood as master in a Latin school, for which position he was well prepared.

While the Church was being quietly introduced into New York by the services of the successive chaplains at Fort James, the crown had passed into the hands of the Duke of York, who, as James II., was seeking at home the toleration, if not the establishment, of the Roman faith he professed. When, at length, it was the royal pleasure to attend to the affairs of the plantations, the Church of England, rather than that of Rome, seemed the object of the sovereign's concern and care. The "Rose" frigate brought to Boston, with the hated Edward Randolph, both the order vacating the charter of the colony and the Rev. Robert Ratcliffe, a clergyman recommended by the Bishop of London. For the first time the service of the Church of England was regularly celebrated in the Town Hall of Boston, with Bibles and Service Books provided by the Roman Catholic king. In place of Sewall, who had controlled the press in Massachusetts, Randolph became its censor. Dudley and his associates quietly replaced the magistrates of the theocracy, and while a baffled and defeated oligarchy sullenly mourned the loss of authority, the new government entered into place and power "with the general consent and applause of the people."¹ The "Instructions" to Andros and Dongan from the king were of similar effect.



You shall take especiall care that God Almighty bee devoutly and duely served throughout yo^r Government; the Book of Common Prayer, as it is now establish't, read each Sunday and Holyday, and the Blessed Sacrament administered according to the Rites of the Church of England. You shall be careful that the Churches already built there shall bee well and orderly kept and more built as yo^r Colony shall, by God's blessing, bee improved. And that besides a competent maintenance to bee assigned to yo^r Minister of each Church, a convenient House bee built at the comon charge for each minister, and a competent Proportion of Land assigned him for a Glebe and exercise of his Industry.

¹ Brodhead's "New York," II., p. 445.

And you are to take care that the Parishes bee so limited and settled as you shall find most convenient for y^e accomplishing this good work.

Our will and pleasure is that noe minister bee preferred by you to any Ecclesiastical Benefice in that Our Province, without a certieat from ye Most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury of his being conformable to y^e Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, and of a good life and conversation.¹

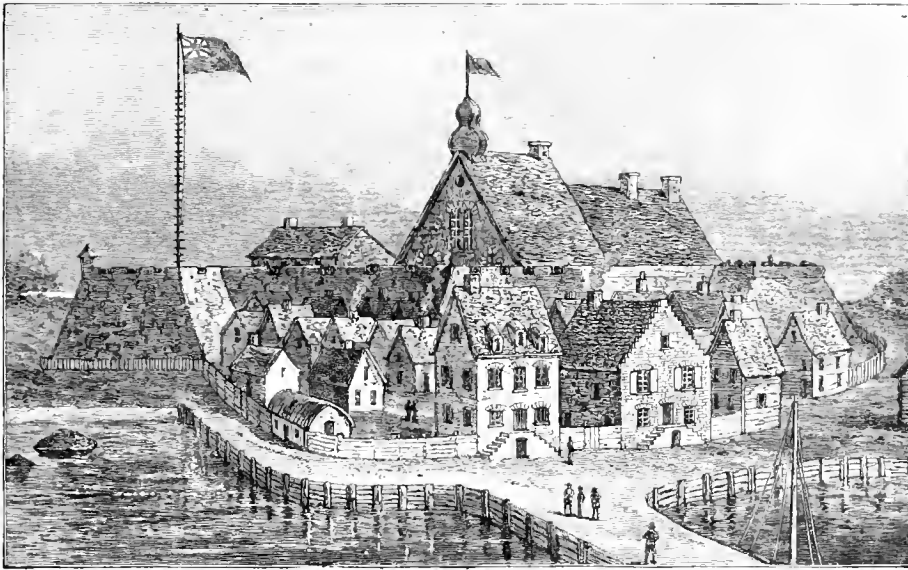
The "Instructions" proceed to give the governor the power of removing scandalous incumbents. They provide that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the primate should prevail throughout the province in everything but collating to benefices, granting licenses for marriages, and the probate of wills, which were made the prerogative of the governor. The archbishop's license was also required for school-masters. Tables of Affinity were ordered to be hung up in the churches and copies of the Thirty-Nine Articles and the Homilies were to be kept and used in the various parishes.

It is evident that, although the monarch was a papist, the policy of the Commissioners of Plantations was that of the Establishment. The restriction respecting school-masters appears to have been adopted at the instance of Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, on the 15th day of April, 1685, and is found in the instructions to Sir Philip Howard, as Governor of Jamaica, April 27, 1685.² It was thus that the Church of England was "established" in New York. A noticeable variation from the usual form of these "Instructions" is seen in the mention of the Primate of All England, as having jurisdiction in the colony, instead of the Bishop of London. A measure of ecclesiastical authority appears to have been designated by successive sovereigns to the incumbent of the See of London from the early days of discovery and colonization, when the zeal of the prelate filling that bishopric was naturally excited in behalf of the adventurers setting forth for the New World, from the docks and ship-yards of the Thames. Until as late as 1675 the Committee of the Plantations was doubtful as to the extent of this power, and the bishop judged that his duties were merely ministerial, "the plantations being no part of his diocese, nor had he any authority to act there." After the accession of James the Second, in April, 1685, Dr. Henry Compton, then filling the See of London, was, at his own request, specially authorized by the king to exercise "all ecclesiastical jurisdiction on the plantations," including the licensing of school-masters going thither from England. In view of this delegation of authority, the "Instructions" to the various colonial governors, issued or approved by the crown, clearly recognized this authority. But Dr. Compton incurred the displeasure of the king, by opposing the abrogation of the Test Act, and was removed from the Privy Council in 1686. It was on this account that the royal "Instructions" to Colonel Dongan ordered that the Archbishop of Canterbury, and not the Bishop of London, should have jurisdiction in all ecclesiastical matters in the province of New York. Subsequently, with a change of dynasty, there was a return to the old custom; and, as in the judgment of the attorney and solicitor-general, "the authority by which the Bishops of London had acted in the Plantations was insuffi-

¹ New York Col. Doc., III., p. 372.

² Brodhead's "Hist. of New York," II., p. 454.

cient," as it had proceeded simply from the royal instructions, from time to time, and, legally, the monarch could delegate his supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction only by his patent under the great seal, such a patent was, in February, 1727, given to Bishop Edmund Gibson, and another in April of the following year.¹ It is interesting to note, in passing, that owing to differences arising between the archbishop and the king, the superintendency of Sancroft over the colonies in ecclesiastical affairs was but short-lived, and the king ordered "that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Plantations" should be exercised by the Bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough, who admin-



THE FORT AND CHAPEL, OLD NEW YORK.

istered the See of London, in commission, during the suspension of Compton.²

In the humble chapel within Fort James, New York, the Rev. Alexander Innes succeeded Mr. Clarke, as the "orthodox" chaplain of the garrison. Mr. Innes's commission bears date of April 20, 1686.³ The population of New York was now about eighteen thousand, and yet the straitened chapel of the fort was the only place of worship possessed by the Establishment, and a garrison chaplain was the only one in holy orders to minister the word and sacraments to the small number of Englishmen who had come to this portion of the New World. Colonel Dongan writes, in 1687, "here bee not many of the Church of England;"⁴ and states that for the "seven years last past,"

¹Vide an interesting foot-note in Brodhead's "Hist. of New York," II., p. 456.

²*Ibid.*, II., pp. 456, 457.

³Book of Deeds, VIII., pp. 13, 31, 39, quoted in "N. Y. Col. Docs.," III., p. 415.

⁴N.Y. Col. Docs., III., p. 415.

there had not come over into the province "twenty English, Scotch, or Irish familys."¹ Still there was need of a church in New York, as we learn from the same authority. "The Great Church which serves both the English and the Dutch is within the Fort which is found to bee very inconvenient. Therefore I desire that there may bee an order for their building another, ground being layd out for that purpose and they wanting not money in Store where with all to build it."² The prevailing religious opinion of the inhabitants was "that of the Dutch Calvinists." There were few Roman Catholics; abundance of Quaker-preachers, men and women especially; singing Quakers; ranting Quakers; Sabbatarians; Anti-Sabbatarians; some Anabaptists; some Independents; some Jews; in short, of all sorts of opinion there are some, and the most part, of none at all."³ The observing governor reported that it was the endeavor of all "to bring up their children and servants in that opinion which themselves profess; but this I observe that they take no care of the conversion of their slaves. It was, so far as "the king's natural-born subjects" were concerned, "a hard task to make them pay their ministers."⁴ This was the testimony of a Romanist, who, under the instructions of a Roman Catholic king, was busying himself in "establishing" the Church of England in a province where the prevailing opinion was that of the Calvinists of Holland. The fort that held the jointly occupied chapel, in which the Dutch and English worshipped, had also its Romish oratory, with its altar and "images;" and the "two Romish priests, Fathers Thomas Harvey and Henry Harrison, that attended on Governor Dongan, said mass there, while one of the two, or else the third, of the number, Charles Gage, taught the Latin school, which Jameson had relinquished, and which Dongan sought to influence the monarch to endow with the "King's Farm."⁵ On his expeditions the governor was attended by Chaplain Innes and Father Harrison, and, with characteristic impartiality, while openly seeking to replace the French Jesuit Fathers, who were Christianizing the Indians in the interest of France, with English missionaries who would labor in the interest of their own country, he reports to his superiors at home that the French priests "make religion a stalking-horse to their pretence."⁶

The king was seeking to establish the supremacy of England in the New World by opposing to the unity of the French in Canada the consolidation, so far as was possible and needful, of all the North American possessions of Great Britain under one vice-regal rule. To this end Andros had unified the independent and often jarring colonial governments of New England. The monarch next proposed to add New York, and East and West Jersey, which had just been surrendered by the Crown, to the "Dominion of New England," thus consolidating the colonies north of the fortieth degree of latitude with the single exception of Pennsylvania. It would have been antecedently probable that the chosen viceroy of James would have been Governor Dongan. Of noble birth, a nephew of Tyrconnell and heir-presumptive

¹ N. Y. Col. Docs., III., p. 399.

² *Ibid.*, p. 415.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 415.

⁵ Brodhead, II., p. 487.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 495.

to the Earl of Limerick, and, besides, an Irish Romanist, — it is no slight proof of the astuteness of the king that, with these recommendations to favor, Dongan was passed by, and Andros, a strong, uncompromising churchman, commissioned Governor-General of His Majesty's whole



SIR EDMUND ANDROS.

"Territory and Dominion in New England."¹ In the "Instructions" given to the representative of the crown nothing appears about the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London in the Anglo-American province. This had been carefully provided for in June, 1686; but the "Defender of the Faith," the temporal head of the Church of England, was now seeking to

¹ Brodhead, II., p. 501.

bring about the subversion of the church he had sworn to protect. The change of governor was not unacceptable, especially to those who had been troubled at the influx of Papists in New York, "under the smiles" of the governor. Domine Selyns wrote to the classis at Amsterdam, with evident satisfaction and pride, that "Sir Edmund Andros, Governor at Boston, and the like, and now stepped into this government of New York and Jersey, — as such having charge from Canada to Pennsylvania, — is of the Church of England; and, understanding and speaking the Low Dutch and French, he attends service and Mr. Daille's preaching."¹ At the same time it would not be fair to the superseded Dongan not to note the testimony borne to him by the Puritan Hinckley, Governor of Plymouth, that he "showed himself of a noble, praiseworthy mind and spirit, taking care that all the people in each town do their duty in maintaining the minister of the place, though himself of a differing opinion from their way."²

Andros being called to Boston "to prevent a second Indian war," Francis Nicholson, his deputy, was left in command at New York.



ARMS OF ANDROS.

Work was begun on the fort, where the artisans had shown "great joy," on the arrival of Andros, because they were delivered from a "Papist Governor," and had Nicholson as deputy at the fort, whom they relied upon to "defend and establish the true religion." The Romish chapel and "images" provided by Dongan were in danger; but Nicholson, animated by the same spirit that had led his chief to respect the altar and emblems of the faith of the Baron Castine on the coast of Maine, ordered the workmen to assist the priest, who had assumed the *nom de plume* of John Smith,

to remove the sacred emblems and furniture to a better room in the fort, and to arrange everything for him "according to his will."

In the midst of the gradual settlement of State and Church in the colonies news came of the fall of James, and the accession of William and Mary to the throne of England. In New York the dramatic episode of Leisler's usurpation and overthrow marked the change from one dynasty to another. In the mass of papers still extant, relating to Leisler and his administration, we catch occasional glimpses of the Church and its representatives. Chaplain Innes was naturally accused by the fanatical adherents of Leisler of being a Papist.³ An affidavit was prepared, wherein Peter Godfrey and Henry Carmer deposed "concerning the person and behaviour of the Minister Alexander Enis, by outward pretence a Protestant, but in effect a meere Papist, whoe deceitfully has provided him with a certificat of the Ministers of the Dutch and French Church, as if he was a true Protestant."⁴ Leisler himself addressed the king and queen to the effect that "Mr. Ennis, the late English Minister, lately departed from the place with testimony of the Dutch and French Ministers, has since been known to be of opinion contrary to our religion, whereof I have testimony in good

¹ Brodhead's N. Y., II., pp. 515, 516.

² *Ibid.*, II., p. 516.

³ New York Col. Docs., III., p. 610.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 630.

forme."¹ Addressing the Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Burnet, Leisler asserts that "one Francis Nicolson, Lieu^t. Gov^r," "together with Mr. Innis the pretended protestant Minister, and their accomplices, sent to England a formal submission to their Majesties Government notwithstanding which in their Assembly they did continue praying for the Prince of Wales, and that God would give K. James victory over his enemies."² Nor was this all. In examining Capt. McKenzie, who had openly defied the usurper's authority, Leisler asserted that the accused was "Popishly affected." The captain's answer cannot be better told than in his own words:—

I answered that is not true, I am as much a protestant as you or any man in the country; why, said he, have I not heard you call Father Smith³ a very good man? Yes, replied I, and so I do still; he is a very good-humoured man, but I never called him so because he was a Papist, and I was so far from having any friendship for his principles that in all the six years I had known New York I never so much as out of curiosity looked into their Chappell. He told me I kept with Dr. Innes, I went to hear him, and prayed with him and that he was a Papist. I replied, that is not true. He then told me that one had sworn it. I told him I will not believe it if ten of them should swear it, but not one word of your honour⁴ all the while, but after a great deal of their discourse which what I liked not I always contradicted, he at last said I might call him what I pleased, he would Pray God to bless me, and then I prayed God might bless him, in which holy sort of complement we continued a pretty while and at last said he would never do me any prejudice, and I made answer after the same manner, and so was dismissed very civilly, which I very much wonder at.

The lieutenant-governor and chaplain reached England before Leisler's emissary arrived. The latter was at a further disadvantage in view of the loss of the voluminous "packetts" which had been taken by the French. This enabled the refugees, in Leisler's words, "not only to show a fair face of so ill a cause, but to render it in an other shape than in truth it is." Foiled in his attempt to secure the royal confirmation for his usurpation, mainly by the representations of Nicholson and Innes,⁵ the reign of Leisler was shortly afterwards ignominiously terminated. Colonel Sloughter received his "Instructions" for his new appointment on the 31st of January, 1690. The former orders respecting the Church were renewed.⁶ The Bishop of London again appears as the Diocesan of the Colonial Church, certifying ministers and licensing school-masters. Liberty of conscience granted to all by King James was renewed by his successors with the exclusion of "papists." The "Book of Common Prayer" was to be read and the "blessed Sacrament" administered according to the rites of the Church of England in the province, which at the time these instructions were given had neither a clergyman nor a church. The Church was thus "established" anew, so far as royal authority could do it, among former subjects of Holland, by the Dutch Stadtholder as King of England. Sloughter, on his arrival, made the establishment of religion an object of special care. On the 18th of April, 1691, the

¹ New York Col. Docs., III., p. 616.

² *Ibid.*, p. 655.

³ One of the Jesuit Fathers.

⁴ The letter of McKenzie, from which this extract is taken, was addressed to Lt.-Gov. Fran-

cis Nicholson. The whole is in "N.Y. Col. Docs," III., pp. 612-614.

⁵ Brodhead's "Hist. of New York," II., p. 596.

⁶ New York Col. Docs., II., p. 688.

Assembly, on the recommendation of the governor to introduce a "bill for settling the Ministry and allotting a maintenance for them in each respective City and Town within the Province, that consists of Forty Families and upwards," instructed the attorney-general to prepare the bill. The act, as reported on the 1st of May, was rejected,¹ "as not answering the intention of the House." The occasion of this action on the part of the Assembly was, doubtless, that the draft, as reported by the attorney-general, provided for the establishment of the Church of England in conformity with the governor's "Instructions." The death of Sloughter left the matter in abeyance.

On the 23d of August, 1692, the Assembly ordered that a bill be drawn for the better observance of the Lord's day, and that each respective town within the province have a minister or reader to read divine service. On the arrival of Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, with "Instructions" similar to those of his predecessor, the settlement of the ministry and church was strongly urged by him upon the attention of the Assembly. The House took up the matter with evident reluctance, and the session came to a close without any satisfactory action in the matter. A sharp rebuke from the governor failed to secure any other result. On the coming together of the new Assembly, in September, 1693, the governor, who was an ardent churchman, so strongly urged action that the subject could not be longer overlooked. A "Bill for settling the Ministry and raising a Maintenance for them," was reported on the 19th, passed two readings, and was referred. On the 21st it was adopted as amended, and transmitted by the governor. The following day Colonel Fletcher and the council returned the bill with a proposed amendment, requiring the minister, when called by the wardens and vestry, to be presented to the governor, agreeably to his instructions, for approval and collation. To this the House replied, "that they could not agree thereto, and pray that it may pass without that amendment, having, in drawing up the bill, due regard to the pious intent of settling a ministry for the benefit of the people."² The governor replied with warmth to this very respectful, and, in view of the lack of clergy and churches of the English communion, not unreasonable request; and, although referring to his right to collate to, or suspend from, any benefice the clergyman who might be chosen, still signed the bill. This act of September 22, 1693, did not, however, in express terms establish the Church of England. It provided that a good, sufficient Protestant minister, to officiate and have the cure of souls, should be called, inducted, and established within a year in the city and county of New York, one in Richmond, two in Westchester, and the same number in Queen's; that New York and Westchester should each raise £100 for the maintenance of their respective ministers; that ten vestrymen and two church wardens should be annually chosen by all the freeholders, and that the wardens should pay the ministers' stipend in quarterly instalments.

Under this act the Rev. John Miller, chaplain to the troops in the fort, and the sole church clergyman in the colony, who had arrived

¹ Journals of the Assembly, quoted in "Hist. Mag.," v., p. 154.

² Smith's "Hist. of New York," I., p. 130.

the year of its passage, claimed, the following February, 1694, to be inducted into the "living" of New York. In this view the governor seems to have coincided; but the council refused to allow the claim, and Miller failed to secure recognition as the first minister of Trinity. It is probable that Miller remained in New York until June, 1695, when, "obliged by several weighty motives," to return to England, he was captured on his homeward voyage by a French privateer. He destroyed his papers lest they "should have given intelligence to an enemy to the ruine of the province;" but on his return he published his recollections of his experiences in New York to testify his earnest desire "to promote the glory of God, the service of his sovereign, and the benefit of his country." These recollections, printed in London, and dedicated to the Lord Bishop of London, contain the assertion that, of the "several chaplains successive to one another," "some have not carried themselves as to be, and that deservedly, without blame." Miller urged as a means for "the settlement and improvement of religion and unity," the conversion of the Indians and the conquest of Canada; "that his Majesty will graciously please to send over a Bishop to the Province of New York." The plan contemplated the charging the bishop, who was to be a suffragan to the Bishop of London, with the secular government of New York. Contributions for the building of a church at New York were suggested. The revenue of the New England Society for the conversion of the Indians was to be expended under the bishop's direction. The "King's Farm" was to be assigned to him "for a seat for himself and successors; which though at present a very ordinary thing, yet will it admit of considerable improvement." "Five or six sober young ministers, with Bibles and Prayer Books, and other things convenient for churches," were to be brought over with the bishop, who, with "these powers, qualifications, and supplies, would, "in a short time (through God's assistance), be able to make a great progress in the settlement of religion and the correction of vice."

While the *quondam* chaplain was thus planning and publishing his visionary schemes for the introduction of bishops as pioneers of the Church in America, the Assembly Act went into force, and wardens and vestrymen were elected. In 1695, on the 12th of April, the five church-wardens and vestrymen of New York applied to the Assembly to know whether they could call a dissenting minister; and the Assembly gave it as their opinion that they could. In the meantime the churchmen, under the encouragement of Governor Fletcher, began to take steps to organize and build a church on ground they had secured.¹ On the 6th of May, 1697, Caleb Heathcote, and others, "present managers of the affairs of the Church of England in the City of New York" petitioned the governor for a charter. This petition²

¹ Vide "Petition for leave to purchase ground for an English Church in New York."—*Doc. Hist. of New York*, III., p. 407. The petitioners asked a license "to purchase a small piece of land lying without the north gate of the said city behind the King's Garden and the burying place, and to hold the same on mortmain and thereon to build the said church." The signers

were Tho: Clarke, Robert Larting, Jeremiah Tothill, Caleb Heathcote, James Evetts, Will: Morris, Ebenezer Willson, Will Merret, Ja. Emott, R. Ashfield. License was also granted by the governor for "the s^d managers" to collect funds for building the church.—*Ibid.*, p. 408.

² This petition is given in full in the "Doc. Hist. of New York," III., pp. 409, 410.

recites the action of the Assembly in 1693, that there shall be a "Protestant minister to officiate and have the care of soules in the said city;" that there was then "no publick church or building" for "the publique worship and service of God according to the Church of England;" and that the petitioners have "built a church and covered the same;" they, therefore, pray to be incorporated with the powers and privileges usually appertaining to the churches of the Establishment, and ask the application of the maintenance voted in the Act of the Assembly of 1693, for their minister's support, and also that they may have a grant of land near the church. This petition was granted by the council, and it was ordered that a "warr^t issue for the drawing of their charter of incorporation, the quit-rent to be one pepper-corne as desired."¹ On the same day the governor issued a charter in the name of the king which applied the Assembly Act of 1693 to the Church of England, incorporated the wardens and vestrymen of Trinity, granted the land prayed for, and constituted "the said Church, and Cemetery, or Church-yard, situate, lying, and being within the said City of New York as aforesaid" to "be the sole and only parish church, and church-yard of our said city of New York." The charter then proceeds: "And our Royal Pleasure is, and we, by these presents, do declare That the said Rector of the said Parish Church, is a good, sufficient Protestant Minister, according to the true Intent and Meaning of the said Act of Assembly, made on the aforesaid Fifth Year of our Reign, entitled 'An act for the settling of the Ministry, &c.,' and as such we do further of our like special Grace, give, grant, ratify, endow, appropriate and confirm unto the said Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church, within our said City of New York, and his Successors for ever, the aforesaid Yearly Maintenance of One Hundred Pound, directed by the said Act of Assembly to be yearly laid, assessed and paid unto the said sufficient Protestant Minister, for his Yearly Maintenance, to HAVE AND TO HOLD the said Yearly Maintenance of One Hundred Pound aforesaid, unto him the said Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church within our said City of New York, and his Successors, to the sole and only proper Use, Benefit, and behoof of him the said Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church within our said City of New York, and his Successors forever."² The rector named in this "royal Charter" was the Bishop of London, Dr. Henry Compton, son of the Earl of Northampton, and one of the leading bishops of his time. It is even now a matter of surprise that this act of the royal governor, practically and effectually establishing the Church in the City of New York against the evident intention and will of the assembly, should have been carried through without eliciting a protest or even occasioning surprise. By the tacit consent of the governor, and evidently without questioning on the part of those concerned, the church-wardens and vestrymen to be elected by the freeholders of the city in accordance with the provision of the Act of the Assembly of 1693 were superseded by, and found their powers vested

¹ Council Minutes, quoted in "Doc. Hist. of New York," III., p. 410.

² The Charter of Trinity Church in the city of New York, 1788, pp. 17, 18.

in, the church-wardens and vestrymen of Trinity Church, elected by those in communion with the Church of England alone.



Bellomont

At the time of the Rev. John Miller's chaplaincy in New York there was "at Hampstead, in Queen's County," as minister, a "Mr.

Vesey," a graduate of Harvard College, in 1693, "without any orders." If we may believe Lord Bellomont, Vesey, who was a native of Massachusetts, was the son of a Jacobite, who had been pilloried at Boston for his adherence to the cause of the House of Stuart. Called, as it would appear by the church-wardens and vestrymen of New York, under the Assembly's interpretation of the act of 1693, permitting their choice of a dissenting minister, Mr. Vesey, who was a popular preacher of the day, was induced, probably by the influence of the governor, to conform to the Church of England. He went to Boston, and on the 26th of July, 1696, the observing annalist, Sewall, records: "Mr. Vesey preached at the Church of England; had many auditors. He was spoken to preach for Mr. Willard; but am told this will procure him a discharge." This was while he was still "without any orders," to quote Chaplain Miller's phrase. He received the Holy Communion at the King's Chapel in Boston, and on the granting of the royal charter to Trinity Church, the vestry "having read a certificate, under the hand of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Myles, Minister of the Church of England in Boston, in New England, and Mr. Gyles Dyer, and Mr. Benjamin Mountfort, church-wardens of the said church, of the learning and education, and of the pious, sober, and religious behavior and conversation of Mr. William Vesey, and of his often being a communicant — the receiving of the most holy sacrament — in said church," called him "to officiate and have the cure of souls in New York."¹ He went to England for orders in 1697, and then began a useful and honored ministry in New York, extending for nearly a half century. Keith, in his journal, tells us that Vesey "was very much esteemed and loved, both for his ministry and good life." For many years he was the commissary of the Bishop of London, and throughout a life of active service of the cause and Church of Christ he lived without reproach.

The erection of a church at New York called forth the benefactions of many pious and distinguished churchmen on both sides of the ocean. The great Bible and other books were given by Governor Fletcher. The Bishop of London sent over by the Earl of Bellomont "a parcel of books of divinity." "Paving stones" were given by the Lord Bishop of Bristol. Lord Cornbury bestowed "a black cloth pall on condition that no person dying and belonging to Forte Ann should be deny'd the use thereof, gratis." His Lordship also presented the prayer-books and the first part of his ancestors' history of the Great Rebellion. The "communion plate and furniture" was secured through the Bishop of London, and among the first purchases ordered by the vestry were "two surplices and ten common prayer-books for Trinity Church."

Thus was the Church introduced into the province, and from this beginning there was at once a rapid development. Early in the following century we have "a summary account of the state of the Church in the province of New York, as it was laid before the clergy convened October 5, 1704, at New York, by the appointment of His

¹ Foote's "Annals of King's Chapel," 1, p. 120.

Excellency Edward Lord Cornbury and Colonel Francis Nicholson,¹ which we append to the chapter as indicating the strides made by the Church under the favoring influences of the Royal governor and others high in station and influence.

The history of Old Trinity, and incidentally the annals of the progress of the Church in New York, will be given elsewhere. We turn to notice the introduction of the Church into New Jersey.

In the year 1700 Colonel Lewis Morris addressed a memorial² to the authorities at home "concerning the state of religion in the Jerseys." "The province of East Jersey has in it ten towns, viz. : Middletown, Freehold, Amboy, Piscataway, and Woodbridge, Elizabeth Town, Newark, Aquenonck and Bergen ; and I judge in the whole province there may be about eight thousand souls. These towns are not like the towns in England, the houses built close together on a small spot of ground, but they include large portions of the country of from four, five, eight, ten, twelve, fifteen miles in length, and as much in breadth. . . . These towns and the whole province was peopled mostly from the adjacent colonies of New York and New England, and generally by persons of very narrow fortunes, and such as could not well subsist in the places they left. And if such persons could bring any religion with them it was that of the country they came from." At Elizabeth Town and Newark there were "some few Churchmen." Perth Amboy, "the capital city, was settled from Europe, and we have made a shift to patch up the old ruinous [court] house and make a church of it, and when all the Churchmen of the province are got together we make up about twelve communicants." In Freehold was a Keithian Congregation, "most endurable to the Church." In West Jersey the number of Quakers had "much decreased since Mr. Keith left them. In Pennsylvania, which was "settled by people of all languages and religions of Europe," "the Church of England gains ground;" and "most of the Quakers that came out with Mr. Keith are come over to it." "The youth of that country are like those in the neighboring Provinces, very debauch^d and ignorant." The measures suggested by Colonel Morris "for bringing over to the Church the people in the Countrys," were the appointment of no one "but a pious Churchman" as governor, and confining, if possible, the membership of the council and magistracy to churchmen; the granting of "some peculiar privilege above others" to churchmen by act of Parliament; the adoption of measures "to get ministers to preach gratis in America for some time till there be sufficient number of converts to bear the charge;" and, finally, the restriction of the great benefices for a number of years to "such as shall oblige themselves to preach three years gratis in America." "By this means," concludes the colonel, "we shall have the greatest and best men, and in human probability such men must, in a short time, make

¹ There is yet one generous Patron and benefactor to y^e whole infant church in North America, t^were a crime to forget or conceal; we mean the Hon^{ble} Col^l Fran. Nicholson, Esq^r., whose liberality to this and other churches on this main deserves y^e highest encomium. We may safely say no man parted more freely wth his money to promote the interest of the Church in

these parts, nor contributed so universally towards y^e erection of Christian Synagogues in different and distant plantations in America.—*An Account of the History of the Building of St. Paul's Church, Chester*, "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch.," II, pp. 79, 80.

² N. J. MSS., 1700.

a wonderful progress in the conversion of those Countries, especially when it's perceived the good of souls is the only motive in the undertaking."

Keith, for whose coming Colonel Morris has expressed the wish, held his first service as a mission-priest of the Church of England at Amboy, in East Jersey, October 4.¹ "The Auditory was small," writes Keith, "but such as were there were well effected; some of them, of my former acquaintances, and others who had been formerly Quakers but had come over to the Church, particularly *Miles Forster*, and *John Barclay* (Brother to *Robert Barclay*, who published the Apology for the Quakers)." Keith preached on the following Sunday, October 10, at Toponemes in Freehold, and a week later at Middleton, and on numerous Sundays at Shrewsbury, and at Burlington. On the Sunday after Christmas, December 27, he again officiated at Shrewsbury. On the Feast of the Circumcision he was at Freehold, where he remained over the second Sunday after Christmas. On the First Sunday after the Epiphany he preached at Burlington, and administered Holy Baptism. On the thirteenth Sunday after Trinity, August 13, on his return from the southward, Keith "preached at the New Church at Burlington, on 2 Sam. xxiii. 34." Lord Cornbury was present. "It was the first sermon that was preached in that Church." On the sixteenth Sunday after Trinity, September 12, Keith was again at Burlington, and on the following Wednesday preached at the house of "Will Hewlins in West Jersey." In September, October, and November he was again at Burlington, Shrewsbury, and Amboy, preaching, disputing, and baptizing. The last Sunday in Advent, Christmas day, the Sunday following the feast of St. John the Evangelist, and twice in the same week besides, and on the first Sunday in the year 1703, he was still busied in his ministerial and priestly work in the Jerseys. At the close of January, and the beginning of February, and, in fact, during much of the winter and spring, his labors were continued, and many converts to the Church from Quakerism were the results of the efforts of this able and persistent "Missioner." In connection with the labors of Keith, we note the services of the Rev. Alexander Innes, who officiated in the Jerseys prior to Keith's coming, and the Rev. John Talbot, who accompanied the Quaker convert, and became the apostle of the New Jersey Church. The labors of these three men, wrote Colonel Morris, in the summer of 1703² had "brought over to the Church so many persons" as to render the appointment of a missionary to Monmouth advisable. In 1705 the excellent and amiable John Brooke was at Elizabeth Town and Amboy. A year later this devoted priest was officiating "at seven places, viz.: Elizabeth Town, Rahway, Amboy, Cheesequake, Piscataway, Rocky Hill, and a congregation near Page's, in Freehold." His cure was fifty miles in length.³ In 1707 the Rev. Thoroughgood Moor, who had come to Burlington, was silenced by the governor⁴ for refusing the

¹On the eighteenth Sunday after Trinity. In the printed journal (p. 30 of the Reprint in the Prot. Epis. Hist. Coll., 1.) the date is incorrectly given October 3.

²N. J. MSS., 1703.

³*Ibid.*, p. 706.

⁴In view of his treatment of the clergy, it is interesting to read the following reference to the governor from one who was certainly well informed: "Lord Cornbury comes upon the church favor; but Whig principles, as people

sacrament to the Lieutenant-Governor Ingolsby, who was a notorious evil-doer, and was afterwards imprisoned at Fort Anne in New York. Through the kind offices of the Rev. Mr. Brooke he contrived to escape from confinement, and taking passage for England was never heard of more. Brooke died suddenly in 1707, well meriting Talbot's eulogium, who tells us that he was as "able and dilligent a missionary as ever came over." The Rev. Edward Vaughan succeeded the lamented Brooke, and for thirty-eight years carried on the work his predecessor had begun with singular faithfulness and success. Year after year his *Notitia parochialis* attested more abundant labor and a constant advance.

In 1711 the Rev. Thomas Halliday was associated with Mr. Vaughan in the parish which had grown too great for a single priest. Still Vaughan labored on untiringly in the faithful exercise of his "sacerdotal function, which God had been pleased to crown with success." It is from the testimony of his people, addressed to the Society in 1717, that we may learn to estimate the character and excellence of the worthy mission-priest. That testimony is as follows:—

We esteem ourselves happy under his pastoral care, and have a thorough persuasion of mind that the Church of Christ is now planted among us in its purity. Mr. Vaughan bath to the great comfort and edification of our families, in these dark and distant regions of the world, prosecuted the duties of his holy calling with the utmost application and diligence; adorned his behavior with an exemplary life and conversation; and so behaved himself with all due prudence and fidelity, shewing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity, and sound speech, that they who are of the contrary part have no evil thing to say of him.¹

This good man died in 1747, and in his decease the Church lost one most happily suited to the times in which he lived, and the work to which he was called. In private life he was exemplary, and possessed of every excellence. In his public ministrations he was sensible, earnest, and even eloquent, while his rendering of the offices of the Church, especially his administration of the holy communion, was marked by great solemnity and feeling. His life and labors were long and gratefully remembered among the people to whom he had ministered. The immediate successor of Vaughan was Thomas Bradbury Chandler, a graduate of Yale College, an honorary Master of Arts and Doctor in Divinity of Oxford, and the first Bishop-designate of Nova Scotia. Dr. Chandler was one of the foremost men among the American clergy, and by his life and writings did good service to the cause of Christ's church. Untiring zeal in his mission labors marked a career that deserved, as it received, from an attached people and a grateful Church, every possible acknowledgment of approval and honor. The patient and painstaking examination which the young student of Yale had made of the grounds of difference between the Independents, among whom he had sprung up, and the Church; and the whole-hearted adhesion he had given in favor of the side he es-

talk. Pray desire Governor Hamilton and our folks to carry a good correspondence with him." William Penn to James Logan, Nov. 4, 1707. — *Penn and Logan Correspondence*, I., p. 75.

¹ Humphrey's Historical Account of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

poused, made him, from the start, an able and zealous defender of the church's position and claims. His mind, which was far-seeing, led him to forecast the results of the refusal of the authorities at home to listen to the prayer of the American churchmen, for the full exercise of their religion; and he sought, with patient effort, and by calm, dispassionate reasoning, to convince the American public of the true nature of the relief sought for in the church's behalf. His "Appeal to the Public," and his defence of his first essay, are models of polemical writing, and cannot fail, when read at this day, at least, to excite a feeling of wonder at the irrational opposition raised by fanatical and partisan leaders against a measure so free from objection. At the breaking out of the struggle for independence Dr. Chandler disapproved of the measures of Parliament which had provoked the animosity of the colonists, while he was far from approving the last resort, so persistently urged by the New England patriots, of an appeal to arms. He succeeded in commanding the respect of both parties, and in securing comparative immunity from the wrath and persecution to which so many of his brethren were exposed; and, after the war, this great man not only obtained for his views and suggestions great weight in the early councils of the American Church during the period of its organization, but he also had from the British government the proffer of the first colonial episcopate. Cheered during his long and useful ministry by abundant tokens of appreciation and success, it is from one of his reports to the society that we can best learn the condition of the Church in the province, just preceding the breaking out of the war. In 1770 he writes to the society:—

The Church in this Province makes a more respectable appearance than it ever did till very lately, thanks to the venerable Society, without whose charitable interposition there would not have been one Episcopal congregation among us. They have now no less than eleven Missionaries in this district, none of whom are blameable in their conduct, and some of them are eminently useful. Instead of the small buildings out of repair in which our congregations used to assemble twenty years ago, we have now several that make a handsome appearance, particularly at Burlington, Shrewsbury, New Brunswick, and Newark, and all the rest are in good repair; and the congregations, in general appear to be as much improved as the churches they assemble in.

Returning to notice the labors of the other missionaries in New Jersey, we need only refer to the long and honored work done by the apostolic Talbot at Burlington, interrupted and finally terminated by the colonial authorities, who feared that this poor old man, disaffected with the government, and not without reason, and already tottering on the brink of the grave, might, in working for Christ and the Church, do harm to the established dynasty across the sea. While this good and faithful soldier of Christ Jesus was for three years barred out of the church he had founded and had enriched from his scant means, Burlington was left to the ministrations of a faithful catechist. In 1726 the service of the Rev. John Holbrook from Salem, New Jersey, was temporarily secured. He was followed, in 1727, by the Rev. Nathaniel Horwood, and he in turn, in 1730, by the Rev. Robert Weyman. But few notices of the administration of these men have come down to us,

yet enough remains to prove that, though not equal to the great-hearted Talbot, they were at least faithful and earnest in building on the foundations so broadly laid by their predecessors. In 1737 the Rev. Colin Campbell succeeded Weyman, pursuing a ministry of twenty-nine years at Burlington and Mount Holly with most gratifying success. The Rev. Jonathan Odell succeeded Campbell, and for nine years labored assiduously in the field already ripe for the harvest. The rebuilding and enlargement of St. Mary's Church during his incumbency attest the growth of the congregation to which he ministered; and his firm refusal to receive the offerings of his people for his own use, while any indebtedness remained on the church, bears witness to his own self-forgetfulness and devotion to the interests of the Church. But the opening of the war interrupted the relations of pastor and people in their ancient faith, and the tory clergyman who had ventured to put his political sentiments in verse was soon driven by the indignant rebels within the lines of the enemy. Another New Jersey missionary, the Rev. Michael Houdin, of Trenton, had left an important post which had been assigned to him in the Romish Communion, that of Superior of a Canadian Convent, and had conformed to the Church of England, laboring with no little zeal and success to build up the church to which he had from deep convictions attached himself.

But no notice of the New Jersey missionaries or mission work would be complete without a reference to the Rev. Thomas Thompson, a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, who "out of pure zeal to become a missionary in the cause of Christ," as the journal of the venerable society bears record, resigned the prospect of preferment and position at home to labor for five years as a devoted mission-priest in Monmouth County, New Jersey. At the expiration of this term of faithful service he resigned, only to give his services to another and even less inviting field of labor. It is to Thomas Thompson, the New Jersey missionary, that the honor is due of being the first missionary of the Church to Africa. Having left his post in New Jersey in 1751, he landed on the coast of Guinea, under appointment as travelling missionary of the society among the negroes. Here he lived and labored in his self-denying work till illness drove him from his post; but enough had been done to prove that, in this consecration of himself to a work so uncongenial and so full of danger, he had entered upon it "in a firm reliance on the good providence of God, whose grace is abundantly sufficient to perfect strength in weakness by his blessing on our poor endeavors." Thompson's published account of his two missionary voyages on the African coast is the first contribution from this land to the literature of the foreign missionary work.

It is with the name of Thomas Thompson, the first foreign missionary to Africa, who learned his lesson of self-consecration on our own shores, and only exchanged the one field of labor for another, that we may fittingly close our references to the planting of the Church in the middle colonies. If the efforts for the spread of the gospel in the Church in these portions of America had produced but the self-denying labors and brilliant successes of Talbot and Thompson, it would

have been enough. Gratefully do we recall the fact that we owe to-day not a little to these worthy men, and to those who labored with them in the church's cause. They were righteous, and they shall be held in everlasting remembrance.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

FROM the archives at Lambeth palace we append the earliest document on file¹ referring to this ancient parish: —

MAY 22nd 1699.

May it Please Your Grace,

The English nation for above Thirty years had been possess^d of these countreys, without any place for public worship of Almighty God in this City except the Chappell in the Fort built by the Dutch and till lately that they built another Alternately used by both Nations for the Exercise of their Religion. So that tho' the English grew numerous, the Government in their hands, and the national laws took place, yet for want of a Temple for the Public Worship, according to the English church, this seem'd rather like a conquer'd Forrain province held by the Terror of a Garrison than an English Colony Posses^d and settled by people of our own Nation.

That which for so many years had only been Wisht for without any reasonable hopes or Expectation of effecting Coll^o Fletcher, by his great Zeal, Generous Liberality and Indefatigable Industry in the latter part of his Government brought so far to perfection, that before his departure he was divers times present (to his own and the General Satisfaction of the lovers of the English Church and Nation) at the Public Worship of God, in an English Church of which (if we must not say that he was the Sole Foundery), it is an offence to Truth and Injustice to him not to affirm that he was the principal promoter, and most Liberal Benefactor to it, and that without him to this day it never had had a Being. As it owed its beginning to that Gentleman, so we must acknowledge its growth and increase is not a little Indebt to Mr. Vesey our present Minister who by his good parts and learning exemplary life, and inoffensive conversation gives a reputation to his function and has brought many into the Bosom of the Church. So farr as this, the subject of which we write to your Grace is Extream Agreeable and pleasing, and it is our unexpressible griefe that we are forc'd to offer anything of a contrary Nature.

The fair character comon Fame gave our present Governor Bellemont filled us with hopes of enjoying a large share of Prosperity under his conduct and in Particular that the English church might have Flourished under his Administration, but Experience has Undeceiv'd us and we find our selves under all the discouragements Imaginable. Whether this our unhappiness proceeds from the Irreconcilable aversion this Noble man has to our late Gov^r Coll^o Fletcher who gave birth to this Church from his own inward principle, or other causes, we will not presume to Determine, but this we are too well assured of, or at least our ideas make us apprehensive, that Nothing less than the destruction of this fair beginning is Intended. Not to trouble your grace with many other instances this following gives us abundant ground for our belief. Coll^o Fletcher Towards the Finishing of this Church, gave

a lease for seven years of a small Farm (usually a perquisit to the Gov^r) Rendring the usual Rent, which was £12 per ann^m, and the highest it ever before had been let for.



AUTOGRAPH OF GOVERNOR FLETCHER.

The former Tenant's Term, expiring this Spring (when the lease to the Church begins) The Church Wardens at an action, lett the Farm to him who pub-

¹ New York MSS., 1., pp. 1-4.

liely bid most for it, which was twenty-five pounds for the ensuing year, but the Tenant coming to enter upon it, has been kept out by the Earl's order, who continually exclaims at this lease, as if the Sacred Patrimony has been most Horribly Invaded, when indeed had it been leased to the meanest clown at the same rent, it had pass'd in all probability unregarded. It is not credible that such a Trifle as Thirteen pounds p' ann, which is all the advantage can be made of it, can so much concern his excellency, but a further design must be at the bottom of which we have too many indications, and were this manner of dealing from a Profest enemy of the Church it were natural and what Rationally, might have attended, But being the actions of a Person (Lately) a constant hearer and usual communicant it's more surprising.

We humbly lay this matter to your Gracious Consideration, earnestly beseeching your Grace, as we are part of that Church and Nation over which God, in a most eminent station has placed you, we may be safe under your protection, and that this hopeful Foundation of an English Protestant Church in these Parts of the world, may Receive no Mischiefs from those whose duty obliges them, to give it assistance and further its welfare.

To prescribe methods we can lay no claim to but humbly submit all to your Grace's Piety and Wisdom, not doubting but the Almighty God, will inspire you to take such Measures as will be for his own Glory and his Churches' good to the disappointment of its enemies. For the effecting of which we heartily implore both your prayers and endeavours, being in all duty,

May it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most obedient, dutiful, and most humble Servants, the churches Wardens and Vestry of Trinity Church, in New York.

RICHARD WILLET,
W. NICOLL,
DAVID JAMISON,

THO. WENHAM,
ROB^t. LURTING,
JEREMIAH TOTHILL,
EBENEZER WILSON,
W^m. HUDDLESTONE,
W^m. ANDERSON,
LANCASTER SYMES,
JAS. GINOTT,
WILL. MORRIS,
THO^s. BURROUGHS.

The account laid before the clergy convened in New York in October, 1704, gives us in full the story of the Church's introduction and progress on every side:—

In this province are ten Counties. First New York, in which there is an English church, called and known by the name of Trinity church, already built, and the steeple raised to a considerable height by the voluntary contributions of several persons, a full account whereof has been given in a former scheme to my Lord of London. The Rector of the church is maintained by a tax levied upon all the Inhabitants of the City, amounting to £160, one hundred whereof is entailed forever upon the incumbent for the time being, and sixty is added by the influence of his Excellency the Governor, and an Act of the General Assembly, during the life and residence of the present incumbent, Mr. William Vesey. And for his further encouragement, his Excellency out of his great goodness, hath ordered in Council, twenty-six pound per annum to be paid out of the Revenue for the Rent of the house of the said Incumbent. His Excellency hath also, by a law incorporated the Rector and all the inhabitants of this City of New York, that are in communion with the Church of England, as by law established, by which they and their successors are vested with sundry rights and privileges; particularly the said law hath enacted that the patronage and advowson of the said Church, and right of presentation after the death of the present Incumbent or upon the next avoidance, shall forever thereafter belong and appertain to the Church Wardens and Vestry men of the said Church in communion with the Church of England, which before was in the Vestry chosen by all the Inhabitants of the said City. This privilege established the Church upon a sure and lasting foundation.

BENEFACTIONS OF TRINITY CHURCH OF NEW YORK.

The Right Honorable & Right Rev^d Father in God, the Lord Bishop of London hath given a bell to said Church, value £60. His Excellency has also very liberally contributed to the said Church, and beside used his interest to promote the same. A sum of about three hundred pounds formerly collected in the province of New York for the Redemption of some captives in Algiers. In a Brief for collecting the said sum, it is provided that in case the Redemption or Death of the said Captives shall happen before the arrival of the said sum in Holland, that then it shall be disposed of to such uses as are mentioned in the said Brief. The Slaves being either dead or redeemed before the money was transmitted, his Excellency in Council hath assigned the said sum for the finishing of the steeple of Trinity Church. His Excellency, the Governor, taking into his consideration the great charges the parishioners have been, and are still at in raising the Edifice and Steeple to that perfection they designed it, hath been graciously pleased to recommend to her Majesty the Queen, that it may please her Majesty to bestow a farm within the bounds of the said City, known by the name of the King's farm to the use and benefit of the said Church, designed by his Lordship for a Garden, and a house to be built for the said Incumbent. His Lordship has been pleased to encourage Religion, and discountenance Vice in the said Province by Proclamation, and has used his utmost endeavours to promote the Public Worship of God, and train up Youth in the doctrine & discipline of the Church of England, particularly in the City of New York, and hath contributed to the building of a French Church, and since the death of the late Minister of the French Congregation, resolves to use his interest to introduce a French Minister that shall have Episcopal Ordination and conform to the Constitution of the Church. His Lordship hath been also highly instrumental in enacting a law for establishing a Latin free School, and to endow it with a salary of fifty pound per annum, to which station his Lordship hath preferred the ingenious Mr. George Muirson, who for some time discharged that function with approbation and success. Two other schools are likewise established in this City by his Excellency's care, and by these and other means, the Church daily increaseth, and it is hoped, if God pleases to continue his Excellency in the Administration of this Government, this Church is in a fair way of becoming the greatest Congregation upon the Continent. We are willing with much submission to represent to the Honorable Society, how that excellent design of theirs, in supplying us with a Catechist might have their pious endeavors better served, if instead of the pious and deserving Mr. Elias Neau who was brought up a Merchant and in good business, the worthy and ingenious Mr. Muirson, who is now going for England in the hopes of being admitted into Holy Orders, were appointed for that purpose. Mr. William Vesey might be assisted by him, and for his encouragement has promised him Thirty pounds per Annum at his Arrival, being sensible how much this place abounds with Indian Slaves and Negroes. This is the state of the Church in the City of New York.

WILL. VESEY,
Rector of New York.

LONG ISLAND.

In Long Island, in the Province of New York, are three counties, viz., King's, Queen's and Suffolk county. King's county, consisting of four Dutch congregations, supplied formerly by one Dutch minister, but now without any, by the death of the late Incumbent, they are sometimes supplied by the Rev. Mr. Vesey, where he finds all the English and some of the Dutch well affected to the Church of England. A minister sent by the society to that County, with some encouragement for a maintenance to preach and be a school-master, would be a great instrument of bringing the youth and others to the Church.

WM. VESEY.

In Queen's County, consisting of five towns divided into two parishes, and endowed with £60 pounds of New York money per annum, each parish paid by a tax levied on all the inhabitants of the County by Act of General Assembly.

JAMAICA.

The parish of Jamaica, in said County, consists of three towns, — Jamaica, New Town, and Flushing. In the town of Jamaica there is a church of stone, built by a tax levied on the inhabitants of the said town by an Act of General Assembly.

It has a high spire with a bell, but is not furnished with pulpit, pews, or utensils. The church was built in the street. There is, also, a house and some land recorded for the Parsonage, which was formerly in the possession of the Independent minister, but now in the possession of the present Incumbent, by his Excellency's, Lord Cornbury's favor, who has been the great promoter of the Church in this Province, and especially at this place. In New Town there is a Church built and lately repaired by a tax levied on the inhabitants by an Act of General Assembly. This church was formerly possessed by a Dissenting minister, but, he being gone, it is in the possession of the present Incumbent by his Excellency's favor.

Flushing.—In this town there is no Church; whereas the other two towns are chiefly inhabited by Independents, this is inhabited by the Quakers. The Rev. Mr. Urquhart, the present Incumbent, resides at Jamaica, according to the directions of an Act of General Assembly mentioning it as the Parochial Church and there preaches and reads Divine Service twice on the Sundays, for two Lord's days successively, and on the third Sunday preaches and prays twice at New Town, and at Flushing once a month on the week days; and, by the blessing of God, the Congregations in the respective towns daily increase.

HAMPSTEAD.

The parish consists of two towns, — Hampstead and Oyster Bay. In Hampstead there is a church, a house, and lands for the minister. The people are generally well affected towards the Church of England, and long for the arrival of the Rev^d Mr. Thomas. In Oyster Bay there is no Church, but a considerable number of people desirous of a minister.

ACCOUNT OF SUFFOLK COUNTY.

In Suffolk County in the Eastend of Long Island, there is neither a Church of England, nor any provision made for one by law, the people generally being Independents, and up held in their separation by New England Emissaries. But there are several already well affected to the Church, and if one or two Ministers were sent among them, supported at first by the Society, it would be an excellent means of reconciling the people to the Church, and of introducing an Establishment for a Minister by law.

WM. VESEY.

WESTCHESTER. — Mr. BARTOW, *Rector.*

There is a Church built but not finished; being neither glazed nor ceiled. The parish of Westchester is divided into four several districts viz West-Chester, East Chester, Younkers, and the Manor of Pelham. There is £50 settled on the Ministers by Act of Assembly. There is twenty three acres of land given by West Chester for a glebe. There is one Independent Congregation of East Chester whose Minister designs to leave there whose Congregation upon his departure are resolved to join with the Church.

RYE. — THOMAS PRITCHARD, *Rector.*

There was no Church but the Minister preaches in the Town house: the parish is divided in three districts, viz Rye, Bedford, and Mamaroneks. There is a salary of £50 per annum established by Act of Assembly; the number of communicants are considerably increased, since the first celebration of the Sacraments. There is an Independent Church at Bedford where the Minister designs to leave them, they are well affected towards the Church and it is hoped when he is gone they will be in Communion with her.

STATEN ISLAND, RICHMOND COUNTY.

The greatest part of the people of this County are English and there is a tax of £40 per annum levied on the inhabitants of the said County for a maintenance to the Minister, and it is very necessary and much desired by the people that a Minister should be speedily sent them with some further encouragement from the Society who has at this time an opportunity of reconciling most of them to the Church.

WILLIAM VESEY.

ORANGE COUNTY.

In Orange County there are about 60 families of several Nations who have no Minister nor are able to raise a salary for one.

WM. VESEY.

ULSTER COUNTY, COMMONLY CALLED ESOPUS.

In this County the greatest number of people are Dutch, who about twelve years since, sent to the Classis of Amsterdam for a Minister. Mr. Neweella being lately called home left them destitute of any person to officiate among them, which his Excellency was pleased to take into his consideration, and has appointed the Rev. Mr. Hepburn to preach and to read Divine Service to them whereby the English who had never a Minister among them have the benefit of public worship, and are in good hopes of bringing the Dutch to a Conformity. The Rev. Mr. Hepburn has at present small encouragement from the people but chiefly under God depends on the kindness and bounty of his Excellency the Governor of this Province.

WM. VESEY.

ALBANY.

A large frontier town where most of the people are Dutch, who have from Amsterdam a Dutch Minister, one Mr. Lydius, but there are some English families, besides a garrison of soldiers, who are a considerable congregation. A Church of England Minister here will, in all probability, do signal service not only by setting up a public worship to the joy and comfort of the English, who impatiently desire a minister, and persuading the Dutch and others to conform, but also in instructing the Indians, which come in great numbers thither. Mr. Moore Missionary to the Mohawks, is coming to settle here for some time by the directions of his Excellency, my Lord Cornbury who gives him great encouragement and has been particularly pleased to promise him presents for the Indians.

CHAPTER X.

GOVERNOR ANDROS AND THE BUILDING OF KING'S CHAPEL, BOSTON.

ON Saturday, the eve of the Sunday after the Ascension, May 15, 1686, the "Rose" frigate entered the harbor of Boston, bearing the Rev. Robert Ratcliffe, M.A.,¹ an Oxford graduate, to whom had been assigned the task of inaugurating the services of the Church

Boston Decemb. 31. 1686

in Boston. "Freighted with wo" must this vessel have seemed to the ministers and members of the Puritan Commonwealth. The theocracy had

Robert Ratcliffe

fallen. The "Charter" of the colony had been abrogated, and Massachusetts was at length a royal province, to be ruled by a governor appointed by the king, and responsible primarily to his royal master. The representative of the throne would naturally seek to reproduce in his vice-regal court the forms of faith and practice of the "Establishment," of which his master was the temporal head; and the "Rose" frigate, bringing the surpliced priest to worship after the usages of the Church of England, bore fittingly the king's commission appointing Joseph Dudley as President of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and the "King's Province."² The records of the Privy Council contain the order for Bibles and Prayer Books in folio, with copies of the Canons, Homilies, Articles, and Tables of Affinity, "to be sent to New England." And as Ratcliffe first looked out from the deck of the "Rose" upon the fair scene spread before him as he sailed up the bay and saw hills and valleys crowned and crowded with the homes and business haunts of "the Bostoners," as Edward Randolph styled them, it must have been with a feeling that "the lines had fallen" to him "in pleasant places," and that he had "a goodly heritage." From the "Castle," a distance below the town, there came the salute in recog-

¹ B.A., Exeter, Oxford, Oct. 16, 1677; M.A., June 15, 1680; B.D., July 16, 1691.

² Palfrey's "History of New England," III., pp. 481, 485.

dition of the passing of the royal ship of war. Soon the three bills of the ancient "trimountain" were descried, — one with its summit bristling with guns; another, with the huge arms of a windmill coquetting with the breeze, while under this emblem and evidence of industry was a battery well provided with the means of repelling hostile attacks; while the third was crowned with the lofty beacon. At the wharf there was the ceremonious reception of the accredited representatives of the crown; and then the mission-priest, to whom all was so new and strange, must have walked or driven up the short street to the market-house and town-hall of wood, — "built upon pillars in the middle of the town, where their merchants meet and confer every day,"¹ — which was the business and official centre of the rising town, and thence, it may be, to the "Blue Anchor Tavern," — a famous hostelry near by. The houses on either side, stretching north and south well-nigh a league, were "generally wooden," and the streets were "crooked, with little decency and no uniformity," in the judgment of the commissioners who wrote in 1664; but, in Dunton's eyes, "their streets" were "many and large, paved with Pebbles; the Materials are Brick, Stone, Lime, handsomely contrived, and when any New Houses are built, they are made conformable to our New Buildings in London since the fire."² There were upwards of a thousand buildings in the town, with "stately houses" built of stone among them, and "three fair and large meeting-houses or churches, commodiously built, in several parts of the town."³ "Gardens and orchards" adorned the south side of the growing capital. "On the north-west and north-east two constant fairs" were kept for daily traffic. On the south was the "small but pleasant Common." This "rich and very populous" town Dunton compares to Bristol, in England.

It was to this New World and to a new life that the English priest had come. He did not wait long ere he entered upon his work. Dunton, the London bookseller, who was in Boston at the time of the coming of "the Charter and the Common Prayer," thus records the inauguration of the services of the Church at this critical period of Massachusetts history: "The next Sunday after he Landed, he preach'd in the Town-house, and read Common-Prayer in his Surplice, which was so great a Novelty to the Bostonians, that he had a very large Audience." Dunton was present at this initial service and tells us that "the Parson" was "a very Excellent Preacher, whose Matter was good, and the Dress in which he put it, Extraordinary; he being as well an Orator as a Preacher." This was, if Dunton is correct, on the Sunday after Ascension, May 16th. On the following Tuesday, the 18th, the

Samuel Sewall

Puritan diarist, Chief Justice Sewall, records "a great wedding, from Milton, and are married by Mr. Randolph's Chaplain at Mr. Shrimpton's, according to

y^e Service-Book, a little after Noon, when Prayer was had at y^e

¹ Dunton, in his "Letters from New England," Prince Society, 1867, describes the approach from the sea, p. 67.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

Town House; was another married at y^e same time; the former was Vosse's son. Borrowed a ring. 'Tis s^d they having asked Mr. Cook and Addington, and y^e declining it, went after to y^e President, and sent y^m to y^e Parson." The following Sunday, May 23d, was Whitsunday. There is no record of the service on this high festival. Dunton, the son-in-law of an eminent non-conformist, is careful to write, "for my own part, I went but once or twice at the first, tho' Mr. Ratcliff (as I have said before) was an Extraordinary good Preacher."¹

On Tuesday, in Whitsun-week, the next government was inaugurated, the president and council taking their places on the bench after the oaths had been administered. The day following, as Sewall records, "Mr. Ratcliffe, the minister, waits on the Council. Mr. Mason and Randolph propose that he may have one of the three houses to preach in. This is denied; and he is granted the east end of the town-house, where the Deputies used to meet, untill those who desire his ministry shall provide a fitter place." Randolph, who neglected no opportunity for putting forward the church, "desired Mr. Ratcliffe, our Minister, to attend the ceremony and say grace, but was refused."¹ Dudley had not forgotten that he had been of old a non-conformist minister, and that his introduction of the services of the Church at his inauguration would never be forgiven by the fanatical people over whom he had been placed. The "small room in y^e town-house," of which Randolph speaks, was all that could be had for the worship of the Established Church; and, on Trinity Sunday, Sewall records in his diary:—

Sabbath, May 30th 1686. My son reads to me in course y^e 26th of Isaiah — In that day shall this song, etc. And we sing y^e 141 Psalm both exceedingly suited to y^e day wherein there is to be Worship according to y^e Ch^h of Eng^d as 'tis call'd in y^e Town House by Countenance of Authority. 'Tis defer'd till y^e 6th of June at what time y^e Pulpit is provided. The Pulpit is movable, carried up and down stairs as occasion served. It seems many crowded thither, and y^e Ministers preached forenoon and afternoon. Charles Lidget there.

This minute is somewhat obscure, but evidently the meaning of the watchful annalist is that the "company increasing beyond the expectation of the gou^{nt}," as Randolph writes, the change from the "small room" to the "Exchange" was deferred till the "Pulpit was provided," the services being still maintained where they had begun.

The "Ministers" who preached were Parson Ratcliffe and Chaplain Buckley, of the "Rose" frigate. On Tuesday, the 15th of June, "the members of the Church of England, as by law established," assembled for organization. The record book is still extant, and gives the names of the following gentlemen as the founders of the Church in Boston: "Mr. Ratcliffe, our minister; Edward Randolph, Esq^r., one

¹ Letters, p. 138. See, also, Dunton's "Life and Errors,"

Tanner MS., in "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch.," iii., p. 653.

of his Majesty's Councill; Captaine Lydgett, M^r. Luscomb, M^r. White, M^r. Maccartie, M^r. Ravenscroft, Doctor Clerke, M^r. Turfery, M^r. Bankes, Doctor Bullivant. The first action of this body was the provision of the weekly offertory, or "publique collection by the Church-wardens for the time being for the service of the church." Doctor

*Boston in New-England
Anno Domini 1686.*

*An entry booke of all such meetings, Agreements,
and other matters, proper to be Recognized, had, and
Done from time to time, by the members of the
Church of England, as by Law established, under
the gracious influence of y^e most illustrious Prince
our Sovereign Lord, James the 2^d. By the Grace
of God, of England, Scotland, France, and
Ireland King, defendour of y^e Faith &c.
Anno Domini 1686 and in y^e 2^d year of his
said Majesties Reign at Boston within his
said Territory, and Dominion of New-Englan
In America.*

FAC-SIMILE OF EARLIEST RECORD BOOK OF KING'S CHAPEL, BOSTON.¹

Benjamin Bullivant, Mr. Richard Bankes, were elected church-wardens. An address to the king and letters to the Archbishop and Bishop of London, praying for favor were ordered; and "Smith the Joyner," was directed to make "twelve formes for the service of the Church, for each of which he shall be paid 4s. 8d." The provision of a sexton was the first action of this meeting, which gave corporate existence to the

¹ From Rev. Henry W. Foote's "Annals of King's Chapel," by the kind permission of the author.

first Church of England in Massachusetts Bay. At the next meeting, held on Sunday, the 4th of July, with increased numbers, the salary of Mr. Ratcliffe was fixed at £50 per annum, "besides what y^e Counsell shall thinke fitt to Settle on him." Provision was made for his assistance, and Smith the Joyn^r was ordered to make a "readding table and Desk." A cushion was ordered for the pulpit; a "Clarke," a sober and fit person, was to be sought for; a sacrament was appointed for the second Sunday in August, the 8th of the month and the 10th after Trinity; the Council were to be addressed for a "brief" for the building of a church; and "the Prayers of the Church" were to be said every Wednesday and Friday, at seven in the morning in the summer, and at nine in the winter. On Thursday, the 5th of August, W^m. Harris, boddycemaker, was the first "buried with the Common Prayer Book in Boston. He was formerly Mr. Randolph's landlord."¹ On the 8th the same authority writes: "'Tis s^t y^e Sacram^t of y^e Lord's Supper is admiuistered at y^e Town-H." From this interesting source we catch glimpses of successive marriage and burial services, of the observance of November 5, the day of the gunpowder-plot, when the preacher, the Rev. Josiah Clarke, spoke "much against the Presbyterians in England and here," and of sacraments and sermons so carefully noted as to prove that nothing was done by the little band of church-folk in their straitened accommodations at the Town-House, without the knowledge and careful observation of the leading members of the "Standing Order." There was no attempt at keeping back any of the distinctive features of the church's system for the avoidance of offence. When the commissioners visited Boston, in 1665, they had a Church of England chaplain in their train, but he had been directed not to wear his surplice; but now this "rag of Popery" was flaunted in the sight of all who cared to attend the services and sacraments at the Town-House Chapel. The "whole service of y^e church," Randolph writes, "was read at the early prayer on Wednesdays and Fridays, and," proceeds this interesting chronicler, "some Sundays seven or eight persons are in one day baptis'd." It was not to be expected that



the introduction of the common prayer in the very metropolis of the Puritan theocracy would not be keenly felt and bitterly resented by the ministers and members of the Independents. Randolph records the "great affronts" cast upon the Church,—"some calling our minister Baal's priest, and some of their ministers from the pulpit calling our prayers leeks, garlick, and trash."² Exasperated by these and even grosser affronts, Randolph, who had often proposed, in his correspondence with the officials at home, the adoption of arbitrary and quite

¹ Sewall's Diary. v. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. orig. ed. Vol. II., pp. 294, 295, of the Prince Society Reprint.

² Hutchinson's "Coll. of Papers," pp. 552, 553,

unjustifiable measures for the support of the Church in Boston, again urged the confiscation of one of the Puritan meeting-houses for the use of the new congregation, or the appropriation of the funds of the corporation for evangelizing the Indians for building a church. The authority of the king was sought for laying a levy upon the weekly offerings at the Puritan meetings, and the Council was again and again approached with a view to the passage of an ordinance making the support of the Church a public charge. It was happily all in vain, and, although Randolph ingenuously confesses, "twas never intended that the charge should be supported by myself and some few others of oure communion," the answer of the Council, "those that hire him must maintain him, as they maintain their own ministers, by contribution," was not to be gainsaid. The Church of England, as by law established, found itself possessed of no exclusive rights and privileges in its transplanting to Boston, and when put to the test it was found both capable of self-support and ready for it.

Interesting glimpses of the progress of the Church in Boston are found in Randolph's voluminous correspondence with the authorities in Church and State at home. He speaks freely of his own unpopularity, and confesses that he has to all his "crimes added this one as the greatest, in bringing the liturgy and ceremonies of the Church of England to be observed amongst us."¹ He narrates a story of the coming of the Indian converts, those "called ministers," to Mr. Ratcliffe, with a complaint of their meagre allowance. The interference of Ratcliffe and Randolph seems only to have procured "the promise of a coarse coat against winter." The fact is stated that the commissioners "would not suffer Aaron, an Indian teacher, to have a bible with the common prayer in it, but took it away from him," and the assertion is made that the funds of the society were "now converted to private or worse uses." The number of "daily frequenters" of the church is stated as four hundred. "Many more would come over to us, but some being tradesmen, others of mechanick professions, are threatened by the congregational men to be arrested by their creditors, or to be turned out of their work if they offer to come to our church." In a letter to Abp. Sancroft, Randolph refers to the "small artifices they have used to prevent our meetings on Sundays, and at all other tymes to serve God." "I cannot," he says, "omit to acquaint your grace, how tender-conscienced, members of our old church, for soe they are distinguished from the other two churches in Boston, are. Not long since I desired them to let their clerk toll their bell at 9 o'clock, Wednesdays and Fridays, for us to meet to go to prayers. Their men told me, in excuse for not doing it, that they had considered and found it in-trenched on their liberty of conscience granted them by his Majestyes present commission, and could in noe wise assent to it." Doubtless this statement is not at all exaggerated, and we may judge somewhat

¹ Mr. Foote, in his "Annals of King's Chapel," in quoting one of Randolph's letters from the Hutchinson Papers, indulges in a witticism at the expense of the writer's spelling "liturgy" as "letheridge." In a foot-note to this very letter Hutchinson attributes the "bad orthography" to the transcriber, stating that the originals are in this respect not very exceptionable. — *Orig. ed.*, p. 552. Reprint, p. 294. This assertion of Hutchinson is confirmed by an examination of the transcripts from Randolph's letters published in other collections.

of the provocation churchmen in general, and Randolph in particular, must have borne from these incidents of fanatical intolerance. It may not be out of place to record Cotton Mather's reference to the chief promoter of all these schemes for the conversion of New England to the Church, penned after the object of the writer's malevolence was dead: —

Of Randolph I said, a good while ago, that I should have a further occasion to mention him. I have now done it. And that I may never mention him any more, I will here take my Eternal Farewell of him, with Relating That he proved a Blasted Wretch, followed with a sensible Curse of God, wherever he came, — Despised, Abhorred, Unprosperous. Anon he died in Virginia, and in such Miserable Circumstances that (as it is said) he had only Two or Three Negro's to carry him into his Grave.¹

On Monday, December 20, 1686, President Dudley was superseded, and Sir Edmund Andros, who had arrived on the preceding day, the fourth Sunday in Advent, became the first royal governor of the province. This noted character in New England history had been a page in the royal household, and had shared the exile and falling fortunes of the House of Stuart. In the service of Prince Henry of Nassau, and

Andros



Obverse



Reverse.

GREAT SEAL OF NEW ENGLAND UNDER ANDROS.²

afterwards as Gentleman in Ordinary to the Queen of Bohemia, — the unfortunate "Queen of Hearts," — he acquired the courtly man-

¹ "Not supported by evidence," is the comment of Mr. Foote, who quotes these characteristic sentences. — *Annals of King's Chapel*, I., p. 56.

² See an account of the Great Seal in "His-

torical Magazine," April, 1862, by George Adlard, and the account in his "Sutton-Dudleys of England;" see, also, "Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.," July, 1862, and Palfrey, III., 516.

ners and presence which, added to the experience he had had in two hemispheres in active military service, made him, as a courtier and a cavalier soldier, a valued and devoted servant of the reigning house. It was characteristic of the man that, on the very day of his inauguration, he sought to make an arrangement with the Puritan ministers for the use of one of the meeting-houses for the church's use, at a time when it would not interfere with the rights of the original proprietors. On Tuesday, the 21st, there was "a meeting at Mr. Allen's of y^e ministers and four of each congregation to consider what answer to give y^e Gov^r.; and 'twas agreed y^t could not with a good conscience consent y^t our Meeting-House, should be made use of for y^e Comon-Prayer worship." The "ministers" were the Rev. James Allen, who had been for eighteen years a minister of the oldest Puritan Society, with whom was associated the Rev. Joshua Moody, who had felt the pressure of arbitrary rule in matters ecclesiastical under Cranfield's rule in Portsmouth. Imprisoned for refusing to administer the holy communion after the manner of the Church of England to Cranfield and his satellites, he had on his release come to Boston, to assist the Rev. Mr. Allen in his arduous charge. Later, and in consequence of his opposition to the witchcraft delusion, he returned to his old home, having through his public life preserved the respect and honor due to intelligence, integrity, and a fearless independence. At the second of the Boston "Meeting-Houses" were the Mathers, father and son, the first renowned for his prominence and success in secular life as well as in the ministry. As President of Harvard College, as agent at the Court of King James II., and at that of King William and Queen Mary, and as the head of his order, Increase Mather wielded a power well-nigh absolute, and was the foremost man of Massachusetts. His son Cotton, then a young man, but full of parts and promise, has left a name which will never be forgotten in the history of his beloved New England. At the South Meeting-House was the Rev. Samuel Willard, a theologian of no mean ability, as his ponderous folio, the first published in New England, proves, and also a Vice-President of the college. These were the ministers of Boston at the time of Andros's coming. The names of the twelve laymen are not preserved. Sewall, who records in his diary the quaint but striking minutes of the events then passing under his eye, was, doubtless, one. Simon Bradstreet, "an old man, quiet and grave, dressed in black silk but not sumptuously," as the Labadist missionary¹ describes him in 1682, was probably another. It is not unlikely that "Eliot, Frarye, Oliver, Savage, and Davis," mentioned a little later as uniting with Sewall in remonstrating with the governor for sending for the keys of the Old South, were among the number. But, whoever the laymen were who united with their ministers in this meeting at Mr. Allen's, their opposition was for the time effectual. The Rev. Messrs. Mather and Willard, as we learn from Sewall, met the governor "at his lodgings at Madame Taylor's," and "thoroughly discoursed his Excellency about y^e meeting-houses in great plainness, shewing they could not consent." He seems to say

¹ Long Island Hist. Soc. Coll., 1.

will not impose."¹ Although his commission from the king provided "that such especially as shall be conformable to the rites of the Church of England, be particularly countenanced and encouraged,"² the governor preferred not to "impose" for several months, uniting with the little band of fellow-churchmen in the services at the Town-House, while the all-observant Puritan diarist noted down, day after day, his attendance upon prayers and sacraments: —

Tuesday, January 25. This day is kept for St Paul, and y^e Bell was rung in y^e morning to call persons to service; the Gov^r (I am told) was there.

Monday, January 31. There is a meeting at y^e Town-house forenoon and afternoon. Bell rang for it; respecting y^e beheading Charles y^e first. The Gov^r there.

It was not till the Tuesday before Easter, in the midst of the solemnities of that week which brings to churchmen so many cherished associations, that the governor, who had waited patiently, but in vain, for some sign of yielding on the part of the Puritan ministers, determined to carry out his cherished plan. The observing Sewall thus writes: —

Tuesday, March 22, 1686/7. This day his Excellency views the three Meeting Houses. Wednesday March 23. The Gov^r sent Mr. Randolph for y^e keys of our Meetingh. y^e may say Prayers there. Mr. Eliot, Frary, Oliver, Savage, Davis, and myself wait on his Excellency, shew that y^e Land and House is ours, and that we can't consent to part with it to such use; exhibit an extract of Mr. Norton's Deed and how 'twas built by particular persons as Hull, Oliver, 100£ a piece, etc.

Friday, March 25, 1687. The Gov^r has service in y^e South Meeting house. Goodm Needham, [the Sexton] tho' had resolv'd to y^e contrary was prevail'd upon to Ring y^e Bell and open y^e door at y^e Governour's command, one Smith and Hill, Joiner and Shoemaker, being very busy about it. Mr. Jno. Usher was there, whether at y^e very Beginning, or no, I can't tell.

This was on Good Friday. On Easter-day, as we learn from Sewall: —

Gov^r and his retinue met in our Meetingh. at eleven; broke off past two, bec. of y^e Sacrament and Mr. Clark's long sermon; now we were appointed to come half hour past one, so 'twas a sad sight to see how full the street was with people gazing and moving to and fro, bec. had not entrance into y^e house.³

The story is best told in the words of the Puritan annalist: —

Tuesday, May 10. Mr. Bullivant having been acquainted that May 15th was our Sacrament day, he writt to Mr. Willard that he had acquainted those principally concern'd, and 'twas judg'd very improper and inconvenient for y^e Gov^r and his to be at any other House, it being Whit-Sunday, and they must have y^e Communion, and y^e 'twas expected should leave off by 12, and not return again till y^e rung y^e Bell y^e might have time to dispose of y^e Elements. So remembering how long y^e were at Easter, we were afraid 'twould breed much confusion in y^e Afternoon, and so on Wednesday concluded not to have our Sacrament, for saw 'twas in vain to urge their promise. And on y^e 8th of May [Sunday after Ascension] were bid past One a pretty deal. May 15. — Goes out just $\frac{1}{2}$ hour after one; so have our Afternoon

¹ Quoted in appendix to Wisner's "History of the Old South Church in Boston," p. 93.

² III. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., II., p. 147.
³ Wisner's "Old South," p. 94.

exercise in due Season. But see y^r have y^e advantage to lengthen or shorten y^r Exercises so as may make for y^r purpose.

The postponement of the Puritan sacrament, and the peculiar circumstances of the "South-Church" in consequence of "the Church of England's meeting in it," were the occasion of a day of fasting and prayer on the 1st of June. In the exercises of this occasion Messrs. Willard, Moody, and Cotton Mather participated. On the 12th of the same month, the third Sunday after Trinity, the Puritan sacrament was celebrated, and Sewall notes the fact that the "Ch^h of E. Men go not to any other House; yet little hindrance to us save as to ringing the first Bell, and straitning y^e Deacons in removal of y^e Table."

The summer passed without giving occasion for comment. Evidently the opposing elements were somewhat held in check, if not by a spirit of mutual concession and tolerance, at least by an unwillingness to precipitate a quarrel, the result of which could not but be unfortunate to both. But on October 16, the twenty-first Sunday after Trinity, there was a slight conflict, the arrogant churchman, if we can credit Sewall, — a by no means unprejudiced witness, — ordering the venerable minister of the South Meeting-house "to leave off sooner" for his accommodation. The issue could not be other than that which Sewall records, — "To w^{ch} Mr. Willard not consenting, Gov^r sent for him in y^e night." The following day the attention of Sir Edmund was pleasantly diverted from ecclesiastical quarrels by the arrival of his wife, "a right good and virtuous lady," who came to New England only to die. The New Year had hardly opened when, after alternations of hope and fear, the diary that had noted her coming records her death: —

Sabbath 22^d (January 1687/8). My Lady Andros was prayed for in Public, who has been dangerously ill ever since the last Sabbath About the beginning of our afternoon Exercises the Lady Andros expires.¹

On Friday, February 10, were the impressive funeral rites. Sewall thus describes the scene, which, in all its impressive details, must have looked strangely enough to a people unused to any pomp and circumstance at the last of earth: —

Between 4 and 5 I went to y^e funeral of y^e Lady Andros, having been invited by y^e Clark of y^e South-Company. Between 7 and 8 (Lynch^s² illuminating y^e cloudy air) the Corps was carried into the Hearse drawn by six Horses, the Soldiers making a Guard from y^e Governour's House down y^e Prison Lane to y^e South-M. House, there taken out and carried in at y^e western dore, and set in y^e Alley before y^e pulpit w^{ch} six Mourning women by it. House made light with candles and Torches; was a great noise and clamor to keep people out of y^e House, y^e might not rush in too soon. I went home, where about nine a cloock I heard y^e Bells toll again for y^e funeral. It seems Mr. Ratcliffe's text was — Cry, all flesh is Grass. The Ministers turn'd in to Mr. Willards. The Meeting House full, among whom Mr. Dudley, Stoughton, Galdney, Bradstreet etc. 'Twas warm thawing weather, and the wayes extreame dirty. No volley at placing the Body in the Tomb. On Saterdag, Feb. 11, the mourning cloth of the pulpit is taken off and given to Mr. Willard.

¹ The maiden name of the Governor's wife was Marie Craven, sister of Sir William Craven, and oldest daughter of Sir Thomas Craven, of Appletreewich, in the county of York. *Vide* The

Andros Tracts, published by the Prince Society, i., pp. xi.-xiii.

² Lynchs? *i.e.*, links or torches.

It was not long after this solemn service that a "Brief" was authorized by the council for asking and receiving "the free and voluntary contributions of any of the inhabitants in the town of Boston towards the building and erecting of a house or place for the service of the Church of England." Nearly a hundred names are affixed to this document. No little difficulty was experienced in securing a site. Sewall was approached, but in vain. On Wednesday, March 28, 1688, we have the record:—

Capt. Davis spake to me for Land to set a Ch^b on: I told him could not, Would not, put Mr. Cotton's Land to such an use, and besides 'twas entail'd. After, Mr. Randolph saw me, and had me to his House to see y^e Landscapes of Oxford Colledges and Halls. Left me with Mr. Ratcliff, who spake to me for Land at Cotton Hill for a Church w^{ch} were going to build. I told him could not, first because I would not set up that w^{ch} y^e people of N. E. came over to avoid; 2^d y^e Land was entail'd. In after discourse, I mentioned chiefly the Cross in Baptism and Holy Dayes.

Friday, Apr. 6. The Exposition of y^e Ch^b of Engl^d Catechism, by y^e Bishop of Bath and Wells, [Ken] comes out printed #^r Rich^d Pierce, with y^e 39 Articles.

Saturday, Apr. 14. Mr. West comes to Mr. Willard from y^e Gov^r to speak to him to begin at 8 in y^e morn, and says this shall be y^e last time; they will build a house. We begin ab^t $\frac{1}{2}$ hour past 8, yet y^e people come pretty roundly together. 'Twas Easter-day and y^e Lord's Supper with us too.

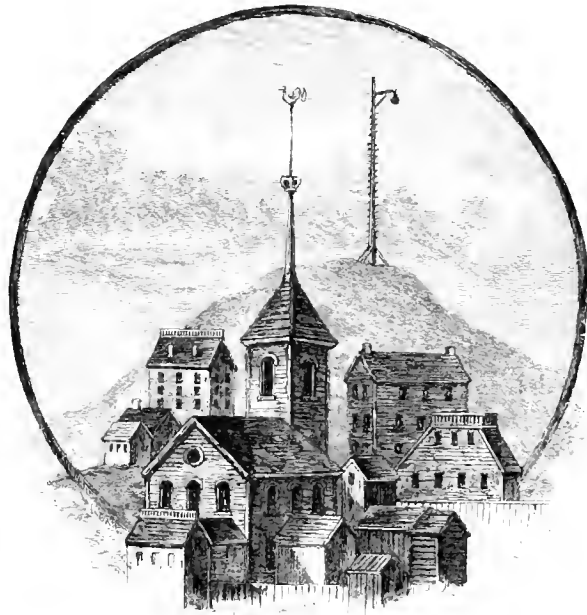
Thursday, May 24th. Bell is rung for a Meeting of y^e Ch^b of Engl^d Men, being in their language Ascension day.

On Trinity Sunday there was an altercation growing out of the length of the Puritan sacrament, which culminated on Saturday, June 23, when, to quote the marginal note of Sewall, there was "Hott Dispute with Gov^r: about Meeting-House South." The following day through mutual forbearance, Sewall notes, "so we have very convenient time." A little later there was a conflict over the grave of Edward Lilley, one of the subscribers to the new church, between a Puritan deacon, Frary by name, who forbade the reading of the "Common Prayer" at the grave, and Parson Ratcliffe who, in the satirical language of Increase Mather, "came with *Gown* and *Book* to settle a Laudable Custom in that Barbarous country." It is evident that Lilley had connected himself with the Church, or the parson would not have been at such pains to bury him with the Church's prayers. On Tuesday, October 16, "the ground-sills of y^e Ch^b are Laid, y^e stone foundation being finished." On the following day, Wednesday, October 17, "this day a great part of y^e Church is raised." Note is made of the absence of Cotton Mather at the house-raising, which would indicate that the ministers generally, and doubtless the amalst himself, with other prominent citizens and officials, were in attendance, testifying, if not their personal interest, their satisfaction at the approaching redemption of the governor's promise to terminate the joint occupancy of the South Meeting-house. The site fixed upon by the governor and his little band of churchmen was the corner of the old burying-ground, which was doubtless duly conveyed to the "rector, church-wardens, and vestry of the King's Chapel," as the little wooden structure was proudly styled, though the deed, if any were given, is not on record. That the proceedings on the part of the authorities in ceding the land for this use were in accordance with

law is evident from the fact that on the overthrow of Andros the act was not annulled, and, indeed, its legality has never been impugned. The charges incurred in the erection of the King's Chapel were £284 16s. The major part of this sum, £256 9s. was raised by the gifts of nearly one hundred subscribers, a list of whose names appears on the records, and is thus prefaced :—

Boston, July, 1689. — *Laus Deo.* A memorandum of such honest and well-disposed persons that contributed their assistance for, and towards erecting a Church for God's Worship in Boston, according to the constitution of the Church of England, as by law established.¹

The balance of the cost was borne by Andros, who gave £30, and Nicholson who contributed £25. Plain in its exterior, bare within,



THE FIRST KING'S CHAPEL.

lacking pews, and devoid of any attempt at adornment, it still had a "pulpit cushion with fringe, tassel, and silk." Meantime events were transpiring which, ere the opening of the church, resulted in the overthrow of the government of Andros, and prevented the chief promoters and founders of the chapel from worshipping within its walls. Amidst the rejoicings of Eastertide, 1689, there came news of the landing of William of Orange, at Torbay. A young man named John Winslow brought, on his return from the island of Nevis, a copy of the printed declarations of the Prince of Orange, on his landing in England, "on purpose,"

¹Greenwood's "History of King's Chapel in Boston," p. 45.

to quote his own words, "to let the people in New England understand what a speedy deliverance they might expect from arbitrary power."¹

It should be understood that the news brought by Winslow could not have been of later date than the first month after the landing of the prince, and that the result of the expedition was at that time quite problematical. Concealing the declaration from Andros;² and, on his apprehension, by order of the governor, refusing to produce the papers. — "being afraid," he says, "to let him have them, because he would not let the people know any news, —"³ the "saucy fellow," as Andros styled him, was committed to prison by the Church Justices Bullivant, Lydget, and Foxcroft, "for bringing Traiterous and Treasonable Libels and Papers of News." A fortnight later "a general buzzing among the people, great with expectation of their old Charter, or they know not what," attracted the notice

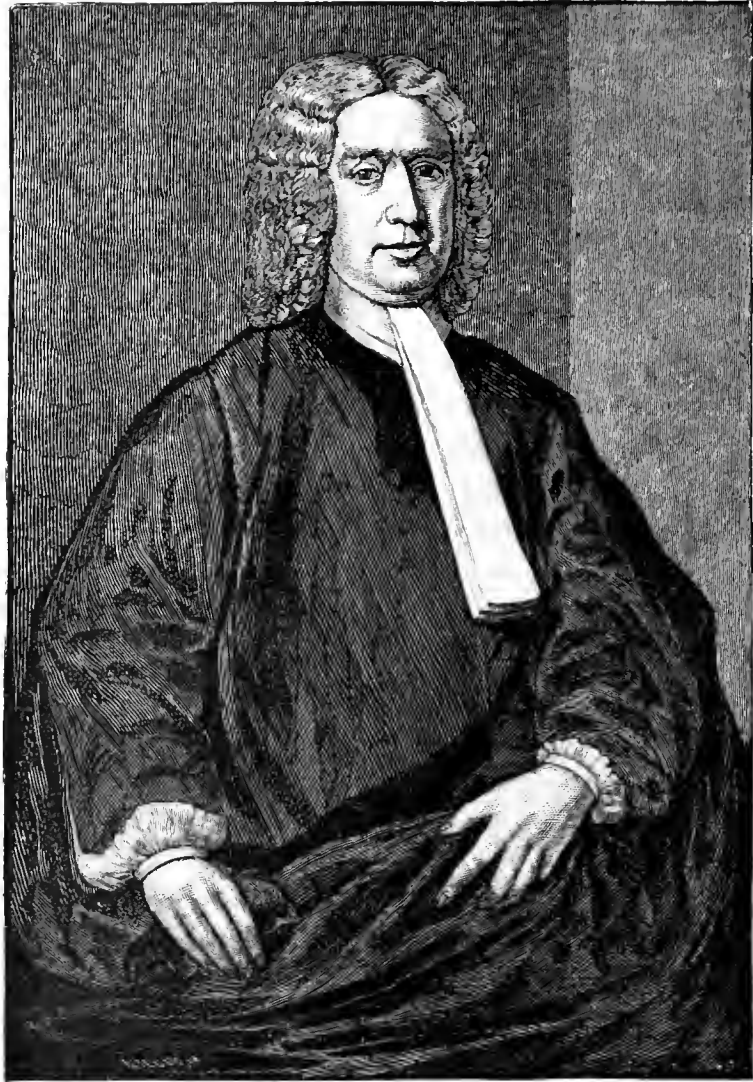
of Andros; and on Thursday, the 18th of April, when the "weekly lecture" at the "First Church" had afforded a pretext for the gathering of the people from the neighboring towns, by eight o'clock in the morning the town was thronged with excited crowds, while an hour later the drums were beating, and the streets were filled with men in arms. The captain of the "Rose" frigate was seized by the militia-men, and placed under guard. Directly the old magistrates were escorted by the soldiery to the Council Chamber, and Secretary Ran-

Your much obliged servant
 Benjamin Bullivant
 From Prison
 Boston the June
 1689

¹ The Revolution in New England Justified. Andros Tracts, 1, pp. 78, 79.

² *Ibid.*, p. 77.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 78.



J. Nelson

dolph, Justices Bullivant and Foxcroft, Sheriff Sherlock, Captains Ravenscroft and White, and "many more" of the governor's adherents were seized and confined in jail. About noon "The declaration of the Gentlemen Merchants and Inhabitants of Boston, and the country adjacent," a long and carefully prepared document, evidently written by

Cotton Mather, was read from the eastern gallery of the Town-house, at the head of King street, to the anxious and excited crowd below. The elaborated periods of this important paper would indicate "that the design of seizing upon Sir E. A., and subverting kingly government in New England, had been long contrived and resolved on;"¹ and that the object of this popular insurrection was indeed "to rend themselves from the Crown of England," as was plainly charged at the time in the ablest vindication of the administration of Andros in print. The reading of this paper was received with a shout from the impatient crowd, whereupon their leaders, who had ostensibly drawn up the Declaration, "drew up a short letter to Sir Edmund Andros,"² demanding the surrender of "the Government and the Fortifications." This letter, signed by Wait Winthrop, Simon Bradstreet, William Stoughton, Samuel Shrimpton, Thomas Danforth, John Richards, Elisha Cooke, Isaac Addington and others,³ fifteen in number, some of them counselors and others assistants under the abrogated charter, asserted that the signers were "surprized with the people's sudden taking of arms; in the first motion whereof we were wholly ignorant."⁴ Andros, who, according to his adversaries, had, "at the first noise of the action, fled into the Garrison on Fort-Hill, where the Governor's lodgings were,"⁵ had demanded a conference; but this was declined. About two o'clock in the afternoon, "the Lecture being put by," as Byfield informs us,⁶ there were "twenty companies" in arms, and a boat sent from the "Rose" frigate, for the relief of the governor and his companions who were in the fort, was seized, whereupon the leader of the insurgents, John Nelson, a fellow-churchman with Andros, demanded the surrender of "the Fort and the Governor." Andros finally consented to accompany his assailants to the council-chamber, where he was reviled by Stoughton, a member of his own council, and then confined for the night in the house of Mr. John Usher, a personal friend, while his friends were sent to jail. The sun set upon the complete overthrow of the royal authority in Boston, and as "the Worship of the Church of England had," to quote the words of the author of "An Account of the late Revolutions in New England," "the disadvantage with us that most of our Late Oppressors were the great and sole Pillars of it there," so the Church suffered with the crown. Parson Ratcliffe, who had evidently been at pains to win the respect of his Puritan neighbors, and had sought, in many ways, as we learn from Sewall's diary, to cultivate friendly relations with the people among whom his lot was cast, appears to have escaped the imprisonment so generally meted out to his parishioners and friends. It is no trifling testimony to his urbanity and excellence that he was able to pass through such a trial unscathed.

Still the little church on the corner of the public "God's Acre" was preserved, though in no little danger from the violence of the mob,

¹New England's Faction Discovered; or a Brief and True Account of their Persecution of y^e Church of England. London, 1690. This piece, by C. D. (Col. or Capt. Dudley), is reprinted in the Andros Tracts, II., pp. 203-222. The statement is confirmed by Puritan authority. *Vide* Andros Tracts, II., pp. 191, 195. *Vide, also*, "Palfrey's New England," III., pp. 579, 600, note; 596, note.

²An Account of the late Revolutions in New

England, by A. B. Boston, 1689. Andros Tracts, II., p. 196.

³Bradstreet, Danforth, Richards, Cooke, and Addington, were respectively governor, lt.-governor, and of the assistants at the termination of the government in 1689.

⁴Reprinted in Andros Tracts, I., p. 20.

⁵Andros Tracts, II., p. 196.

⁶*Ibid.*, I., p. 6.

note that on 18 Aprill ^{preceeding} ~~the~~ the debts on the other side
 began a most improul & detestable rebellion ag^t the King
 & the Govern^t. the Govern^t & all just men to the same
 were brought into restraint

FAC-SIMILE "NOTE" FROM THE RECORDS OF KING'S CHAPEL, REFERRING TO THE REBELLION AGAINST ANDROS.

and "daily threatened to be pulled downe and destroyed."¹ The windows were "broke to peeces, and the Doors and Walls daubed and defiled with Dung and other filth in the basest manner imaginable, and, the Minister, for his safety, was forced to leave the country and his congregation, and go for England."² It would appear that on the fifth Sunday after Trinity, June 30, 1689, the church was opened. Mr. Ratcliffe does not appear to have sailed for England until the following month, while the records indicate³ the presence of his successor, the Rev. Samuel Myles, A.M., on the day of opening. The son of a Baptist preacher at Swansea, a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1684, and a teacher, for some years after graduation, in Charlestown, he seems to have gone over to England for ordination in 1687, and to have returned in time to take the place of Ratcliffe. There are reasons to suppose that he was at this time in deacon's orders; no notice of, or allusion to, the administration of the holy communion being found on the records till the time of his visit to England, in 1692. If this was so it is probable that Mr. Ratcliffe lingered to break to his people the bread of life, on the occasion of the opening of the church, and that the two clergymen shared in the solemnities of this interesting day.

In the meantime the chief supporters of the church were in prison. So closely was Andros watched that his jailer would not suffer "his chaplain to visite him."⁴ Ratcliffe, while escaping actual imprisonment, "was hindered and obstructed in the discharge of his duty."⁵ The Puritan ministers, "by all ways and means possible, as well in their Pulpits as private Discourses, endeavour'd to asperse, caluminate, and defame"⁶ the members of the church, "and so far did their malice

¹ Address of rector and wardens to the King, Foote's "Annals of King's Chapel," I., p. 101.

² New England's Faction Discovered, by C. D. Andros Tracts, II., p. 212.

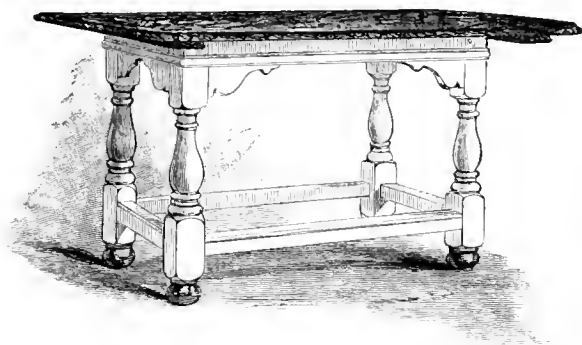
³ 1689, July 1. By cash paid Mr Miles, 20/ and the Clerke, 5/ . . . y^e 27. By disbursements for y^e accommodation of Mr Ratcliffe, for his boy a home, as appears by several Bills on file, £11 4s. 8d. — Foote's Annals of King's Chapel, I., p. 105. *Vide, also, ibid.*, p. 97.

⁴ Hist. Collections of the American Col. Ch., III., p. 60.

⁵ Foote's Annals, I., pp. 87, 101.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 106. Andros Tracts, II., p. 211.

and bigotry prevail, that some of them openly and publickly hindered and obstructed the Minister in the performance of the funeral Rites, to such as had lived and dyed in the Communion of the Church of England." The burial of Major Howard¹ in the church-yard, where the grave had been prepared agreeably to the directions of his will, was prevented by the interference of the Rev. Joshua Moodey, of the "First Church." The minister of the church was "publickly affronted and hindered from doing of his Duty." "Scandalous Pamphlets" were "Printed to villiſie the Liturgy." Churchmen were "daily called Papist Doggs and Rogues to their Faces." The "plucking down the Church" was "threatened," "and whoſo will but take the Pains to ſurvey the



HOLY TABLE IN USE 1686.²

Glass Windows will easily discover the Marks of a Malice not Common."³

The records of the church⁴ note the payment of £5 10s. on the 2d of November, 1689, "for mending Church Windows," and the answer of the Puritans that "all the mischiefs done is the breaking of a few Quarels of glass by idle Boys, who if discover'd had been chastiz'd by their own Parents."⁵ is disproved both by the amount paid for the repair of damages and also by the frequent recurrence among the church accounts of payments for the same purpose. The publication by Increase Mather, in the midst of the excitement attending the overthrow of the Andros Administration, of "a most scandalous pamphlet," entitled "The Unlawfulness of the Common Prayer Worship," "wherein," says "C.D.," "he affirms and labours to prove the same to be both Popery and Idolatry,"⁶ was intended to add fuel to the flame of indignation ex-

¹ Major Anthony Haywood, as his name is sometimes given, is recorded as a contributor to the building of the church of £10. He was one of those authorized by the council to receive contributions for this purpose. — *Foote's Annals*, I., pp. 76, 89, 90. One of the same name, possibly a son, is referred to as being redeemed from captivity in Barbary. — *Ibid.*, p. 119.

² From Rev. Henry W. Foote's "Annals of King's Chapel," by the kind permission of the author.

³ Palmer's "Impartial Account," reprinted in the Andros Tracts, I., p. 53.

⁴ Foote's Annals, I., p. 110.

⁵ Andros Tracts, II., p. 63.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

cited against the Church. This "Discourse" asserted that the church's prayers were derived from the Romish Mass, and were, therefore, idolatrous. It describes "those broken Responds and shreds of Prayer which the Priests and People toss between them like Tennis Balls." "Some things," it was claimed, were "enjoined in it as cannot be practised without sin," such as the Eucharist at weddings, "Popish Holy-days," the surplice, the ring in marriage; and the use of the cross was characterized as the "greatest Devil among all the Idols of Rome." It was asserted to be "an Apostacy in this Age of Light to countenance or comply with the Common Prayer-Book worship." Exceptions were



COMMUNION FLAGON, 1694.³

taken to the doctrines of the Liturgy as "false and corrupt," and among the proofs of this charge we find these statements: "It is there affirmed" (in the Liturgy) "that children Baptized have all things necessary to Salvation and are undoubtedly saved. Yea, that it is certain from God's Word that if a Baptized child Dye before actual Sin, 'tis saved. This savours of Pelagianisme . . . And the Booke sayth that . . . Christ has Redeemed *all Mankind*."¹ Inspired by the success of this pamphlet in making the churchmen "obnoxious to the common people, who account vs Popish and treat vs accordingly,"² the Puritan preachers fulminated in their pulpits against "the great sin of Formality in Christian worship," and "the sinfulness of worshipping God with Men's Institutions;"⁴ and these as-

saults were the signal in each case for the destruction of "y^e Church winders,"⁵ notices of which occur again and again in the records and accounts.

Meanwhile the church was "benched." Sir Robert Robinson, Knight, gave to the church "haugings and a cushion for the pulpit." On Christmas, 1691, Mr. Thomas Gould and Mr. William Weaver gave a brass standard for the hour-glass. Governor Nicholson sent £15 to be divided equally to the minister, to the poor at Christmas, and for the purchase of Bibles, Common Prayer-Books, and "singing psalms for the poorer sort of the Church." Green boughs were prepared against Whitsuntide. The poor were kindly cared for, and "plaisters and phisick" were provided for the sick. The Rev.

¹ Quoted by Foote in his "Annals of King's Chapel," I., p. 96, note.

² Randolph to Abp. Sancroft, in "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church," III., p. 657.

³ From Rev. Henry W. Foote's "Annals of

King's Chapel," by the kind permission of the author.

⁴ The themes of discourses by the Rev. Joshua Moody and the Rev. Samuel Willard.

⁵ Foote's Annals, I., pp. 109-112.

Symon Smith and the Rev. George Hatton officiated during the absence of the Rev. Samuel Myles in England. Sir Francis Wheeler, Admiral of the Line, and the captains of his fleet, which was recruited in Boston harbor after the failure of the attempt against Martinique in the West Indies, left proof of their generosity in liberal benefactions for the little church. Silver vessels for the holy communion were provided. The "forms," or "benches," gave way to more stately and spacious pews. Offerings were made for the redemption of galley-slaves on the coast of Africa. Bequests and gifts for church uses are recorded on the church accounts. Another Harvard graduate, the Rev. William Vesey, of the class of 1693,

conformed to the church, and on the 26th of July, 1696, "preach'd at the Church of England," prior to his departure to England for orders. Thomas Graves, who had been removed from his tutorship at the college, though "a godly learned Man, a good Tutor, and solid preacher," as Sewall confesses, for "his obstinate adherence to some superstitious conceits of the Common Prayer-Book," died and was buried with



COMMUNION-PLATE GIVEN BY KING WILLIAM AND QUEEN MARY.¹

the forms he loved. At length the rector, who had lingered in England for four years, returned on the 4th of July, 1696, bringing with him "part of the gift of Queene Mary, performed by King William after her decease, viz.: the church furniture, which were A Cushion and Cloth for the Pulpit, two Cushions for the Reading Deske, A Carpet for the Altter, All of Crimson Damask with Silke Fringe, one Large Bible, two Large Common-prayer Books, Twelve Lesser Common-prayer Bookes, Lincen for the Altter; Also two Surplises, Alter Tabele, 20 y^{des} fine damask."² Later came "two great silver Flagons, and one silver basen, and one sallver, and one boul, and one Ewer, all of sillver, which was given to the Church by the King and

¹ From Rev. Henry W. Foote's "Annals of King's Chapel," by the kind permission of the author. ² Foote's "Annals of King's Chapel," 1, p. 121.

Samuel Myles
Chm: Bridge *Ministry*

William Hobby
East Aylthorp

Tho. Newton
Fra. Foxcroft

Benja Mountfort

John Ingham
Giles Dyer

John Foote

St. Simpson

Elvies

Radbury Mearns

J. Nelson

Quean and brought over by Cap^t. John Foye." ¹ Besides these, "The Decalogue, viz., the ten Commandments; the Lord's Prayer and the Creed," "drawne in England," were brought over by the returning rector. The king added to other benefactions the gift of £100 per annum, for the support of a lecturer or assistant minister, and, shortly after, a library of standard theology for the minister's use, including Walton's Polyglot, lexicons, commentaries, fine editions of the Fathers, doctrinal and practical works by the Anglican divines, with historical, controversial, and philological treatises. This was a notable collection at a time when New England possessed few collections of books, either in public or private hands. Two assistants, sent out by the Bishop of London, by name Dansy and White, died on their passage. On the 4th of March, 1698-9, the Rev. Christopher Bridge entered upon his duties as assistant minister of the chapel, and the century closed with the Church fully organized and firmly established in the New England capital. Besides the clergy of the chapel, the minister of the French church—the Rev. Peter Daillé—was "Episcopally ordained," ² and the service and sacrament at

¹ Foote's "Annals of King's Chapel," I., p. 122.

² Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch., III., p. 81.

the Huguenot congregation on "Christmas-day, as they abusively call it," is referred to by Sewall in his invaluable diary. From the same authority we learn that an humble churchman, who, by "the importunity of Deacon Eliot and others," had connected himself with the "South Church," and had later found that it was "his Conscience to go to the Church of England, and had sin'd in staying away from it so long," was formally excommunicated for his return to his spiritual mother.¹

Daille

At length, in the changes in the government, a churchman was again appointed as royal governor, and on Friday, the 26th of May, 1699, Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont, arrived at Boston in the capacity of "Cap^t. Generall and Governour in Chief of His Majestic's Provinces of the Massachusetts Bay, New York and New Hampshire." His fellow-churchmen at the chapel welcomed with enthusiasm the representative of the government at home. The Earl of Bellomont's escutcheon was hung in the church. A state-pew was fitted up for the new governor, who was also placed on the vestry at the Easter meeting. Although the new governor failed to satisfy the prejudices of his co-religionists, who regarded his disposition to ingratiate himself with the adherents of the "standing order" of the people he had come to rule, still he was not unmindful of his allegiance to church as well as state. He refused assent to an act of the General Court respecting the government of Harvard College, because of "the exclusion of members of the English Establishment from the academical government."² He also sought to further the wishes of "some persons in New England" for a "Church of England Minister;" but in this matter and in many other ways he showed himself disposed to weigh well, and justly even, the preferences and policy of the church people. But all hopes of advantage or fears of disfavor, arising from the fact of the governor's connection with the church, were summarily ended by the death, in New York, of the noble earl. Thus closed the seventeenth century upon the little church in Boston.

ILLUSTRATIVE AND CRITICAL NOTES.

MR. WILLIAM H. WHITMORE, a distinguished New England antiquarian and scholar, in his memoir of Sir Edmund Andros prefixed to the three volumes of *The Andros Tracts*, published by the Prince Society, of Boston, claims that Andros has "received less than justice from the historians of Massachusetts" (I., xxiii.). Reciting the statements of Hutchinson (*History*, I., 353), that "he was less dreaded than Kirke, but he was known to be of an arbitrary disposition," — and Palfrey (III., 517), that he was "of arbitrary principles, and of habits and tastes absolutely foreign to those of the Puritans of New England," and "a man prepared to be as oppressive and offensive as the King desired;" Mr. Whitmore proceeds "to scrutinize, with deliberation, such charges against his character, and to insist upon undoubted evidence of his personal iniquities." As a result of this scrutiny, Mr.

¹ Foote's *Annals*, I., p. 134.

² Palfrey's "New England," IV., p. 195.

Whitmore comes to the conclusion that the zeal of Andros "for Episcopacy, which led him to insist upon having a place for church services in one of the Boston meeting-houses for a time," did not amount to "a very heinous offence." Although it may have been "a great annoyance to the members of the Old South Church to have the Governor use the building for Episcopal services," as this obnoxious worship was held only when "the building was not occupied by the regular congregation" (Palfrey, III., 522), Mr. Whitmore is of the conviction that we "cannot greatly censure Andros for his course" (I., xxvi.). He fails "to see any evidence that Andros was cruel, rapacious, or dishonest." He knows "of no charge affecting his morality," and finds "a hasty temper the most palpable fault to be imputed to him."

Sent to England with his associates for trial, the result certainly proved, to quote the judicial words of Mr. Whitman, "that Andros had committed no crime for which he could be punished, and that he had in no way exceeded or abused the powers conferred upon him" (I., xxxiii.). Thus favorably received at home by the new dynasty, in 1692 he was appointed Governor of Virginia, where, in consequence of disputes with Commissary Blair, he "brought the resentment of the Bishop of London and the Church (they say) on his head," and lost the government through "a church quarrel" (N.Y. Col. Docs., IV., 490). Shortly afterwards he was appointed Governor of Guernsey, an office which he held for two years, retaining the post of Bailiff of the Island for life. His name appears among the newly elected members, in the "Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 20 Feb., 1712-13 to Feb., 1713-14," and he was buried at St. Anne's, Soho, Westminster, London, Feb. 27, 1713-14, in the 76th year of his age. *The Andros Tracts*, edited by Mr. Whitmore, contain most interesting and important references to the early history of the church in Boston.

A list of the admirable collection of books given by King William¹ to the Chapel Library is found in the Rev. Henry W. Foote's pamphlet, entitled "A Discourse on the Russian Victories, Given in King's Chapel, March 25, 1813, by the Rev. James Freeman, D.D., and a Catalogue of the Library given by King William III. to King's Chapel in 1698." With Introductory Remarks by Henry Wilder Foote. [Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc., March and May, 1881.] Cambridge: 1881. 8°. p. 22. The covers of the books thus given were stamped:—

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¹Vide Foote's "Annals of King's Chapel," I., p. 124.

CHAPTER XI.

THE STATE OF THE CHURCH IN AMERICA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.

THE institution of the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts grew out of the spiritual needs of the American plantations, and was in the main brought about by the exertions of one whom we are proud to claim as a clergyman of the American Church, — the Rev. Commissary Bray. In the third year of the existence of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, — a charity itself the creation of the same earnest and devoted mind, — it was deemed best to delegate to a separate and independent organization the care it had originally assumed, at the instance of Dr. Bray, of the spiritual condition of the American settlements. Through the exertions of Dr. Bray, seconded by Archbishop Tenison, a royal charter was secured, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts held its first meeting at Lambeth Palace, on the 27th of June, 1701. The names of those who attended this initial meeting under the presidency of the archbishop will show the importance attached to this new institution for foreign evangelization. Besides the Primate of all England, the bishops of London, — the celebrated Compton, — Bangor, Chichester, and Gloucester were in attendance; the Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Sherlock, who was also Master of the Temple, and whose well-merited fame was to be eclipsed by his son, who succeeded his father in his Mastership of the Temple, and was subsequently translated from other sees to the Bishopric of London; Dr. Hody, Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, and Chaplain to Archbishops Tilotson and Tenison, whose scholarship and industry are demonstrated by his treatise on the Septuagint and Vulgate; Dr. White Kennett, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, and compiler of the earliest American bibliography; and Dr. Stanhope, afterwards Dean of Canterbury, the well-known author of the Paraphrase and Comment upon the Epistles and Gospels, were conspicuous among those who were present at the organization of the charitable corporation to which more than to any other source the Church in America owes a debt of gratitude for "a long continuance of nursing care and protection."¹

The first business done at this meeting at Lambeth was the consideration and acceptance of the royal charter, by which the society

¹ Preface to American Book of Common Prayer.

was constituted "a body politick and corporate." This instrument declared the object of the society to be twofold; first, the provision of "learned and orthodox ministers" for "the administration of God's Word and Sacraments" among the king's "loving subjects" in the "Plantations, Colonies, and Factories beyond the Seas belonging to our Kingdom of England;" and, secondly, the making of "such other provision as may be necessary for the Propagation of the Gospel in those parts," comprehending of course the work of evangelizing the aboriginal inhabitants of those places where English settlements had been made. "Atheism and Infidelity," on the one hand, and "Popish

Superstition and Idolatry," were to be guarded against among the people of the plantations by the institution of this society, and a "maintenance for ministers and the public worship of God" was deemed "highly conducive for accomplishing these ends." Thus did the society in the instrument that gave it corporate existence profess as its object and end the promotion of the glory of God by the instruction of the people in the Christian religion. The objects thus set before it at the outset have ever been kept in view. It was not the acknowledgment of any new or lately learned obligation, but the recognition and public avowal of an eternal commandment, none other in fact than that which gave birth and being to the church catholic of Christ: "Go ye, therefore, and teach



all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. Amen."— St. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

At the second meeting, which was held on the 8th of July, at the "Cockpit," which stood upon the site of the present Privy Council office, at Whitehall, the device of the society's seal was agreed upon. It was "a ship under sail making towards a point of land; upon the prow standing a minister with an open Bible in his hand; people standing on the shore in a posture of expectation and using these words, *Transiens adjuva nos.*" The by-laws adopted at this meeting provided that the business of the society should always be opened with prayer; that a sermon should be preached before the members every

year by a preacher appointed by the president, and that an oath should be taken by the officers of the society for the faithful discharge of their duties. The meetings of the society, held regularly from this time forward, took place sometimes at the "Cockpit," at other times at Lambeth Palace or at the vestry of St. Mary-le-Bow Church; but most frequently at Archbishop Tenison's library, at St. Martin's in the Fields. The day of meeting was, at the first, every Friday, and afterwards on the third Friday, in every month. A record was kept of the proceedings, which is still preserved; and the carefully kept correspondence with the missionaries, in which the history of the Church in America was given year by year, in the very words of those who were the actors in the events they detailed, was long a most interesting and valuable part of the archives of the society. Providentially it was examined, and, so far as it related to our North American colonies, copied minutely and fully by the late historiographer of the American Church, the Rev. Francis Lister Hawks, D.D., LL.D., under direction and by the authority of the general convention. Shortly after these transcripts were made, the originals were destroyed by fire, and the American Church, by its gift of the volumes of these letters, sumptuously printed under the authority of the general convention, has furnished the society with the material for much of its own history, which had else been hopelessly lost.

The collection of funds for the support of this Anglican "propaganda" was a matter of interest and care from the first, and among the most valuable laborers in this department of the society's operations was the Bishop of Ely, the celebrated Patrick, who had from the first, and even prior to the organization of the society, sought to further the work of foreign evangelization to the utmost of his power. A grateful acknowledgment of his disinterested and abundant services, so far as the province of Maryland is concerned, was made by the royal governor, Nicholson, and allusions to the zeal and world-wide charity displayed by this great-hearted prelate and commentator are to be found in the correspondence of the like-minded Dr. Bray. Among those who emulated the good Bishop of Ely in this respect was the excellent William Burkitt, Vicar of Dedham, in Essex, himself a noted commentator on the New Testament, who, so far from being content with being a contributor to the funds of the society, sought out and was the means of sending to America one of the best of the colonial clergy, the Rev. Samuel Thomas, missionary to South Carolina. The celebrated Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, added to his personal subscription and blessing suggestions for securing the offerings of the charitably disposed in his own diocese. The other bishops of England, the archbishops of Ireland, and the heads of colleges at the universities, showed their readiness to promote the work undertaken by the society by individual contributions, and by recommendations of its object and operations to their clergy and people. It is an interesting fact that in a letter from the Rev. Mr. Stubs, of Wadham College, Oxford, under date of April 14, 1703, after reciting the proofs of interest in the society's plans felt by the members of the university, reference is made to the fact that the society, as early as the second year of its existence, was con-

sidering the necessity of the appointment of a suffragan bishop for America, and debating the possibility of obtaining the Episcopal relief, so earnestly desired, from the Scotch bishops. Unfortunately for the Church in America there were then "but six Scotch bishops remaining, and they aged men."¹ It was not till after more than fourscore years of weary waiting, that the wished-for boon of the episcopate was secured through this very channel, thus indicated so many years in advance.

With such abundant evidences of interest in the work undertaken by the society funds were lavishly supplied. In March, 1701-2, a donation of one hundred guineas was reported from the Princess of Denmark, who at a later day, as Queen Anne, was constant in her charities towards the colonial church. This royal gift was in furtherance of a favorite plan of Dr. Bray, the support of a superintendent over the clergy of Maryland, the importance of which province none could better know, or more warmly advocate, than the devoted commissary himself. At the same time the records chronicle a gift of £50 from Archdeacon Beveridge, who, at a later day, when raised to the episcopate, lost none of his old interest in the mission-work carried on by the society across the sea. A still more munificent gift of £1,000 was reported at the same time from "a person who desires to be unknown," recalling by its exhibition of unobtrusive and unostentatious charity the earlier days of zeal and self-denial for the infant Virginia Church and State.

Among the leading laymen who were connected with the society, either at the start or immediately afterwards, the name of Robert Nelson must stand preëminent. Elected to membership on the 21st of November, 1701, a day noteworthy in the annals of the society, as being that on which the Archbishop of Canterbury and ten other prelates were formally enrolled among its members; it is even now a source of gratification that in this holy work of foreign evangelization, as well as in that of the Christian Knowledge Society, the non-juror, Robert Nelson, could still find and gladly embrace opportunities for coöperation with the church of his baptism. His name will ever be held in grateful memory by the members of the Anglican Communion, so long as festival and fast shall bring to mind his admirable expositions, and clear and convincing explanations of the church's services. He stands foremost in his day and generation for the singular purity and consistent holiness of his life, the largeness and extent of his liberality, the pains with which he cultivated each gift and grace bestowed upon him, and the complete, unreserved consecration with which he devoted himself and all that he was or had to God. Casting in his lot with those brave and holy men, who, at the Revolution, felt that they could not in conscience transfer to one sovereign the allegiance they had sworn to another; and, in their obedience to the dictates of their consciences, suffered deprivation of all preferments, and consequent poverty and obscurity all the days of their life, Nelson teaches us that it is possible for men to differ widely, and yet charitably, and in maintaining stoutly and strenuously one's own convictions to find at

¹ Anderson's "Col. Ch.," 111., p. 36.

the last means for the healing of all differences in a common love for a common Lord. It is, and will ever be, our glory as a church, that it was in measures for our planting and nourishing that Robert Nelson was brought in close union with those who shared none of his scruples, but recognized his unswerving devotion to conscience and truth. An interesting proof of the interest of Nelson in the work of the society is found in the special Collect, which he drew up in the society's behalf, and which is contained in his well-known Companion for the Festivals and Fasts. It breathes in most felicitous language the earnest petition that the members of this important Christian charity might be diligent and zealous in the discharge of their duties, and receive the wisdom to discern, and the courage and resolution to pursue, the most fitting means for the promotion of the good work they had in hand.

The day of Robert Nelson's admission to membership was signalized by the admission of the celebrated Francis Nicholson, Governor of Virginia. The excellences, as well as the defects, of Nicholson's character were marked, and known of all men. His churchmanship was in many respects uncompromising; and yet instances are recorded of his ready compliance with the requirements of the Romish ritual at one time, and those of the barest Calvinistic worship on the other. Devoted to the Church: liberal, munificent even, in his gifts for the furtherance of her interests; sparing no pains, and reckless even of personal popularity, in accomplishing the building of churches, and the settlement of clergy in the various governments intrusted to his care from time to time, he could not or would not restrain a hasty temper, and a passionate self-will, leading him into altercations with the clergy and rendering him obnoxious for his despotic and unprincipled demeanor. Still the zeal and generosity so uniformly manifested by him in promoting the growth of the colonial church were more likely to be known and remembered in England than his defects of temper, or his mistakes in governing; and it was but natural that one who had in 1700 received the thanks of the Christian Knowledge Society for "his great services in the propagating Christian knowledge in the plantation," should become an honored member of the sister society, having the same great end in view.

Another honored name, that of a true and world-renowned Christian gentleman, — John Evelyn, — appears among the list of members of the society during the first year of its existence. The minutes show that this worthy English gentleman was elected to membership on the 15th of May, 1702, and the diary of Evelyn himself, one of the choicest fragments of our English literature, makes the following reference to the election and to the society's work: —

Being elected a member of the Society lately incorporated for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, I subscrib'd 10*l.* *per ann.* towards the carrying it on. We agreed that every missionary, besides the 20*l.* to set him forth, sho^d have 50*l.* *per ann.* out of the Stock of the Corporation, till his settlement was worth to him 100*l.* *per ann.* We sent a young divine to New York.

Between two and three years after the date of this record Evelyn entered into his rest, leaving the society which had numbered him

among its members the more worthy of our veneration and remembrance, because approved and aided by so true a Christian, and so perfect a gentleman.

With such an object in view, even the conversion of the world, and such a noble band of workers associated in its behalf, the society was not long in taking a firm hold upon the affection and support of English churchmen. The call was at once made, through the bishops and other church dignitaries, for "such clergymen as have a mind to be employed in this Apostolical work," and the promise of support was made to all such who, being found "duly qualified," proposed to "devote themselves to the service of Almighty God and our Saviour, by propagating and promoting the gospel in the truth and purity of it, according to the doctrine, discipline, and worship established in the Church of England." Testimony was required in the case of each applicant for appointment as to age, condition in life, temper, prudence, learning, sober and pious conversation, zeal for the Christian religion and diligence in his holy calling, and his conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. An earnest appeal was made to "all persons concerned, that they recommend no man out of favour or affection, or any other worldly consideration, but with a sincere regard to the honour of Almighty God and our blessed Saviour; as they tender the interest of the Christian religion and the good of men's souls." The "instructions for the missionaries," which were prepared and published, cover every particular which could be required, and are couched in language so simple and so affecting as to be models of rules for holy living. These "instructions" begin with the missionary's appointment, cover the period of his passage to his distant field, and then provide for his "circumspect and unblamable" behavior upon his arrival at his post. These laborers for Christ were enjoined:—

I. That they always keep in their view the great design of their undertaking, viz.: to promote the glory of Almighty God, and the salvation of men, by propagating the gospel of our Lord and Saviour.

II. That they often consider the qualifications for those who would effectually promote this design, viz.: a sound knowledge and hearty belief of the Christian religion; an apostolical zeal, tempered with prudence, humility, meekness, and patience; a fervent charity towards the souls of men; and, finally, that temperance, fortitude, and constancy, which become good soldiers of Jesus Christ.

III. That in order to the obtaining and preserving the said qualifications, they do very frequently in their retirement offer up fervent prayer to Almighty God for his direction and assistance; converse much with the Holy Scriptures; seriously reflect upon their Ordination Vows; and consider the account which they are to render to the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls at the last day.

VI. That in their outward behaviour they be circumspect and unblamable, giving no offence either in word or deed; that their ordinary discourse be grave and edifying; their apparel decent and proper for clergymen; and that in their whole conversation they be instances and patterns of the Christian's life.

VIII. That in whatsoever family they shall lodge, they persuade them to join with them in daily prayer, morning and evening.

With respect to their parochial work they received equally full and minute instructions. The "rules of the Liturgy" were to be conscientiously observed "in the performance of all the offices of the Ministry." Besides the Sunday and Holy-day services they were, if

practicable, to have daily prayers, and to neglect no opportunity of preaching. The service was to be performed with "seriousness and decency," so as to "excite a spirit of devotion" in the people. The "chief subjects" of their sermons were to be "the great fundamental principles of Christianity, and the duties of a sober and godly life." Vices predominant in the places of their residence were to be particularly preached against. They were required to "carefully instruct the people concerning the nature and use of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, as the peculiar institutions of Christ, pledges of communion with Him, and means of deriving Grace from Him." Catechising, the instruction of "Heathen and Infidels" and constant visiting, the distribution of tracts and the lending of "useful books," together with the setting up of schools for children, were particularly enjoined.

It was with this end in view that the venerable society undertook the work of evangelizing the colonies of Great Britain in America. There was need of such an agency. Through its abundant labors the church's prayers were again heard, and her sacraments administered, in New England, after years of banishment and consequent disuse. New York had at length the regular ministrations required for years by royal rescripts, but only just obtained. In Pennsylvania the Church had only been introduced. Maryland had its half-a-dozen clergymen, and Virginia a greater number; but in both of these provinces there were numerous vacancies, and what were the few clergy, scattered at great distances and ministering under many difficulties, among the many infant settlements springing up on every side? At the southward the Church had only a name to live, and was well-nigh dead. In consequence of the insufficiency of clergymen churches were closed, and the young and old grew up, lived, and died without the knowledge of God's word or the administration of the sacraments. Laxity of opinion and practice followed the withholding of the teaching of God's truth, and the dispensing of the means of grace. The Church could not advance in view of such hindrances to success. That she survived this period of indifference and neglect is only to be accounted for by the divine promise that, "the gates of hell shall not prevail against her."

Dr. Bray presented to the archbishop, and published in 1701, a memorial "representing the present state of religion in the several provinces on the continent of North America, in order to the providing a sufficient number of missionaries, so absolutely necessary to be sent at this juncture into those parts."¹ The statistics he gave are similar to those we have recited, and from this "memorial," as well as from other contemporary documents, it appears that outside of Virginia and Maryland there were not at the beginning of the eighteenth century half-a-dozen clergymen of the Church in all the colonies of North America, and that, including these provinces where the Church was legally established, the whole number of priests of the mother-church ministering on American shores, from Maine to Carolina, was considerably less than fifty, probably not two-score.

¹ Published in folio, London, 1701, p. 15. Collections," i., pp. 99-106, and is there erroneously dated "about the year 1710." This valuable paper, with a number of variations, is printed in the "Prot. Epis. Hist. Soc.

With such a lack of ministers and ministrations, the efforts which had marked the earlier days of settlement for the conversion of the Indians, and the later labors which had been undertaken from time to time in behalf of the civilizing and Christianizing of the negroes, already become numerous and brought within reach of instruction, had wholly ceased. Morgan Godwyn, who had been a student of Christ Church, Oxford, and after taking orders, had spent several years in Virginia, in his pamphlet, entitled: "The Negroes' and Indians' Advocate, suing for their admission into the Church," published in London, in 1680, pleads earnestly with his countrymen in behalf of the negroes and other heathen at that time in the West Indies. But earnest and able as were his arguments, and applicable as they were to the condition of things on the main land as well, they failed to convince those whom he addressed. Godwyn, in a letter to Governor Berkeley, gives an account of the state of religion in Virginia, where he had ministered before the time of Bacon's rebellion, and which there is no doubt continued to be correct until the beginning of a new century. Acknowledging that the governor had, "as a tender father, nourished and preserved Virginia in her infancy and nonage," he reminds Berkeley "that there is one thing, the propagation and establishing of religion in her, wanting." The occasion of this lack, among other reasons, is thus stated: "The ministers are most miserably handled by their plebeian Juntos, the vesteries, to whom the living (that is the usual word there) and admission of ministers is solely left. And there being no law obliging them to any more than procure a lay-reader (to be obtained at a very moderate rate), they either resolve to have none at all, or reduce them to their own terms; that is, to use them how they please, pay them what they list, and to discard them whensoever they have mind to it." Again, "two-thirds of the preachers are made up of readers, lay-priests of the vesteries ordination: and are both the shame and grief of the rightly ordained Clergie there." Parishes, extending some of them sixty or seventy miles in extent, were kept vacant for many years, to save charges. "Laymen were allowed to usurp the office of ministers, and Deacons to undermine and thrust out Presbyters, in a word all things concerning the Church and religion were left to the mercy of the people." To this he adds, "to propagate Christianity among the heathen — whether natives or slaves brought from other parts — although (as must piously be supposed) it were the only end of God's discovering those countries to us, yet is that lookt upon by our new race of Christians, so idle and ridiculous, that no man can forfeit his judgment more than by any proposal looking or tending that way."

Such was the state of religion and the Church in a province where the Church was established by law; elsewhere sectism in various forms prevailed, and it was reserved to the venerable society to undertake the work which in the course of years gave us our American Church. Without the labors of the society, in supplying us with men of "apostolic zeal" and "unblameable character," of true religion and good learning, the Church, betrayed by those who should have

sought her highest good; "wounded, like her Master, in the house of her friends," would have died. The gates of hell would have prevailed against her.

ILLUSTRATIVE AND CRITICAL NOTES.

THE transcripts of the voluminous correspondence of the missionaries with the secretary of the venerable society, together with the copies of documents, relating to the early history of the Church in the colonies, in the collections of MSS. at Lambeth and Fulham, made under the direction of the late Rev. Dr. Francis L. Hawks, are contained in a number of ponderous folios, and form a most valuable part of the archives of the General Convention of the American Church. Several of these volumes have been published. The volume of Connecticut Church MSS. was published under the editorship of Dr. Hawks and the author of this history, in two octavo volumes, in the year 1863 and 1864. The Virginia MSS. formed the initial volume of a series of five noble quartos, printed in sumptuous style, under the general title of "Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church," of which the issues were, successively, Virginia, in 1871; Pennsylvania, in 1872; Massachusetts, in 1874; Maryland, in 1878, and Delaware in the same year. Of these important volumes but two hundred and fifty sets were printed; and they have, in consequence, already become rare and costly. It is proposed to resume the publication of this series, and to issue the remaining volumes in a less expensive form.

Our notices of the venerable society would be incomplete without a reference to the "White Kennet Library," a collection of the rarest books, pamphlets, tracts, broadsides, etc., gathered by Dr. White Kennet, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, and presented by him to the society as an "American Library." The catalogue of this collection, itself a most valuable bibliographical volume, is entitled "Bibliotheca Americane Primordia. An Attempt towards laying the foundation of an American Library, in several books, papers, and writings, humbly given to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. . . . By a member of the Society." Quarto, 1713. Although this valuable collection is not wholly preserved, after the lapse of nearly a century and three-quarters, many of its volumes are yet in the possession of the society; while others which have strayed are, from time to time, found in other collections, bearing the name and book-stamp of the far-seeing and indefatigable collector. *Vide* an interesting "Account of the White Kennet Library of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. By Charles Deane." Cambridge, 1883.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MISSION OF KEITH AND TALBOT "FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE TO CARATUCK." NORTH CAROLINA.

THE career of the Rev. George Keith, the first "missioner" appointed by the venerable society, had been a strange and checkered one. Born and brought up at Aberdeen, and a student at the ancient university of this city with Gilbert Burnet, the great Bishop of Salisbury, who was a few years his junior, Keith had been at the first connected with the established kirk. Converted from Presbyterianism to the doctrines and practices of the Quakers, he proved the sincerity of his change of views and his fearlessness in the advocacy of his inner convictions, by coming forward as the champion of the belief he had adopted at a time when it was assailed with the fiercest persecution. A ready writer and a skilled controversialist, his numerous writings in defence of the tenets of the Quakers were marked by acute reasoning and abundant learning. Restless in mind and body alike, America soon became the home of his adoption, and the heralding of the views of his sect the chief occupation of his life.

Coming to America about the year 1682, and settling in Monmouth, N.J., we find him employed in 1687 as surveyor-general to draw the boundary line between the eastern and western division of the province in which he had made his home. Two years later he moved to Philadelphia for the purpose of taking charge of the Friends' public school, then first established in the city of Penn. As a teacher he was faithful and successful, and in the exercise of his gifts as a preacher "among an unlearned and ignorant company of people, as for the most part these preachers were," he easily "excelled them all, appearing as a bright luminary, and outshining all the rest of that order among them; and by his remarkable diligence and industry in all parts of his ministerial office, he rendered himself beloved of them all, especially the more inferior sort of people."¹ But with shining parts, and all the elements of popular success, the Quaker teacher and preacher possessed an irresistible fondness for controversy. He had distinguished himself as a writer in favor of Quakerism as early as 1665, and in crossing the sea he had not lost either his fondness for controversy or his skill in disputation. His zeal, quickened by the relentless persecution of his fellow-religionists at the hands of the Puritans of New England, led him to bear his "testimony" in the very midst of those among whom Quakerism had

¹Gerard Croese, quoted in "Prot. Epis. Hist. Soc. Collections," I., Introduction to reprint of Keith's Journal, p. ix.



THE KING'S MISSIVE. 1661, COMMANDING THE RELEASE OF THE QUAKERS.

already reaped what its adherents deemed a glorious martyrdom. The "King's missive" had, indeed, emptied the jails and stopped the bloody scourgings and painful martyrdoms which had been the Puritan's favorite mode of dealing with heresy, but the old hate had not died out; so the Quaker champion fearlessly threw down the gauntlet and challenged to the polemic strife the most astute and famous of the champions of Puritanism. It was thus that he began his "Solemn Call and Warning from the Lord to the People of New England to repent":—

"The burden of the Word of the Lord that came unto me on the twenty-first day of this fourth month, 1688, in the town of Boston, in New England, to declare it unto Boston and its inhabitants, and to the inhabitants of New England."

James Allen

S. Willard.

Joshua Moody

To Bess Return'd unto

C. Mather.

A copy of this "warning-cry," couched in prophetic language, and bitter and remorseless in its denunciations of those to whom it was addressed, was posted in the most conspicuous part of the town, and this act of defiance was followed by the publication of a letter written in similar style, and addressed to "James Allen, Joshua Moody, Samuel Willard, Cotton Mather, called preachers in Boston." In this communication Keith charged

those whom he named with preaching false doctrine, and boldly challenged them to a public disputation. The reply is characteristic of men who knew their position and power, and at the same time could not overlook or fail to resent this daring insult offered to their dignity:—

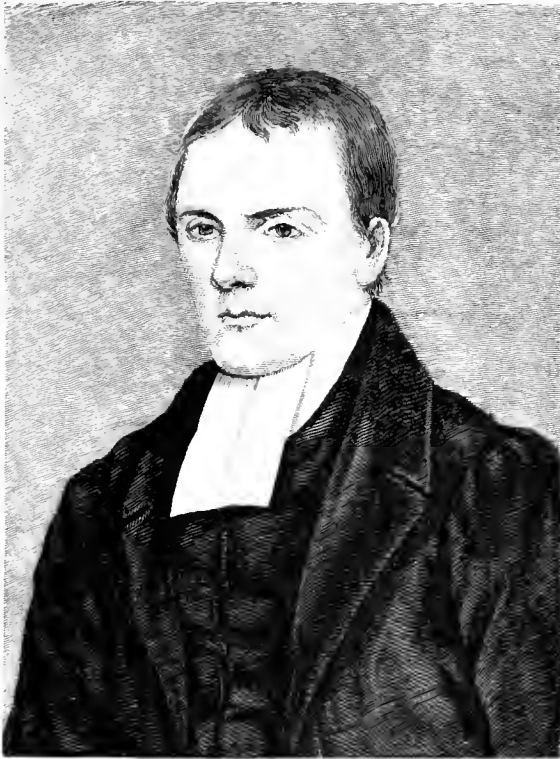
Having received a blasphemous and heretical paper, subscribed by one George Keith, our answer to it and him is: if he desires conference to instruct *us*, let him give us his arguments in writing as well as his assertions; if to inform *himself*, let him write his doubts: if to cavil and disturb the peace of our churches (which we have cause to suspect), we have neither list nor leisure to attend his motions. If he would have a public audience, let him print; if a private discourse, though he may know where we dwell, yet we forget not what the Apostle John saith, Epis. 2, 10th verse.¹

It needed no invitation to induce Keith, thus baffled in his wish for a disputation with the Puritan ministers, to seek "a public audience" through the press, and his reply was even more scathing and severe than his first attack. Not content with the immediate issue, he revives the controversies of the past, and opens up old sores in "A brief answer to some gross abuses, lies and slanders, published some years ago by Increase Mather, late teacher of a church at Boston, in

¹ If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed.

New England, in his book called 'An Essay for the recording of illustrious Providences,' etc., and by Nath. Morton, in his book called 'New England's Memorial.'"

It was not long after this acrimonious controversy that Keith found his convictions no longer in accord with the prevailing views of his own party. Differences of opinion touching many important points of doctrine and practice became at length so pronounced as to lead, not



REV. GEORGE KEITH.

only to his removal from his position in the school, but to his public condemnation and practical excommunication from the Quaker body. Having openly charged the Friends in Pennsylvania with laxity of discipline, as well as a departure from their original belief, he proceeded to resist the authority of their tribunals, on the ground that the acceptance in their own persons of the magistracy was a violation of their religious profession. But his arguments convinced only his adherents and himself, and, being brought to trial, he was convicted and fined. The fine was subsequently remitted, but whether this leniency arose from a conviction on the part of the judges that their authority was indeed questionable, or from a hope that the offender might be reclaimed,

it is impossible to determine. It is certain, however, that from this time Keith proceeded to claim for his followers and himself the right to be regarded as the true exponents of Quakerism, and to denounce all others as apostates. No other course remained for those who were arrayed against this new expositor of Quakerism but to bear their public testimony against him. Admonitions and persuasions had failed to dissuade the fearless Keith from avowing his convictions, and assailing all who differed from his views; and even when the great body of the Friends publicly disavowed all connection with him, his answer was, that "he trampled their judgment under his feet as dirt." He set up at once a separate "meeting," and numbering, as he did, among his followers, many who are described by the historian of Pennsylvania as "men of rank, character and reputation, in these provinces, and divers of them great preachers and much followed,"¹ his success occasioned great alarm. "A Declaration, or Testimony of Denial," was solemnly borne against the schismatic at a public meeting of the Friends, in Philadelphia, on the 20th of April, 1692, and confirmed by the general meeting held at Burlington, N.J., a few months afterwards. Its language of mingled sorrow and condemnation proves the severity of the blow inflicted upon them by this secession from their numbers, and is in marked contrast with the contemptuous tone in which they were wont at a later day to refer to it. The words of the lamentation of David over Saul and Jonathan are made use of to describe their feelings as they moan over the loss of the "mighty man" who had dropped from their ranks. As long as he walked "in the counsel of God and was little in his own eyes," his "bow" abode "in strength," and his "sword returned not empty from the fat of the enemies of God." "Oh, how lovely," they continued, "wert thou, in that day when this beauty was upon thee, and when this comeliness covered thee!" And then, taking up the language of the message to the Church of Ephesus in the Apocalypse, they bade him who had "left his first love" to remember from whence he was "fallen, and repent, and do his first works."²

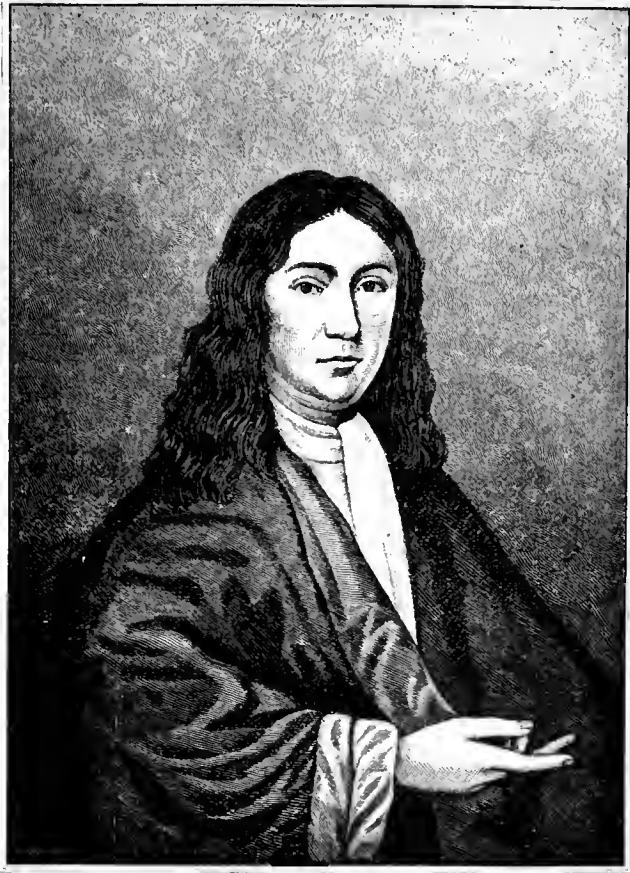
This "Testimony" against Keith, thus given by the Friends in America, was confirmed in 1694 by the yearly meeting of the Quakers in London. But he was only the more steadfast. The grounds of his separation were such that there could be no compromise. He and his followers claimed as their title that of "Christian Quakers." Keith charged upon his opponents a tendency towards Deism.

Returning to England in the same year in which the testimony of the London meeting was delivered against him, he found himself disowned, derided, and despised. Patiently and resolutely he betook himself to the task of self-vindication. But the line of reading and of argument which he pursued in his attempt to disprove the errors of Quakerism convinced him that the Church of England, at once Catholic and reformed, claimed his allegiance and service. With him conviction was at once followed by action, and, openly confessing his previous errors, he was received into the Church, and began his prepa-

¹ Proud's "History of Pennsylvania," I., p. 369, *note*.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 365, 366.

ration for holy orders. The pen which had proved so trenchant in its advocacy of the tenets of the Friends was at once devoted to the service and defence of the church of his latest love. So fully did he receive her doctrine, and so ready and convincing were his arguments



J. D. Wesley

in her defence, that his exposition of the church's teaching, as contained in his "Larger and Lesser Catechism," was the first book adopted for circulation by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. His "Reasons for renouncing Quakerism, and entering into Communion with the Church of England," which was published in 1700, became at

once an authority in the controversy, from its vigorous style and acute and lucid reasoning. Received early in the same year to holy orders, his "Farewell Sermon, preached at Turner's Hall, May the 5th, with his two initiating Sermons, on May the 12th, 1700, at St. George's, Butolph's Lane, by Billings-Gate," attest the earnestness of his convictions, and the entire consecration of himself to his new work, at the beginning of his ministry. Commended by Dr. Bray to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, soon after he had received Priest's orders he prepared, at the request of the Secretary, a "Memorial of the State of Religion" in those parts of North America where he had travelled. In this interesting paper he refers to his opposition to the Quaker "notion of the sufficiency of the light within every man to salvation, without anything else," as having been the occasion of his own separation, and asserts that on his coming to England, in 1694, he left behind him "fourteen or fifteen meetings in Pennsylvania, West and East Jerseys, that met apart from the Quakers (on the account of their opposition to these errors) to the number of above five hundred persons." The Memorial pointed out the best places among the American colonies for the introduction of the Church; and its wise and temperate suggestions, coupled with the knowledge of the writer's familiarity with the country and its varying and discordant sects, and his zeal for the church of his adoption, influenced the society to appoint Keith its first travelling missionary, commissioning him to explore the field in its length and breadth, and associating with him the Rev. Patrick Gordon as a fellow-itinerant. The newly appointed missionaries embarked on the 24th of April, 1702, on board the "Centurion" for Boston, where they arrived on the 11th of the June following. Col. Joseph Dudley, the royal Governor of New England, and Col. Lewis Morris, Governor of New Jersey, were passengers in the same ship. The chaplain of the "Centurion," the Rev. John Talbot, became so interested in the mission of Keith as to devote himself to mission work, or, as he was fond of styling it, "the service of God and His Church, *apud Americanos*." "Worthy Mr. Gordon" died at Jamaica, Long Island, about six weeks after his arrival in Boston. His career, though thus early closed by death, had been long enough to win for him the respect and regard of churchmen and dissenters alike, and Colonel Morris, in a letter to Archdeacon, afterwards Bishop, Beveridge, bore testimony to his "abilities, sobriety and prudence," and mourned his untimely removal "just as he was entering upon his charge."

The "Centurion" landed its passengers at Boston, and the clergy of the Queen's Chapel, the Rev. Samuel Myles and the Rev. Christopher Bridge, welcomed these three brethren to their homes. On the following Sunday Keith preached in the Queen's Chapel, from the text Eph. ii. 20, 21, 22, before "a large Auditory not only of Church people but of many others." At the request of the ministers and vestry, and others, this sermon was printed. It contained "six plain brief rules," which the preacher told his hearers agreed well with the Holy Scriptures, and which, if "put in practice, would bring all to the Church of England who dissented from her." "This," remarks Keith, in

his journal, "did greatly alarm the Independent Preachers at Boston." To no less a controversialist than the celebrated Dr. Increase Mather was assigned the task of combating these "rules," and overthrowing the arguments of a disputant, who, as an advocate for the Church, received a hearing and a reply, denied him years before, when he was contending in behalf of the vagaries of Quakerism. A short contro-

THE
DOCTRINE
 OF THE HOLY
 Apostles & Prophets the Foundation
 OF THE
Church of Christ,
 As it was Delivered in a
SERMON
 At Her Majesties Chappel, at
Boston in New-England, the
 14th. of June 1702.

By **George Keith, M. A.**

B O S T O N.

Printed for *Samuel Phillips* at the Brick Shop. 1702.

versy followed, though Keith's answer was printed in New York. "The Printer at Boston not daring to print it lest he should give offence to the Independent Preachers there."

Before setting forth on his missionary journey Mr. Keith was induced by Colonel Morris to remain at Boston until the "Commencement" of the college at Cambridge. "at which," writes Morris, "the good man was met with very little University breeding, and with less learning, but he was most distressed by the theses which were there

maintained of predestination and immutable decrees, to which he drew up a long answer in Latin." The theses of President Willard, thus pronounced unsonnd, are recorded in Keith's journal, as follows: "I. That the fall of Adam, by virtue of God's decree, was necessary. II. That every free act of the reasonable creature is determined by God, so that whatever the reasonable creature acteth freely, it acteth the same necessarily."

The Latin letter sent to the president was afterwards "put into English" and published at New York. In Willard's reply, "notwithstanding his many shufflings, and seeming to disown the charge," he "very roundly and plainly" maintains all that had been alleged, and "much more," in these words:—

Nor shall I part with my opinion, viz.: that the Origine and cause of the necessity of the first sin is more to be derived from God, than from Man himself. Nay, further, that the whole cause of the futurity of it is owing to the Divine decree, though still the whole sin and blame of it is due to Adam, for that in accomplishing of his Apostacy, he abused his own free Will, and voluntarily transgressed the command.

The answer of Keith to this defence had, we are told, "a good effect in quieting the minds of many people in these parts, and bringing them over to the Church."

Early in July Keith and Talbot began the extended tour of missionary exploration which occupied two years, and extended from "Piscataway River in New England to Caratuck in North Carolina." Beginning in Lynn, the Quakers were visited in their homes, and at their "Meetings." In spite of abuse and interruptions they pursued their labors at Hampton, Salisbury, Dover, and Salem; returning thence to Boston, and having throughout their journey received the hospitality and coöperation of the "New England ministers," who made common cause with them in their assault upon Quakerism. On their second journey, which was towards the southward, they were accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Myles of Boston. At Newport there was a public disputation with the Quakers, which attracted great attention; and at Portsmouth, Narragansett, Little Compton, and Swansea, the indefatigable "missioner" pursued his work of exposing the errors of the Quakers, and proclaiming the faith of the Church of England. Starting out from Newport on a third tour, New London was the first point reached, and the journal tells us that on Sunday, September the 13th, "Mr. Talbot preached there in the forenoon, and I preached there in the afternoon, we being desired to do so by the minister, Mr. Gurdon Saltonstall, who civilly entertained us at his house, and expressed his good affection to the Church of England, as did also the minister at Hampton" [the Rev. John Cotton], "and the minister at Salisbury" [the Rev. Mr. Cashing], "and divers other New England ministers did the like. My text was Rom. 8, 9; the auditory was large, and well affected. Col. Winthrop, governour of the colony, after Forenoon Sermon invited us to dinner at his house, and kindly entertained us both then and the next day." Crossing Long Island Sound in a sloop which they hired, they reached, after two days' travel on horse-

back, Oyster-bay, where, on Sunday after prayers, Mr Keith preached, and his companion baptized a child. At this point the Rev. William Vesey, of Trinity Church, New York, joined the party, and all proceeded to the Quaker meeting at Flushing.

The attempt of Keith to speak was interrupted by "the clamour and noise;" but in the disputes that followed it is evident that Keith was far from being worsted by his bitter antagonists. From Hempstead, where a Sunday was spent, and the church's service and a sermon given to a people "generally well affected" and desirous that a Church of England minister should be settled among them," the party proceeded to New York. It was a time of pestilence. "Above five hundred" had "died in the space of a few weeks, and that very week about seventy." Keith preached from St. James v. 13, at the "Weekly Fast which was appointed by the Government by reason of the great mortality," and on the following day proceeded on his journey southward. Sunday, October 3, was spent at Amboy: "the auditory was small." The "text was Tit. ii. 11, 12." "Such as were there were well affected." Among them were some "Keithian Quakers," who had conformed to the Church. Of these converted Quakers one was John Barclay, "brother to Robert Barclay, who published the Apology for the Quakers." On the following Sunday, at Freehold, Keith attended the "Yearly Meeting" of the Keithian Quakers, where, after a Quaker discourse, the journal records as follows: "I used some of the Church Collects I had by heart in prayer; and after that I preached on Heb. v. 9. There was a considerable auditory of Quakers: they heard me without any interruption, and the meeting ended peaceably." This was repeated the following day, and an opportunity for private conference with the Quaker preacher was not lost. The following Sunday

John Talbot

Keith preached at Middleton, Mr. Talbot reading the prayers, and the text being St. Matt. xxviii. 19. Here "most of the auditory were Church people, or well-affected to the Church." A week later Keith held a "three days' meeting" at Shrewsbury, it being the time of the Quakers' Yearly Meeting, during which Keith publicly "detected the Quakers' errors out of their printed books, particularly out of the folio book of Edward Burroughs' Works, collected and published by the Quakers after his death," reading "the quotations to the Auditory, laying the pages open before such as were willing to read them, for their better satisfaction." From Shrewsbury Keith and Talbot proceeded to Burlington, where they preached in the town-house, the church not being built. Here they had "a great auditory of diverse sorts, some of the Church, and some of the late converts from Quakerism." Here again Keith "detected the Quakers' errors

out of their great authors, George Fox his Great Mystery, and Edward Burroughs' Folio Book, and others." From Burlington, where, as elsewhere in New Jersey, they received marked attention from the leading officers of the crown, they journeyed to Philadelphia, where they were heartily welcomed by "the two ministers there and the church people, and especially by the late converts from Quakerism, who were become zealous members of the Church." The visit of these distinguished representatives of the venerable society was made the



GEORGE FOX.¹

occasion of a meeting of the clergy in New York, where seven assembled in the second week in November and drew up "An Account of the Church in Pennsylvania, East and West Jersey and New York." The names of those composing this first Clerical Convocation in the city of New York were, George Keith; Evan Evans, "Minister of Philadelphia;" Alexander Innes, "Presbyter;" Edward Mott, "Chaplain of Her Majesty's Forces in New York;" John Talbot; William Vesey, "Rector of New York;" and John Bartow, "Rector of

¹ This follows Holmes's engraving of the portrait of Fox, by Honthorst, in 1654, when Fox was in his thirtieth year. This Dutch painter, if Gerard Honthorst, was born in Utrecht, in 1592, was at one time in England, and died in 1660;

if his brother William, he died in 1683, aged 73. The original canvas was recently offered for sale in England. A view of Swarthmore Hall, where Fox lived, is in Gay's "Popular History of the United States," II, p. 173.

West Chester County." The journal of Keith, in recording the fact of this important meeting, adds the following interesting particular: "Colonel Nicolson, Governor of Virginia, to encourage us to meet, was so generous as to bear our charges (I mean of all of us that lived not at New York), besides his other great and generous benefactions to the building and adorning many Churches lately built in these parts." The session of the clergy was followed by a brief stay in New York, where Keith and Talbot were entertained by the erratic Lord Cornbury, Governor of New York and the Jerseys, and where Keith availed himself of his intimacy with the royal governor to obtain an opportunity for speaking to the Quakers at Flushing, the scene of his former unsuccessful attempt.

His opponents were in no mind to listen to one whom they regarded not only as an apostate, but also as a hireling, and even the governor's letter and the presence of two justices of the peace, deputed to see that he should not be interrupted in his discourse, could not compel the Quakers to listen patiently to his criticisms, or enable him to speak to their regular congregations.

Christmas was spent with their fellow-passenger on the "Centurion," Colonel Lewis Morris, at whose request Keith preached in the Morris mansion, and Talbot administered the holy communion, "both Mr. Morris and his wife and divers others" receiving. Turning southward, on the following Sunday Keith preached at Shrewsbury in New Jersey, "at a planter's house, and had a considerable auditory of Church people lately converted from Quakerism, with divers others of the Church of best note in that part of the Country." The new year began with the baptism of several Quaker converts at Freehold, and after a brief visit at Burlington, and a longer stay in Philadelphia, Keith began anew his labors at Chester, Concord, and other places in the neighborhood, preaching in churches or houses, and confirming in their new faith numerous followers of his in his separation from the Quaker meeting, who had made the further change from Keithan Quakerism to the Church. In the first week of February, 1702, Keith convened the Keithan Separatists and their preachers, in Philadelphia, continuing his efforts with them till at length he was able to write that "most of that party, both in town and country and also in West and East Jersey, and some in New York, came over with good zeal, and according to good knowledge, to the Church — praised be God for it." Keith remained in Philadelphia, busy in preaching and disputations,¹ until early in April, when he began a journey southward,² stopping on his way and preach-

¹ Early in the year James Logan wrote to William Penn as follows: "G. Keith, on the 5th instant, had a public dispute with himself, according to his way, at Whitpain's great house: he declaimed a very little time, I think not an hour, and to less purpose: his business was to expose, &c., but his chief success that way was, 'tis thought, upon himself. He sent his challenges, as thou wilt find by a copy of one of them enclosed, to the persons mentioned to each one, but forgot as he said afterwards to sign them, till about 11 of the clock that day he was to appear he sent the original to be shown to them, under his hand, but being brought to Thomas Storey he

prevented its further journey. None appeared but Wm. Southby to answer a calumny, as I am informed, raised against him, and soon withdrew. Those called Keithans here, as John Hart, L. Wilson, Jno. McComb, &c., are his great opponents, and in short in this place his execution has been exceeding small." — *Penn and Logan Correspondence*, I, p. 179.

² We find in a letter from J. Kirll to Jonathan Dickinson, dated Philadelphia, 16th April, 1703, the following notice of Keith from the Quaker side: "George Keith has been among us, but was coldly received by most sorts of people; he had disputes with several sorts; but one William

ing or baptizing at Chester, New Castle, and Yorktown, Virginia, whence he proceeded to Williamsburg, where Mr. Talbot and himself were "kindly received" and "entertained by Col. Nicholson," then Governor of Virginia. On Wednesday, the 21st of April, Keith preached in the Williamsburg Church, "before the Convocation of Clergy there assembled." On the following Sunday Keith preached at Jamestown, "at the request of the Reverend Mr. Blair, Minister there, and Commissary, who very kindly and hospitably entertained us at his house." Visiting Kicketan, where Keith's daughter, who had "fully come off from the Quakers," resided, the associated "missioners" officiated for several weeks in the vicinity, penetrating even into North Carolina to "Corretuck," and, being prevented by contrary winds from proceeding "in a canoe over a great bay," still further to the southward. After a series of sermons and services, with numerous baptisms of children at Abington, at churches and chapels in Princess Anne and Elizabeth counties, at Hampton and at Yorktown, the two evangelists proceeded to Maryland. At Annapolis there was "a large auditory, well affected." The sermon, from 1 Thess. i. 5, was printed, at the request, and mostly at the charge, of "a worthy person who heard it." Here Keith visited the Quakers' meeting at Herring Creek, accompanied by several of the leading men of the province and the rector of the parish, the Rev. Mr. Hall, with "divers other ministers of the neighboring parishes." But the Quakers would not listen to his arguments. Driven from the Quaker meeting, a large number resorted to an adjacent chapel, where, after prayers, Keith preached on the errors of Quakerism. For several weeks Keith pursued his mission throughout Maryland, and then in August returned to Philadelphia. In September occurred the Quakers' yearly meeting, and the Rev. Mr. Evans, with the consent of the vestry, opened the church in Philadelphia, on all the days of the Quakers' meetings, for services, while Keith and Talbot sought to gain a hearing from the Quakers themselves. They were met with violence, Talbot being thrust from the place of meeting by force, and Keith being jostled and assaulted, and the bench on which he was standing pulled from under him. So disorderly was the affair that little or nothing could be expected either in the way of refuting the Quakers' errors or in the proclamation of a more excellent way. The remainder of the year was spent in journeyings to and fro in the middle provinces. Many converts were made. Two of Keith's sermons, preached in New York, were published at the request and cost of those who heard them. Talbot, who had made numerous mission-journeys by himself, was at length appointed to the charge of the church at Burlington, and after a few months' more travel, in the course of which Keith revisited Maryland and Virginia, he returned to England and published an interesting "Journal of Travels from New Hampshire to Caratuck," whence we have drawn many of our notices of his work. Received for the most part with courtesy, preaching in churches, chapels, meeting-houses, private dwellings, or wherever an opportunity offered, "oft again and

Davis, a Seventh-day Baptist, had a dispute with him in the Keithian meeting-house, where George had the worst of it, and was forced to quit the field to his great dishonor; he is now gone to

Virginia. I believe he stayed here longer than he was welcome in most sorts." — *Penn and Logan Correspondence*, 1, p. 185; *vide* p. 196.

again drawing crowds to hear, in many instances for the first time," the church's forms of prayer, administering the sacraments to numbers who had learned from their lips the nature and importance of these means of grace, and in public and private testifying to the teachings and practice of the Church of which they were members and ministers, the progress of these two mission-priests was an event in the history of the American Church. The results were immediate and apparent. Talbot, writing from Philadelphia, September 1, 1703, says:—

We have gathered several hundreds together for the Church of England, and what is more to build houses for her service. There are four or five going forward now in this province, and the next. That at Burlington is almost finished. Mr. Keith preached the first sermon and before my Lord Cornbury. Churches are going up a main where there were never any before. They are going to build three at North Carolina;—and three more in these lower Counties about Newcastle: besides those I hope at Chester, Burlington and Amboy."

It was in no spirit of exclusiveness that these worthy "missioners" pursued their chosen work of rooting out the errors of Quakerism, and implanting, instead, the truth of God. While they bore strong testimony in word and act to the church's ways and words, they neglected no opportunity to preach the Gospel, whether it was in the dissenters' places of meeting, whenever they could be had for their use, or in town-halls, or even private houses which were opened to them. As Talbot writes, under date of November 24, 1702:—

We preached in all churches where we came, and in several dissenters' meetings, such as owned the Church of England to be their Mother Church, and were willing to communicate with her, and submit to her bishops, if they had opportunity. I have baptized several persons whom Mr. Keith has brought over from Quakerism; and, indeed, in all places, when we arrive, we find a great ripeness and inclination among all sorts of people to embrace the gospel.

It was but natural that the reception they had from the Quakers should be different. The return of Keith among those who but ten years before had with confessed regret been forced to cast him out as a schismatic and as an apostate, in the character of a priest of the Church against whose rules they had revolted, and against whose ministers they had again and again borne testimony as hirelings and false guides, could not but be regarded with anger and alarm. In separating from his old associates Keith had not contented himself with a silent withdrawal. From the moment in which his eyes were opened he had showed himself the fearless, tireless, and most relentless antagonist of the faith he had once professed. To the crowds assembled at Turner's Hall, in London, or to that larger constituency reached by the press, the aid of which was invoked again and again; in tracts and broadsides and volumes, well-nigh innumerable, Keith had ceaselessly appealed for a hearing and belief. Able as he was zealous, argumentative as he was thoroughly informed, plying his foes with a logic that was unsparing, and having at his command every possible argument or reply that could be urged against his thrusts, it could not but excite the indignation of the Friends that this their enemy had "found them out" in the New World as well as in the Old. To know that this man, whose power they had

learned to respect, was going from house to house, from meeting to meeting, in the hamlets and towns with which he was personally familiar, confuting their ablest preachers, converting their members, and convicting their very standards of confessed errors and gross perversions of truth, was hard, indeed, for the Quakers to bear. We may not wonder, then, that when they saw this hated pervert present in their assemblies, and seeking, after their own preachers had ended their discourse, to avail himself of "the liberty of prophesying," which was their boast, to convict them of doctrinal error by citing their own standard authorities against them, they sought to drown the accusing voice with their clamor, or else hastily dismissed the assembly. But their opposition only whetted the zeal of their adversary. Silenced at one moment, he only waited an interval of quiet to renew his attack. He met them on their own ground. He attacked them in their own familiar way, and it was only by a breach of their own professed principles that they could rid themselves of his testimony and presence. It could not be otherwise than that many, who felt that noise and clamor were no fitting answer to arguments, and who felt aggrieved at this silencing of one who claimed only the privileges accorded to all who felt moved by the Spirit within to give utterance to their testimony, should be led to embrace the doctrine proclaimed by these church "missioners." Their converts were numbered by hundreds, who, within the period of their mission work in America, or immediately afterwards, were united with the Church by baptism. Keith himself, in his recital of his "Travels, Services and Successes," at the close of his journal, thus modestly speaks of his work and its results:—

To many, our ministry was as the sowing of the seed and planting, who, probably, never so much as heard one Orthodox sermon preached to them before we came and preached among them, who received the word with joy; and of whom we have good hope, that they will be as the good ground *that bringeth forth* fruit, some thirty, some sixty, and some an hundred fold. And to many others, it was a watering to what had been formerly sown and planted among them; some of the good fruit whereof we did observe, to the glory of God, and our great comfort, while we were with them, even such fruits of true piety and good lives, and sober and righteous living, as prove the trees to be good from which they did proceed.

Keith returned to England, receiving the living of Edburton, in Sussex, where he remained till his death. He was at least once again drawn into the arena of controversy, as appears from a sermon preached by him, at "the Lecture at Lewes," September 4, 1707, upon "The Necessity of Faith, and of the Revealed Work of God to be the Foundation of all divine and saving Faith." The text is from Hebrews xi. 6, and the discourse, as avowed in the title-page, is "against the fundamental error of the Quakers; that the light within them, and within every man, is sufficient to their salvation without anything else, whereby (as to themselves) they make void and destroy all revealed religion." This tractate is written with all the logical acuteness and vigor which characterized the numerous treatises prepared by the author in previous years upon the same great theme. It serves to show that in the comparative seclusion of his country vicarage he had lost none of the zeal and fire of his earlier days. He continued to prosecute

his clerical labors in Eddurton till 1716, when, on the 29th of March, the parish register bears record that "the Rev. Mr. Keith, Rector of Eddurton, was buried."

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

IN the "Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books, or Books written by Members of the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, from their first rise to the present time, interspersed with critical remarks, and occasional biographical notices, and including all writings by authors before joining, and by those after having left the Society, whether adverse or not, as far as known. By Joseph Smith." (2 vols., octavo, London, 1867),—upwards of thirty pages are required to give the titles of the books, tracts and broadsides of the "Keithian Controversy," while the distinct publications of Keith himself exceed a hundred in number. Besides the "Doctrine of the Holy Apostles and Prophets, the Foundation of the Church of Christ," the title-page of which we have given in fac-simile, Smith notices the following tracts and pamphlets, issued in America during the missionary tour from "New Hampshire to Caratuck":—

Some of the many False, Scandalous, blasphemous & self-contradictory assertions of *William Davis*, faithfully collected out of his book, printed Anno 1700, entitled, *Jesus, the Crucified Man, the Eternal Son of God, &c.*, in exact quotations word for word, without adding or dissenting. Quarto, *Philadelphia*, printed 1703.

This pamphlet is signed by George Keith and Evan Evans. Smith asserts that John Talbot had a hand in the composition.

The Spirit of *Railing-Shimri* and of Baal's 400 Lying Prophets entered into *Caleb Pusey* and his Quaker-Brethren in Pennsylvania, who approve him. Containing an answer to his and their Book, falsely called, *Proteus Ecclesiasticus*. Detecting many of their gross Falsehoods, Lies, Calumnies, Perversions and Abuses, as well as his and their gross ignorance and Infidelity contained in their said Book. By *George Keith, A.M.* Printed and sold by *William Bradford*, at the Sign of the Bible, in *New York*. Quarto, 1703.

The power of the Gospel, in the conversion of sinners, in a Sermon Preached at *Annapolis* in Maryland, By *George Keith, M.A.*, July the 4. [*Annapolis?*] Printed and are to be sold by *Thomas Leeding*, at the sign of the George, Anno Domini MDCCLIII. Quarto, 1703.

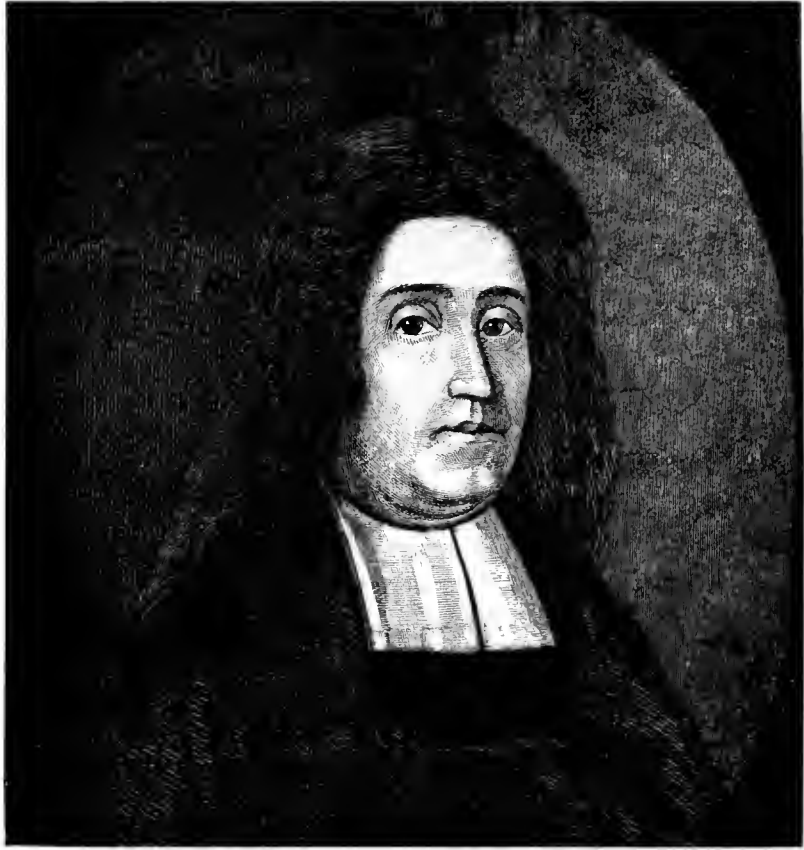
Reply by Mr. Increase Mather's Printed Remarks on a Sermon Preached by G. K. at Her Majesty's Chapel in Boston the 14th of June, 1702, in vindication of the six good Rules in Divinity there delivered, which he hath attempted (though very feeblely and Unsuccessfully) to refute. *New York* Quarto, 1703

Refutation of a dangerous and hurtful opinion maintained by Mr Samuel Willard, an Independent Minister, etc., and President, etc. *New York* Octavo 1702

Some brief Remarks upon a late Book, entituled, *George Keith once more brought to the Test by Caleb Pusey.* *New York: Printed* Quarto 1704

The Notes of the TRUE CHURCH with the Applications of them to the Church of England and the great sin of seperation from Her. Delivered in a SERMON Preached at Trinity Church in New-York, before the administration of the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the 7th of November, 1703 By *George Keith, M. A.*

Printed and sold by *William Bradford* at the Sign of the Bible in *New-York*. Quarto. 1704



General Eaton

*Urus ad aras
Congregatus Matheus*

AN ANSWER to Mr. Samucl Willard (one of the Ministers at Boston in New-England) his REPLY to my Printed sheet, called a *Dangerous and hurtful opinion maintained by him, viz. That the Fall of Adam, and all the sins of Men necessarily come to pass by virtue of God's decree, and his determining both of the Will of Adam, and of all other Men to sin; By George Keith, M. A.*

Printed and sold by William Bradford at the Sign of the Bible in New York.
Quarto 1704

A JOURNAL of TRAVELS from New Hampshire to Caratuck, on the Continent of North America, By George Keith, A. M., late Missionary from the *Society for the Propogation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*; and now Rector of Edburton, in Sussex.

London, Printed by Joseph Downing, for Brab. Alynor at the Three-Pigeons over against the Royal-Exchange in Cornhill.
Quarto. 1706.

This last publication is reprinted in the first volume of the Prot. Epis. Hist. Soc. Collections. New York, 1851.

CHAPTER XIII.

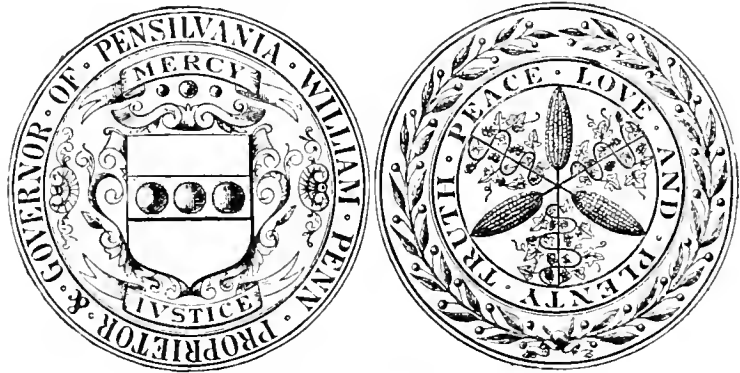
THE PLANTING OF THE CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE.

PROVISION was made in the original charter granted by Charles II., in 1681, for the introduction of the Church into the colony established under the auspices and by the authority of the celebrated William Penn. Section xxii. of this important document is as follows: "And our farther pleasure is, and we do hereby, for us, our



Wm Penn

heirs and successors, charge and require, that if any of the inhabitants of the said Province, to the number of twenty, shall at any time hereafter be desirous, and shall, by any writing, or by any person deputed by them, signify such their desire to the Bishop of *London*, for the time being, that any preacher, or preachers, to be approved of by the said Bishop, may be sent unto them, for their instruction; that then such preacher, or preachers, shall and may reside within the said province, without any denial, or molestation whatsoever."¹ It was not until 1694-5, that in the midst of the dissensions growing out of the secession of George Keith from the body of which he had so long been a faithful and honored member, those who opposed both the Quakers' principles and policy united in a petition to the crown, for "the free exercise of our religion and arms for our defence."² In the view of the



THE SEAL OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Quakers this attempt to bring in "the priest and the sword" was an invasion of their chartered rights. The attorney who was suspected of drawing up this petition was taken into custody, and those who had ventured to sign it were brought before the sessions for examination. But it was impossible, by the most rigid scrutiny or the most fanatical

¹ Proud's "Hist. of Penna.," i, p. 186. Compare "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church," II., p. 5. The history of this section of the charter will be found in the following extracts from the proceedings of the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council for the Affairs of Trade and the Plantations, at Whitehall, January 22, 1680-1: "Upon the draught of a patent for Mr. Penn, constituting him absolute proprietary of a tract of land," etc., which was referred to Lord Chief Justice North,— "A paper being also read, wherein my Lord Bishop of *London* desires that Mr. Penn be obliged, by his patent, to admit a chaplain, of his Lordship's appointment, upon the request of any number of planters; the same is also referred to my Lord Chief Justice North." On the 24th of February, the same year, "The Lord Bishop of *London* is desired to prepare a draught of a law to be passed in this country, for the settling of the Protestant religion."—Quoted in *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*, I., pp. 269, 270. *Vide also*, "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch.," II., pp. 497, 498. The Bishop

of *London* referred to was Dr. Henry Compton.

In connection with these references to the Bishop of *London*'s interest in the settlement of Pennsylvania, it may not be inappropriate to quote from a letter of the proprietary, the interesting fact, attested by Penn himself, that the celebrated Compton was the source of that admirable policy towards the natives which contributed so largely to the safety and success of the settlement:—

"Philadelphia, the 14th of the Sixth month, 1683.

"I have only to add, that the Province has a prospect of an extraordinary improvement, as well by divers sorts of strangers as by *English* subjects; that in all acts of justice we revere and venerate the King's authority; that I have followed the Bishop of *London*'s counsel, by buying and not taking away the natives' land; with whom I have settled a very kind correspondence."—*Proud's Hist. of Penna.*, I., p. 274.

² Suder's Letters, in "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch.," II., p. 9.

opposition, to hinder the "Church party,"¹ for such it soon became, from petitioning for a minister and from obtaining their request. The exact date of the introduction of the services of the Church is unknown. A letter from "Mr. I. Arrowsmith, School-master, to Governor Nicholson," under date of March 26, 1698, still preserved among the MSS. at Fullam, speaks of "there being very little encouragement to those of our church," but adds, "we have a full congregation and some very desirous to receive the sacrament at Easter." It is possible that Arrowsmith, whom Clayton refers to again and again as "brother," was in deacon's orders; for he refers in his letter to the governor, to his having lived in dependence on "the king's allowance for this place" (evidently a ministerial stipend), and asks his excellency's advice how to dispose of himself in the event "of a minister coming to this place," of which he had heard. He also alludes to his efforts to secure the presence of the Rev. Richard Sewell, of Maryland, for the Easter sacrament, in which there is little doubt but that he was successful, as Arrowsmith records the promise of this estimable man to officiate. It is, therefore, more than probable that Sewell was a pioneer priest of the Church in Philadelphia, as well as at other places in Pennsylvania. The church had been built in 1695. Gabriel Thomas, to whose description of the province we are indebted for the knowledge of the date of its erection, speaks of it, in 1698, as "a very poor church." Built but twelve years subsequent to the laying out of the city, and at a time when the population "could not have been more than from four or five thousand,"² it must have been, in its size and style, "a goodly structure for a city then in its infancy." Traditions vary as to the material of which this structure was composed.

It is probable that the first services were held within the walls, and during the erection of the more substantial church of brick in a humbler building or frame, or even shed, of wood. The bell "was hung in the crotch of a tree" near by. Towards the middle of the year 1698 we find that the services of Mr. Arrowsmith and the occasional visits of the Rev. Mr. Sewell were superseded by the regular ministrations of the Rev. Thomas Clayton, first incumbent of Philadelphia. He was reviled by the Quakers as "the Minister of the doctrine of Devils."³ Clayton sought to convert the Quakers about him to the Church, addressing their "yearly meeting," and seeking to controvert their views and arguments in open debate. His zeal seems to have been deemed intemperate by his brethren in Maryland, whose remonstrances, or, as he styles it, whose "inhibition" served to repress his efforts at proselyting, which were extended to all classes of dissenters. The labors of Clayton were not without success. Reference is made by Keith in his journal to "the considerable number of converts to the Church from Quakerism," that "the Rev. Mr. Clayton had baptized:"⁴ and the Rev. Edward Portlock, the first clergyman of the Church of England in New Jersey, who appears to have followed

¹ The dissensions between the "Quakers and Churchmen," "upper counties and lower," date almost from the first settlement of the province, and are spread in full on the pages of the "Penn and Logan Correspondence," published in the

ixth and xth volumes of the "Memoirs of the Pennsylvania Historical Society."

² Dorr's "Christ. Church," p. 7.

³ Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch., II., p. 11.

⁴ Prot. Epis. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 49.

Clayton, writes, under date of July 12, 1700, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, of the "considerable progress the Church of England has made" in the province, "insomuch that in less than four years' space from a very small number her community consists of more than five hundred sober and devout souls in and about this city."¹ A letter from Isaac Norris to his friend Jonathan Dickinson in Jamaica,² in giving an account of the great pestilence that prevailed in Philadelphia in 1699, has the following incidental allusion to Clayton's death, and to his immediate successor, probably Portlock: "Thomas Clayton, minister of the Church of England, died at Sassafras, in Maryland, and

Evan Evans.

here is another from London in his room, happened to come very opportunely." The incumbency of Portlock, if, indeed, he was more than a temporary supply, was but brief, for ere the close of the year 1700 the Rev. Evan Evans was sent over by the Bishop of London as "missionary"³ to Philadelphia. He lost no time in seeking, as did his predecessors, the conversion of the Quakers to the Church, and his efforts met with marked success. The zeal of Evans led him to undertake the introduction of services at Chichester, Chester, Concord, Montgomery, Radnor, and Perkiomen, besides his Sunday duties, and Wednesday and Friday prayers at Philadelphia.⁴ In 1700, and for three years, the Rev. John Thomas, who was in deacon's orders, was assistant at Christ Church, and school-master. He also officiated at Trinity Church, Oxford. The presence and labors of the Rev. George Keith and the Rev. John Talbot on their "missionary journey" from New Hampshire to Caratuck, North Carolina, gave a great impetus to the growth of the Church in Philadelphia. The Rev. Henry Nicholls, who was stationed at "Upland," or Chester, ventures, in 1704, the "guess" that "one-half of the inhabitants may be churchmen." Humphrey, in his historical account of the venerable society, asserts that Mr. Evans had baptized prior to the coming of Keith and Talbot "above five hundred men, women, and children, Quakers in Pennsylvania and West Jersey." This number was increased, according to the same testimony, before the return of Keith to England to "above eight hundred persons." Humphrey adds an interesting account of the labors of Mr. Evans, as follows: "Mr. Evans used to preach two evening Lectures at Philadelphia, one preparatory to the Holy Sacrament, on the last Sunday of the month; the other to a Society of young men who met together every Lord's Day, after Evening Prayer, to read the Scriptures, and sing Psalms. Mr. Evans was always present at these meetings, unless hindered by some public service, and used to read some select Prayers out of the Church Liturgy, and preached upon subjects suitable to an audience of young men. There arose an unforeseen advantage from these Lectures, for not only the

¹ Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch., II., p. 16.

² Printed in the "Penn and Logan Correspondence" (I., pp. lvii., lviii.) pub. in the IXth vol. of the Penn. Hist. Soc., "Memoirs." The date of this letter is "11th, 7th mo., 1699."

Watson, in his "Annals of Phila." (I., p. 379).

asserts that Evans was the "Church Missionary" at Philadelphia as early as 1698; but the statement in the text is based on his own assertion, and is without doubt correct. *Ibid.* "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch.," II., p. 33.

⁴ Watson's Annals, I., p. 379.

young men who designedly met were improved, but a great many young persons who dared not appear in the daytime, at the public service of the Church, for the fear of disoblising their parents or masters, would stand under the Church windows at night and hearken. At length many of them took up a resolution to leave the sects they had followed, and became steadfast in the communion of the Church."¹ At this time, according to Keith, the services of the Church were as follows:—

At Philadelphia, they have prayers in the church, not only on the Lord's days, and other holy days, but all Wednesdays and Fridays weekly, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered monthly, and the number of the communicants considerable. The church is commonly well filled with people, every Lord's day; and when they are fully assembled, both of the town and country that belong to that congregation, they may well be reckoned by modest computation, to amount to five hundred persons of hearers. But sometimes there are many more; and generally the converts from Quakerism are good examples, both for frequenting the church prayers, and frequent partaking of the Lord's Supper, with zeal and devotion, and also of sober and virtuous living in their daily conversation, to the frustrating the lying prophecies and expectations of the Quaker preachers especially, who used to prophecy that whoever left the profession of Quakers, after that should be good for nothing but as unsavoury salt, to be trod under foot of men.²

There is little doubt but that political dissensions and factions among the colonists tended somewhat to the growth of the Church. In 1701 James Logan writes to William Penn: "I can see no hopes of getting material subscriptions from those of the church against the report of persecution, they having consulted together on that head, and, as I am informed, concluded that not allowing their clergy here what they of right claim in England, and not suffering them to be superior, may justly bear that name."³ From a letter to the proprietor, from his trusty friend Logan, early in 1702,⁴ it appears that the vestry took an active part in the local politics, securing affidavits of alleged instances of maladministration for transmission to the Bishop of London, and giving to the friends of Penn no little trouble. Later, Logan reports to Penn his success at paying court to Lord Cornbury, whose relationship to the queen,⁵ as well as his official position, made him of importance, and adds:—

He expresses a great regard for thee, and is much averse to the warmth of those who go by the name of the church here; for which reason, or some other which I cannot yet learn, none of the chief of them waited on him up the river, chiefly, I suppose, because he was pleased to be in Quaker hands.⁶

The Quakers, Logan writes, regarded Cornbury "as their saviour at New York," and were "well satisfied to be under him, for they believe that they could never have one of a more excellent temper."

Penn, in addressing Logan, refers to "a dirty paper about persecuting the Church of England in the person of Leake, under the hand of Keeble," produced by the Bishop of London, who "is one of the Lords *de propaganda fide*."⁷ "The hot church party" is accused by

¹Humphrey's "Hist. Acc.," pp. 150, 151.

²Prot. Epis. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 59.

³Penn and Logan Correspondence, I., p. 65. 110.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 93, 94.

⁵He was Her Majesty's first cousin.

⁶Penn and Logan Correspondence, I., p.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 117.

Logan,¹ as opposing the measures taken to put the government in a position of defence in view of a declaration of war, "because they would have nothing done that may look with a good countenance at home." Again, the writer complains that "the attestation of a Friend is in very few things serviceable:" "it is the oath of a churchman must do, if any."² The leading churchman, Colonel Robert Quarry, had been Governor of South Carolina for a brief period in 1684, and again in 1690. He was now judge of the Admiralty in New York and Pennsylvania, and a bitter opponent of the plans and policy of Penn. An ardent adherent of the Church, he appeared to the Quaker proprietor as "the greatest of villains whom God will make, I believe, in this world for his lies, falsehood, and supreme knavery."³ His representations to the government were denounced by Penn as "swish-swash bounces,"⁴ and the proprietary seeks the aid of his correspondent for means whereby he "might put the nose of an Admiralty Judge out of joint."⁵ Penn sends "2 or 300 books against George Keith, by R. Jenney, which may be disposed of as there is occasion and service."⁶ On Lord Cornbury's second visit to Philadelphia, as we learn from Logan, he fell into the hands of "Col. Quarry, with a party of his gang." The morning after his arrival "Col. Quarry, with the rest of the churchmen, congratulated him, having the easiest access, and afterwards presented an address from the vestry of Philadelphia, who now consist, I think, of twenty-four, requesting his patronage to the church, and closing with a prayer that he would beseech the Queen, as I was credibly informed, to extend his government over this province; and Col. Quarry also, in his first congratulatory address, said they hoped they also should be partakers of the happiness Jersey enjoyed in his government. In answer to the vestry's address, he spoke what was proper from a churchman, to the main design of it, for he is very good at extemporary speeches; and to their last request, that it was their business, — meaning to address the Queen, I suppose, — but that when his mistress would be pleased to lay her commands" on him, he would obey them with alacrity.⁷ "The next day being the first of the week," continues Logan, "he went to their worship." Encouraged by his intimacy with the royal governor, and aware of the regard paid to his representations at home, Colonel Quarry spared no pains to secure the overthrow of the proprietary government, and to advance the interests of the Church and crown. His efforts, with those of his following, are characterized by Logan and Penn in vigorous language. The former styles the opponents of Penn's policy as "hungry scamps, who seek nothing but to render themselves great by the spoils of the innocent, without any regard to any other interest whatsoever, as is sufficiently known by all their neighbors of probity, as well of their own church as of others, whose eyes they have not yet darkened by throwing that specious mist and pretence of religion before them."⁸ Penn regarded the address of the vestry to Lord Cornbury as an open defiance of his authority. He spoke of it as

¹ Penn and Logan Correspondence, I., pp. 124, 125.

² *Ibid.*, I., p. 151.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

"Quary's and his packed vestry's address."¹ He was disposed to prosecute Quary "with the utmost vigor." He required it of his officials that if "Quary, or any of his rude and ungrateful gang," offered "to invade or affront" the powers of his grant, or the authority of his laws, they should be made to "feel the smart of them." A postscript to this belligerent letter refers with evident satisfaction to the fact that "the great blower-up of these coals, the Bishop of London, is himself under humiliations."²

In spite of the efforts of the proprietary and his friends at court and in the colony, early in 1704, Logan writes, "The clergy increase much this way. Burlington and Chester have their churches and members, and several more are building. God grant that a spirit of charity and kindness may be cultivated among us in place of hatred and persecution."³ The same year Logan writes that a "great part of the church are become of the loyal side, and 'tis hoped will shortly address the Queen," which gives incidental support to a charge repeated at a later date, that the church people at Philadelphia were Jacobites. There is an evident change in feeling to be observed in the letters between Logan and Penn with reference to the turbulent churchmen.⁴ The proprietary's foes were now of his own peculiar shade of belief. As the year 1704 closed, Quary and his friends are referred to as "very good." It was "only that lurking snake, David Lloyd,"⁵ whose fangs were to be feared.

Turning from this digression, which will serve to indicate the position and the growing power of the "hot church party" in Philadelphia, we note, in 1707, the return to England, on business, of the Rev. Evan Evans, "the parson," as Penn styled the incumbent of Christ Church; and the service rendered by the Rev. Andrew Rudman, a worthy Swedish clergyman, during his absence, attests the kindly feeling and intercommunion between the Swede and English churches and churchmen. It was at this time that the Upland or Chester missionary, the Rev. Henry Nichols, in addressing the society in an apologetic strain for not being able to "carry all things before us," adds: "The truth is, as long as our adversaries have the whole interest, power and wealth of the country in their hands, and as long as animosities, ambition and confederacys do prevail among some of our own members, as much as they do, it will be a great matter for us to keep the footing we have got."⁶ The excellent Rudman continued his services at Christ Church until his death, on the 17th of September, 1708. He was buried under the chancel of the Swedish Church at Wicaco, and is remembered as a faithful and self-denying minister of Christ. The Rev. Mr. Evans, whose return did not take place till the following year, presented to the venerable society a report of his missionary labors in Pennsylvania, from which we glean that the services of the Church had been widely introduced and welcomed in the various settlements in the province. Especial attention had been paid by this faithful missionary to his fellow-countrymen at Radnor,

¹ Penn and Logan Correspondence, I., p. 272.

² *Ibid.*, p. 278.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 282, 283.

⁴ Watson's Annals, I., p. 380.

⁵ Penn and Logan Correspondence, I., p. 361.

⁶ Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch., II., p. 51.

Montgomery and elsewhere; and the distribution of the "Whole Duty of Man," and Bishop Bailey's "Practice of Piety," and other practical and devotional works in the Welsh language, and ministrations in the same tongue, were productive of no little good. Churches had been erected at Oxford, Chester, Newcastle, and Philadelphia, and the memorial closes with an earnest and eloquent appeal for a resident American bishop, in which the missionary argued "that the ends of the mission can never be rightly answered without establishing the Discipline as well as the Doctrine of the Church of England in those parts, for the one is a fortress and bulwark of defence to the other, and once the outworks of religion come to be slighted and dismantled, it is easy to foresee, without the spirit of prophecy, what the consequence will be."¹ It was during the absence of Evans, that the Rev. Messrs. Moor and Brooke sailed for England, bearing accusations against Lord Cornbury. Colonel Quarry, who evidently took sides with the queen's representative, addressed the society with reference to the grievances of these gentlemen. The letter states, as the occasions of the difficulty between the royal governor and the missionaries, that the clergymen had been "unwarily betrayed" into an alliance with a faction in opposition to the constituted authority of the province. In the view of the colonel, who was certainly an uncompromising friend of the Church, the same mistake of interfering with political affairs had proved the ruin of other clergymen. The "unhappy meeting" of the missionaries in New York, at the charge of the generous Nicholson, is stigmatized as "the very first original of all our unhappiness in relation to the Church and clergy in these parts."²

At this meeting, under oath of secrecy, the colonel assures us that "they voted the laying aside of all Vestrys as useless; they being able to govern and manage the Churches themselves without any other help; but," continues the writer, "I believe they forgot how they should be subsisted hereafter without the help of those useless things, the Vestrys, who are the chief men of every government, men of the best estates, best sense, true sons of the Church, most zealous and hearty in promoting the interest and good of it, men of the best interest to defend it, or procuring laws for its support and subsistence, and yet these men must be all laid aside and blown off at once that these young gentlemen of the Clergy may be absolute and govern as they please without the least control." "I am sure," continues Colonel Quarry, "that this rash act of theirs hath given as fatal a blow to the Church in these parts as was in their power to have done. Some of these gentlemen have already found the ill effects of it, and have heartily repented their folly. Some others have persisted in their imaginary grandeur till their full Churches have grown empty almost, and nothing but confusion amongst those that are left. I do assure you, Sir, I tell you this truth with much grief and concern, but it is what I have been an eye-witness of in several places where my duty calls me. To hear the people complain of their minister, and he complaining of them, even in those places where not long since the strife

¹Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch., II., p. 37.

²*Ibid.*, p. 41.

was who should outdo each other in all sorts of kindness, love and charity. The minister could no sooner propose or mention a conveniency or want but immediately the Vestry met and supplied it, and every man thought himself happy that could enjoy most of the Minister's conversation at their houses."¹ This letter closes with the earnest request for a bishop as the only solution of this difficulty, and other questions that could not fail to arise. It is evident that either from the causes assigned by Colonel Quarry, or for other reasons, the growth of the Church in Pennsylvania and Delaware, which had so promisingly begun with the new century, was checked, and ere the expiration of its first decade the clergy had removed to Virginia, or Maryland, or died; the churches were closed, and the parishes had dwindled away. In the midst of this general depression the Church in Philadelphia steadily increased in numbers and strength. Mr. Evans, on his return from England in 1709, brought with him the communion plate, presented to the church the preceding year by the queen.



"THE QUEEN ANNE PLATE," CHRIST CHURCH.

A "minister's house" and a "school-house" had been acquired by the parish, and bricks were bought for the belfry and a "new rope for the bell," which now, if not before, was hung in its proper place. Some ill-feeling had grown out of the unwillingness of Mr. Evans to admit to a "lectureship" the new school-master, the Rev. George Ross, who had supplanted the Rev. Mr. Clubb, the former incumbent: but even this dissatisfaction could not hinder the growth of the congregation nor detract from the universal respect and regard with which the rector was held by the whole community for his blameless life and untiring zeal and diligence in all the duties of his calling. In 1711 the church was found too small to accommodate the increasing congregation. Among the subscribers to this object were the "Honorable Charles Gooking," who gave £30, and the "Honorable Robert Quarry," who gave £20. The addition, as we learn from a memorial addressed by the rector to the venerable society, comprised two aisles.² During the time of the enlargement of the church the congregation worshipped in Wicaco church for three successive Sundays. The following year mention is made in the records of the "great bell" and the "little bell," and there is reference to the use of the "surplice." Colonel

¹ Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch., II., p. 41

² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

Quary, who had been an interested as well as an influential member of the congregation from the first, gave to the church a large silver flagon and two silver plates for use at the holy communion, and a large silver basin for the font, all of which bore the donor's name and the date "October 8th, 1712." In 1715 Mr. Evans again visited England on "account of some family concerns," and during his absence an unworthy clergyman, the Rev. Francis Phillips, who had made trouble elsewhere, intruded into the vacant charge, and, for a time, maintained his ground against the curate appointed by the authorities at home. At length his baseness was made clear, and, after he had been challenged to mortal combat by a gentleman who had chivalrously espoused the cause of a slandered woman, the court, which had entered proceedings against the challenger, found a true bill against the clergyman for evil conduct.¹ From the Logan MSS. we learn that Phillips "was carried to gaol for a day, where the Governor took sides with him as a churchman, and entered a *nolle prosequi*." Some others of

P. Evans

the Church in the mean time met at the Court house and voted him to have acted scandalously and to receive no further countenance." Dismissed from his cure, censured by the whole body of the clergy as a profligate, still this turbulent man succeeded in obtaining attestations to his good character from a number of the parishioners of Christ Church. But the prompt action of the Bishop of London in placing the church in the hands of the excellent Talbot, of Burlington, prevented the continuance of a scandal from which the Church was a long time in recovering. The "lamentable breach made in the church of Philadelphia by the unhappy conduct of that lost man, Mr. Phillips,"² to which frequent references are made in the correspondence of the time, was succeeded by political dissensions which the foes of the Church were only too ready to foment. The governor, who had, it is asserted, from personal pique, warmly espoused the cause of Phillips, directed his efforts to the silencing of Talbot, who had continued to officiate at Christ Church during the prolonged absence of Evans, and to whom "the box money" of that "poor distracted church" was appropriated for his services. The charge of sympathy with the dispossessed House of Stuart, and a consequent disloyalty to the government, was made by Gooking against Talbot. This charge had been made by "Brigadier Hunter," the Governor of New York, and the

Bo Hunter

¹ Watson, in his "Annals of Philadelphia," 1., p. 334, gives the original challenge from the files in the clerk's office. It is as follows: "To Mr. Francis Phillips, Philadelphia, — Sir: You have basely scandalized a gentlewoman that I have a profound respect for. And for my part shall give you a fair opportunity to defend yourself to morrow morning on the west side of

Joseph Carpenter's garden betwixt seven and eight, where I shall expect to meet you *gladio cinctus*, in failure whereof, depend upon the usage you deserve from

Y^r ever,
PETER EVANS,
at the Pewter Platter."

² Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch., II., p. 99.

faithful missionary had appealed to the records that he had taken all the oaths, and that his friends could testify that he "was a Williamite from the beginning."¹ On the return of Mr. Evans, in the year 1716, the society placed the missions at Radnor and Oxford under his care, these churches having been established mainly through his exertions, Dr. Evans — for he had returned with this added title of respect — continued in charge of Christ Church until 1718, when, finding himself, after an incumbency of eighteen years, unable to perform the duties of the cure, he accepted the offer of a living in Maryland, where he died soon after, universally beloved and esteemed. Prior to his departure the vestry took measures to restrict the franchise at the Easter meeting to actual communicants who had received the sacrament within the twelve months preceding the election.

At the removal of their old and faithful rector the vestry was at pains to secure from the parishioners, through the churchwardens, a suitable return of gratitude from the congregation over which he had so long presided.² Arrangements were made through the governor,

Sir William Keith, who had been made chairman of the vestry, for the supply of the vacancy by securing

the services of the Rev. Messrs. Talbot of Burlington, Humphreys of Chester, Ross of Newcastle, and Sandel of Wicaco. These gentlemen declined receiving any pecuniary reward for their services, though "a liberal compensation" had been voted them by the vestry. Petitions for the introduction of an American Episcopate, prepared by the indefatigable Talbot, were again and again submitted to the vestry, signed by clergy, wardens, and vestrymen, indorsed by the governor, and forwarded to the authorities at home; and the influence of this veteran missionary laborer would appear to have suffered no diminution, while his zeal and diligence in caring for the things which remained knew no bounds. Ere the departure of this worthy to England, for his last visit to the home of his youth, the vacancy at Christ Church appears to have been filled. On the 4th of September, 1719, the vestry records recite that "the Rev. Mr. John Vicary laid before the board the license of the Right Rev. Father in God, John, Lord Bishop of London, appointing him minister of this church." Whereupon, the record continues, the "vestry being well pleased with his lordship's care therein, heartily concur in his lordship's appointment, and accordingly receive the said Mr. Vicary as their minister, with the respect due to his character, always acknowledging his lordship's unquestionable authority over our church."³ Mr.

¹ Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch., ii., p. 91.

² Dorr's "Christ Church," p. 43.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Vicary continued in charge until his death, in 1723. He joined with his brethren, the Rev. Messrs. Ross, Humphreys, and Weyman, in a representation to the society of "the deplorable state of several churches within this government, which were once filled with a considerable number of communicants, whose early zeal led them, though poor, to erect decent structures for the publick worship of God, and some of them to build commodious houses for the reception of their ministers; but their long vacancy, by the death of some missionaries, and the removal of others, has, we fear, given too great opportunities to the adversaries of our church to pervert and mislead many of them."¹ This was the case with the churches in Bucks, Kent, and Sussex counties.

In 1722 the Rev. William Harrison supplied Christ Church for a time, during the illness of the incumbent, Mr. Vicary, and besides the help he rendered in Lent and at Eastertide, and later in the year, assistance was freely rendered by the other missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. Becket, Ross, and Humphreys. In 1723 Mr. Talbot is again at Philadelphia. Taken ill while ministering, he visited the city for medical advice, and remained for a time in charge of Christ Church, with a view of repairing the injury done to the parish by the ministrations of the Rev. John Urmston, whose scandalous conduct had brought great reproach upon the Church, so that during his year of service "the best of the people had left." The clergy, in convention, concurred in the dismissal of Urmston, and the vestry placed the care of the church in their hands till the Bishop of London should send over a new incumbent. Late in the year, on the translation of Dr. Gibson to the see of London from that of Lincoln, the vestry formally addressed their new diocesan for "such a gentleman as may be a credit to our communion, an ornament to the profession, and a true propagator of the gospel."² More than half a year having elapsed without any appointment, the vestry, on the 27th of July, 1724, requested the Rev. Dr. Richard Welton, late incumbent of St. Mary's, Whitechapel, London, who had arrived in town the month before, to take charge of the church. The invitation was accepted, and the doctor entered at once upon his work.

About the time of Welton's arrival, the Rev. Talbot had been silenced. A letter from Sir William Keith, the governor, to the Bishop of London, written just before the invitation to Dr. Welton to officiate at Christ Church, gives us information on this point as well as on the condition of the Church at large in the province:—

We have in this government twelve or thirteen more little editices, called churches or chapels, which the people, by voluntary contribution in the neighborhood, have erected in different parts of the country for their own conveniency, and most of them are, at times, supplied by one or other of the poor missionaries sent from the society to New Castle, Chester, Oxford, and Sussex, whose character for life and conversation, and a diligent application to their duty is, I believe, generally approved of, and I cannot say but their behavior to myself and the magistracy has been all along very decent and respectful.

It seems to me necessary further to acquaint your Lordship that the management of Christ Church, in Philadelphia, is in the hands of a Vestry and two Churchwardens, yearly elected and chosen by the people, and being they have all along claimed an independency of the Governor's authority, I am, for peace sake, obliged

¹ Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch., II., p. 123.

² Dorr's "Christ Church," p. 54.

to be passive in things which are both indecent and disorderly, such as suffering of some clergy to read prayers and preach without mentioning the King, Prince and Royal family, according to the rubrick, so that myself and family, with such others as are of unquestioned loyalty to his present Majesty, are deprived of the benefit of going to church, lest it might give encouragement to a spirit of disaffection. Should your Lordship, therefore, be pleased to cause some enquiry to be made in this matter, it would probably put an effectual stop to what in time may become more pernicious, for it is confidently reported here that some of these non-juring clergymen pretend to the authority and office of Bishops in the Church, which, however, they do not own, and, I believe, will not dare to practice, for I have publicly declared my resolution to prosecute with effect all those who, either in doctrine or conversation, shall attempt to debauch any of the people with schismatical disloyal principles of that nature.¹

Sir William Keith's representations were not permitted to pass without reply. Peter Evans, who had challenged the indiscreet Phillips for his slanderous insinuations against the character of a friend, now appeared in the character of a defender of clergy and congregation thus assailed. He asserted that the insinuation of disloyalty was "a piece of injustice." The invitation to Dr. Welton arose from no fondness for "any mistaken principles of the Dr's," but simply to prevent the closing of the church, there having been no service for some months, and the congregation being gradually dissipated among the various sectarian bodies around them. The charge of misrepresentation was laid against the governor, and his removal from the vestry accounted for on the ground of his "taking upon him to overrule them, and entirely depriving them of the freedom justly due."²

The unreliable Urmston, who charged his removal from Philadelphia upon Talbot, and was now in Maryland, wrote home to the effect that the old missionary had sought to exercise episcopal jurisdiction over his brethren. His words were these: "He convened all the clergy to meet, put on his robes and demanded Episcopal obedience from them. One wiser than the rest refused, acquainted the Gov^r with the ill consequences thereof, the danger he would run of losing his Gov^{mt}, whereupon the gov^r ordered the Church to be shut up."³ The same veracious authority added a postscript to mention the coming of Dr. Welton, bringing "with him to the value of £300 sterling, in guns and fishing-tackle, with divers printed copies of his famous Altar-piece at White-chapel."⁴ The missionaries Ross, Humphreys, Weyman, and Becket, report to the Bishop of London the presence of "Dr. Welton at Philadelphia with whom we have no correspondence, nor of whom have we any further knowledge but that we hear he professes to have come into these parts only to see the country."⁵ Urmston "met him in the streets, but had no further conversation with him."⁶ The governor professed himself powerless to interfere, in view of the vestry's claim of independence of the governor or bishop, and the ministrations of Welton continued till January, 1726, when he was duly "served with his Majesty's writ of Privy Seal commanding him upon his allegiance to return to Great Britain forthwith." He had served at Christ Church with great acceptance, and a testimonial of his conduct and behavior among them was, at his request, ordered by the vestry to be prepared by the

¹ Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch., II., pp. 137, 138.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 142.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

church-wardens. With this attestation to his character, Welton sailed for Lisbon, where he "died of a dropsy, refusing to commune with the



CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

English clergyman."¹ It is said that among his effects there was found "an Episcopal seal which he had made use of in Pensilvania," where

¹ Reliquiæ Hernianæ, II., p. 257.

"he assumed and exercised, privily and by stealth, the character and functions of a Bishop."¹ Before Welton's departure he "had differed" with Talbot, and their correspondence had been broken off. Dr. Hawks asserts, with reference to both Welton and Talbot, that "there is direct evidence from the letters of some of the missionaries that they at least administered confirmation and wore the robes of a Bishop."² But little or no trace of their exercise of episcopal functions, other than exceptionally and with the greatest privacy and caution, is to be found, and the episcopate, if such it can be called, of these two non-juring "Bishops" must remain veiled in impenetrable obscurity. Again the neighboring clergy were appealed to for the supply of this vacant charge; but the Bishop of London, in view of the circumstances of the case, was not long in providing an incumbent. In September, 1726, the Rev. Archibald Cummings entered upon the cure of Philadelphia, by the appointment of Bishop Gibson, and continued to minister at Christ Church until his decease, in 1741, — a period of nearly fifteen years. This was a period of great prosperity. The church had long been too small for the congregation. It had become "ruinous," in the judgment of its leading members, and on Thursday, April 27, 1727, the corner-stone of the present venerable edifice, associated with so many, and such important events of our ecclesiastical history, was laid by the Honorable Patrick Gordon, the governor of the province, together with the mayor and recorder of the city, the rector, and a number of others. The plan of rebuilding was to add to the west end an enlargement of thirty-three feet, together with a steeple or tower, and when, in 1731, this addition was completed, measures were at once taken to remove the old building, and complete the church by the erection of the eastern portion. But the vestry had exhausted their funds in the completion of a third part of the contemplated building, exclusive of the tower and steeple, and in procuring the organ, bells, and furniture required for use; and it was not until April, 1735, that the "ruinous state of the old part of the Church," occasioned immediate action, and the eastern end of the present church was begun. In 1735 the Rev. Richard Peters entered upon duty as assistant to Commissary Cummings; but, in consequence of a misunderstanding having arisen between the rector and his curate, the latter resigned his post. Years afterwards he resumed the exercise of his ministry as rector where he had withdrawn from the curacy.

Edm. London.
EDMUND GIBSON, LORD BISHOP
OF LONDON.

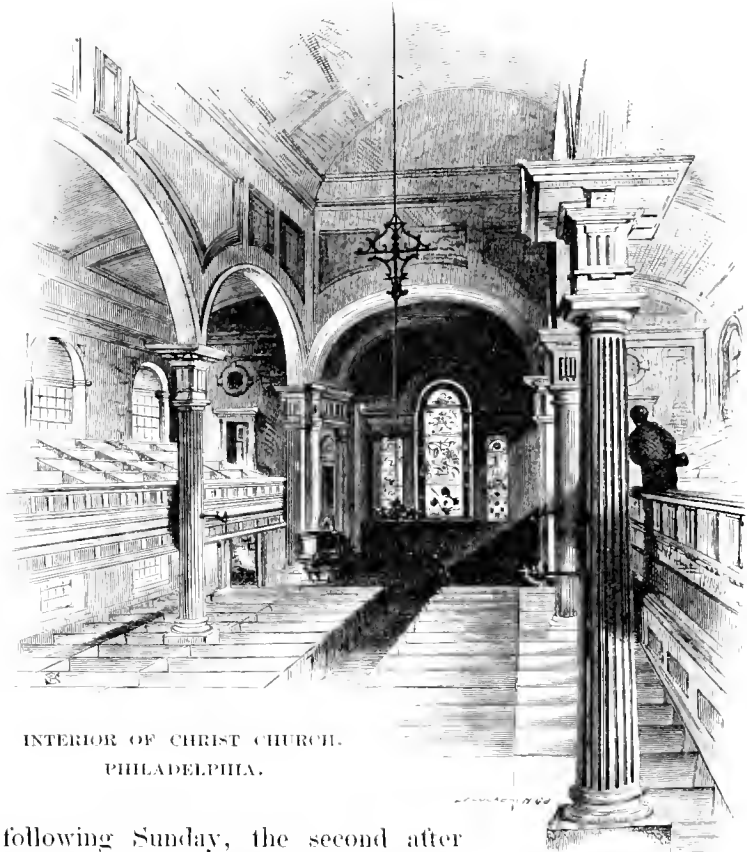
It was during the incumbency of Cummings that Mr. Whitefield visited Philadelphia again and again. His first visit was in November, 1739. He at once visited the commissary, and on the first Sunday of his stay, the twentieth after Trinity, November 4, he "read prayers and assisted at the Communion in the morning. Dined with one of the Church Wardens, and preached in the afternoon to a large congregation."³ He read prayers and preached in Christ Church daily for a week, and on the following Sunday. On his return from a journey

¹ Reliquie Herniana, II., p. 257.

³The Two First Parts of Mr. Whitefield's

² Hawks's "Ecc. Contributions," II., p. 183. Life, p. 267.

northward, at the close of the month, he again availed himself of the church for prayers and sermons, being driven on occasion of his farewell discourse to adjourn to the fields, as the church could not contain "a fourth part of the people." On his third visit, after he had openly affiliated with the dissenters, the journal records a different reception: "Went to the Commissary's House, who was not at home; but afterwards speaking to him on the street he soon told me that he could lend me his Church no more. *Thanks be to God the fields are open.*"¹ On



INTERIOR OF CHRIST CHURCH.
PHILADELPHIA.

the following Sunday, the second after Easter, April 20, 1740, Whitefield attended church "morning and evening; and heard Mr. ——— preach a sermon upon Justification by Works, from James ii. 18."² In the evening the great evangelist "preached from the same words to about 1500 people and endeavour'd to show the errors contained in the Commissary's discourse."³ It could not be otherwise than that the church should be closed to him from this time. Later, under date of August 29, 1740, the commissary writes to the secretary of the venerable society as follows:—

¹The Two First Parts of Mr. Whitefield's Life, p. 339.

²*Ibid.*, p. 342.

³*Ibid.*

The Bishop's Commissary (Mr. Garden), in S. Carolina has lately prosecuted the famous Mr. Wh—d there upon the 38th Canon; but he has appealed home. I hope the Society will use their interest to have justice done him. His character as a clergyman enables him to do the greatest mischief. He thereby fights against the Church under her colours, and Judas-like betrays her under pretence of friendship, for which reason the dissenters are exceeding fond of him, cry him up for an oracle, and pray publicly for his success, that he may go on conquering and to conquer, and in return he warmly exhorts his proselytes from the Church to follow them as the only preachers of true sound doctrine. I have sent you a copy of my sermon which I have mentioned in my last and refer you to the preface for a brief account of his hopeful doctrines and malicious railings against the clergy. I am fully persuaded he designs to set up for the head of a sect, and doubt not but that he is supported under hand by deists and Jesuits or both.¹

The language of the commissary is borne out by the testimony of the other clergy of the province² and, in fact, the published journals of the erratic evangelist as originally printed, and, without the prunings they subsequently received, go far to sustain the charge of an intemperate and censorious spirit, and a want of Christian humility, coupled with an indiscreet and reckless zeal, which could not fail to awaken suspicion and occasion opposition on the part of the members of the Church, whose bishops and clergy Whitefield did not hesitate to assail in the most opprobrious terms. The conservatism of the commissary and his clergy tended to the growth of the Church, for many of the more sober-minded of the dissenters were repelled by the excesses of the "new-lights" from frequenting their assemblies, and led to seek refuge in the Church. In April, 1741, Mr. Cummings died, and was succeeded, after an interval, during which the Rev.

Eneas Ross officiated with great acceptance, by the Rev. Robert Jenney, L. L. D., who immediately appointed Mr. Ross as his assistant.

*Robt Jenney min: of Ch^h Church
Wm Sturgeon Catechist
and Ass^tants in Philadelphia*

In 1744 the church-wardens report that the church is "happily finished:" but it was not till 1755 that the steeple was completed, and the "ring of eight bells," obtained from England, hung in their present place. The Rev. William Sturgeon had, in the early part of Dr. Jenney's ministry, been appointed "assist-

*Jacob Duché Assistant Minister
to the Churches of Philadelphia.*

ant to the rector and catechist to the negroes," and gave great satisfaction by his labors. A new church, named St. Peter's, was at length

found necessary to furnish accommodations to the increasing numbers of church folk in the city.

¹ Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch., II., p. 203.

² Vide letters from the Rev. Messrs. Ross, Backhouse, Howie, Currie, Pugh, Jenney, and others, in "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch.," II., pp. 204-217, 230-236.

The Rev. Jacob Duché, son of a leading supporter of the Church, was appointed an assistant minister of the parish in which his youth had been spent. The incumbency of Dr. Jenney continued until his death, in 1762, thus covering a period of twenty years, in which the Church grew in strength and in numbers, not only in Philadelphia, but throughout the province. Sturgeon continued as assistant for nearly the same length of time, from 1747 to 1766, until ill-health compelled his resignation. His career was one of uninterrupted usefulness. His labors among the negroes and others met with great success, and his faithfulness won not only the reward of souls, but secured for this devoted catechist the appreciation and material aid of the parish at large. His "great pains and diligence in the work of the ministry" received the public commendation of the society, and his devotion to duty and his years of faithful service entitle him to an honorable mention and a grateful remembrance. Efforts were made shortly before the decease of Dr. Jenney to secure as an additional assistant the Rev. William MacClemachan, who had ingratiated himself with a party in the church. But Sherlock, Bishop of London, refused to license for this important post one who had deserted his mission at the northward without the consent of the society, and who was even then under an engagement to a parish in Virginia. The bishop's determination occasioned no little feeling on the part of the friends of MacClemachan; but after a brief term of service he was compelled to withdraw, having occasioned no little disturbance and division among the people.

The completion of St. Peter's Church, which was opened on the 4th of September, 1761, by a solemn service, at which the celebrated Dr. Smith, Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, preached, was shortly followed by the death of Dr. Jenney, and the election to the rectorship of the united parishes of Christ Church and St. Peter's, of the Rev. Richard Peters.

Richard Peters

This gentleman, who had during his temporary suspension of clerical duty won for himself a name and position at the bar, to which he had been originally brought up in England, proved to be an earnest and faithful incumbent, whose term of service continued until 1775, when age and infirmities compelled him to resign his charge. During his incumbency the united parishes received from Thomas and Richard Penn, proprietaries of the province, a charter constituting the rector, church-wardens, and vestrymen of Christ Church and St. Peter's, "a body politick and corporate." The provisions of this important instrument received the careful scrutiny not only of the grantors and the rector who had been compelled to visit England for the bishop's license, but also of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the amiable and excellent Seeker. On the 28th of June, 1765, the charter "signed by the honorab^l John Penn, esq., Lieutenant Governor, and under the great seal" of the province, was formally received and accepted by the vestry. The following year the rector declined to receive any further salary until the debt incurred in the completion of St. Peter's had been paid. In 1768, at the request of the governor and council, Mr. Peters made a journey to Fort Stanwix, on occasion of an Indian treaty, for the

settlement of boundary lines, his long experience in Indian affairs having given rise to the belief that his presence would be of service.

In January, 1772, Doctor John Kearsley died at the age of eighty-eight years, "an ancient, worthy, and useful member of the church." He had served on the vestry for upwards of half a century. It was to his taste and exertions that the grace and architectural beauty of Christ Church are due, and throughout his long and honored career he never ceased to interest himself in the affairs, and to contribute to the prosperity, of the church of his love and baptism. By his last will and testament he bequeathed a large portion of

Dr. Kearsley

Jr. Coombs

his estate to the united parishes, in trust for the foundation of Christ Church Hospital, "for the support of ten or more poor or distressed women, of the Communion of the Church of England, or such as the said corporation and their successors shall deem such; preferring clergymen's widows before others, and supplying them with meat, drink, and lodging, and the assistance of persons practising physic and surgery." Towards the close of this year the Rev. Thomas Coombe and the Rev. William White, both born and educated in the city and province, were elected assistant ministers. In 1775, on the resignation of the Rev. Dr. Peters, the Rev. Jacob Duché, the senior assistant, was elected rector in his stead, and continued to officiate in this capacity until, at the close of the year 1777, he determined on visiting England, with a view of answering "any objections the Bishop of London might have to his conduct," and of removing the prejudices the Bishop had imbibed against him. He was succeeded by William White, *clarum et venerabile nomen*.



*Jacob Duché*¹

While the Church in Philadelphia was thus steadily growing through many vicissitudes, and in spite of opposition on every hand, the various missions and parishes had largely increased throughout the province. On Wednesday, April 30, 1760, the first convention of the clergy was held in Philadelphia, agreeably to an under-

¹ Our engraving is made from a photographic copy of an original portrait drawn in chalk, by Francis Hopkinson, in the year 1770, and con-

sidered by those who knew him to be a faithful likeness.

standing entered into the preceding autumn. The list of the clergy present at this meeting, which continued in session until Monday, the 5th of May, will indicate the strength the Church had attained. The list comprises the following names, viz. :

Philip Reading.

Doctor Robert Jenney, Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia : Doctor William Smith, Provost of the College in Philadelphia ; Mr. George Craig, missionary at Chester : Mr. Philip Reading, missionary at Apoquinimick : Mr. William Sturgeon,

Assistant Minister and Catechist to the negroes, in Philadelphia : Mr. Thomas Barton, missionary at Lancaster : Mr. William MacClennachan, another of the assistant ministers in Christ Church, Philadelphia : Mr. Cha^s. Inglis, missionary at Dover : Mr. Hugh Neill, missionary at Oxford, and Mr. Jacob Duché, likewise an assistant minister in Christ Church, Philadelphia."¹ The Rev. Messrs. Samuel Cook and Robert McKean, of New Jersey, were also in attendance. The Rev. William Thompson arrived from England

Wm. Barton

Chas. Inglis Missionary of Dover.

during the session, and the Rev. Messrs. Ross, of New Castle ; Curry, of Radnor ; Campbell, of Bristol ; and Richard Peters, of Philadelphia, were not present. At this convention the conduct of the Rev. William MacClennachan was discussed, and, on the receipt of advices from the

Bishop of London, that he would not license him to Christ

Hugh Neill Missionary of Oxford

Church, it was resolved that he should not be recognized, or recorded in the minutes as acting in this capacity. Complaint was made of the action of a number of Presbyterian ministers

in sending to the Archbishop of Canterbury an address in favor of Mr. MacClennachan, and the action of Dr. Jenney in dismissing him from the assistancy at Christ Church, and in refusing him permission to officiate there, was approved. The accounts of the missions in Pennsylvania and Delaware were as follows : at Lewes, a clergyman, by the name of Matthias Harris, had intruded himself into the mission without the society's permission. Two of the churches under the charge of Harris, together with the intruder himself, had united in a "submision" to the convention with a view to regaining the society's favor. But, as the

¹ Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch., II., pp. 295-319.

church at Lewes was not represented in this submission, the convention refused to transmit the proffered papers. In the Dover Mission, which included the whole County of Kent, there were three churches under the care of the Rev. Charles Inglis. The churches were crowded, and the number of communicants was on the increase. At Easter there were seventy-three communicants. At Apoquinimick there were seventy actual communicants. At New Castle the church was "thin of people," and another church, connected with this mission, had refused to receive the missionary. Improvement was reported at Chester. At Oxford the Church was "in a very flourishing way," and a "Sunday evening Lecture" had been established at Germantown. The missionary at Radnor was ill, and could not attend the convention; but he was much esteemed in his extensive cure, and neglected no opportunity of doing his duty. At Lancaster there was a small church; at Bangor, another, of stone; at Pequa, a third of the same material.

The mission in York and Cumberland had three congregations: one at Huntingdon; a second at York, and a third at Carlisle. Mr. Thompson had been appointed to this cure. Berks and Northampton were frontier counties, in which the society had, as yet, no mission. At Reading there was a movement among the people to secure a missionary, and at Easton there was need of services which could be best rendered by the Rev. Mr. Morton, itinerant missionary in New Jersey. Such was the condition of the Church in Pennsylvania and Delaware at this time. The clergy, in addressing the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Secker, dwelt on the hardships under which the Church was laboring, and prayed earnestly for the appointment of bishops for America.

In 1763 Whitefield was again in Philadelphia, and, on the invitation of the rector, preached several times in the two churches, "without any of his usual censures of the clergy, and with a greater moderation of sentiment."¹ In 1766 Commissary Peters writes: "Above twenty missions are now vacant." A third church, St. Paul's, originally built by a schismatic following of MacClemmachan, was added to the Philadelphia churches. A society for the relief of the widows and orphans of the clergy was instituted. The college and academy of Philadelphia was contributing godly and well-learned young men for the ministry. Germans and Swedes were seeking comprehension in the Church, and, as the country found itself on the eve of a disastrous

*Wm. Thompson, Missionary
at Carlisle*

Robt. Jenney

William Smith, Presid. of the Convention

¹ Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch., II., p. 395.

war, the prospects of the Church were never brighter. All but bare existence was to be lost in the struggle for independence that followed.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

THE story of the introduction of the Church in the Middle Colonies would be confessedly incomplete without a reference to the planting and presence of the Swedish Church on the Delaware, which, in its subsequent development, has gradually merged into our own communion, until to-day one of the oldest houses of worship in which the liturgy of our American Church is used, and one of the old-

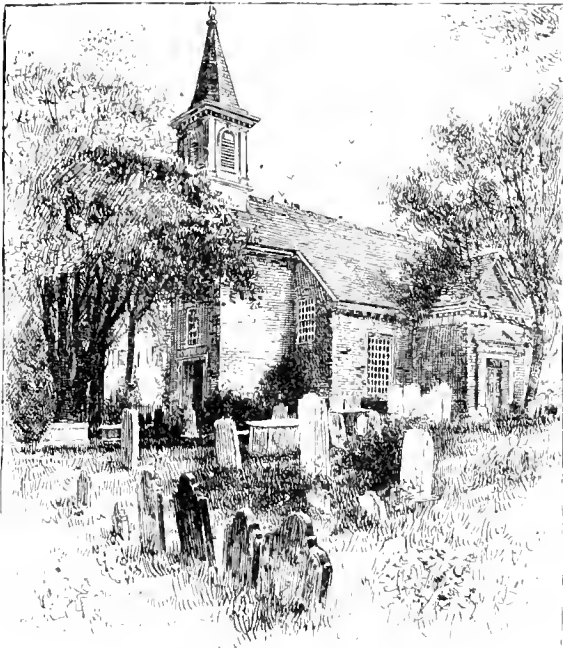


OLD SWEDES' CHURCH, WILMINGTON, DELAWARE.

est churches of the reformed faith in the land, is the venerable Swedes' Church, in the city of Wilmington, Delaware. The settlement of the Swedes was undertaken, as we learn from the royal proclamation authorizing the formation of a trading colony on the shores of the Delaware in the New World, primarily with a view of planting the Christian religion among the heathen; and in this spirit the settlers brought with them their spiritual guide, and one of their first cares was to provide within the walls of their rude fortification a house for the worship of God. Torkillus, the Swedish priest, officiated among his countrymen until his death, in 1643. The needs of the settlers soon required the erection of a church at Crane Hook, on the south side of the mouth of the Christiana river. This church was not built until 1667, twelve years after the short-lived conquest of New Sweden by the Dutch, and three years after the victors and vanquished had been subjected to the British power. The church at Crane Hook stood on a beautiful spot close to the Delaware, and its worshippers gathered from New Castle and Swedesboro', N.J. (then known as Raccoon Creek), as well as from the banks of the Brandywine and the Christiana.

The sole remaining Swedish priest at this time was Lock, who ministered to the congregation in the fort, and also in the church on Tinicum Island, which had been erected as early as 1646.

In 1677 as the distance of Tinicum rendered attendance at service almost impracticable for the settlers at Wicaco, the block-house which stood near where the Gloria Dei Church, in Philadelphia, was afterwards erected, was used as a place of worship, and the first service was held in this church of logs, by the Rev. Jacob Fabritius, on Trinity Sunday, June 9, 1677. For fourteen years Fabritius, who had succeeded Lock, who had died or returned to Sweden, in 1688, ministered in this rude house of prayer. Nine of these years the preacher was totally blind, and when, by reason of infirmity, he was unable to officiate longer, there seemed little hope that his place would be supplied. At length news reached Sweden of the destitute spiritual condition of these settlers. They had appealed for "good shepherds" to feed them with God's "holy word and sacraments." King Charles XI. laid this request,



GLORIA DEI (OLD SWEDES) CHURCH.

which was signed by thirty of the leading colonists, before the Archbishop of Upsala, and after some delay the Rev. Andrew Rudman, Eric Biorck, and Jonas Auren sailed with the king's "God speed" from Gottenburg, on the 4th of August, 1696, reaching James river, in Virginia, June 2d of the following year. Of these three mission priests, Biorek took charge of the congregation on the Christiana. On the 11th of July he records his first service among his people: "I, their unworthy minister, clad in my surplice, delivered my first discourse to them in Jesus' name, on the subject of the 'Righteousness of the Pharisees.'" (Quoted in Bishop Alfred Lee's "Planting and Watering." Historical sketch of the church in Delaware, 1638-1881.) This service was held in the Crane Hook Church, but that site being from time to time overflowed, the new clergyman persuaded his people to build a stone church in a more suitable spot. The corner-stone of the present "Trinity," Swedes' Church, was laid on the 28th of May, 1698, and was formally set apart for its sacred uses on Trinity Sunday of the following year. The Rev. Andrew Rudman was the preacher on this interesting occasion, and the text was from the Psalms cxxvi. 3. The Lord had

done great things for them, whereof they were glad. It was not till another year had passed that the church at Wicaco was built, and on the first Sunday after Trinity, 1700, the "Gloria Dei" was dedicated to God's service, the sermon being preached from 2 Sam. vii. 29.

At the church on the Christiana Andrew Hesselius, sent out by King Charles XII., in 1712, succeeded the faithful Biorck. He was followed by his brother Samuel, in 1723, who gave place to John Eneburg, in 1731. Long before this time there had been frequent exchanges of pulpits and parishes by the clergy of the churches of England and Sweden respectively, and when at length the Swedish language had ceased to be intelligible to the hearers, Trinity at Wilmington, and Gloria Dei at Wicaco, long since absorbed by Philadelphia, became part of the American Church.



OLD ST. DAVID'S CHURCH, RADNOR.

One of the most notable of the old Pennsylvania churches is St. David's, at Radnor, built in 1714, and famous, if for no other reason, from being the subject of the beautiful poem by Longfellow, from which the following stanzas are quoted:—

What an image of peace and rest
Is this little church among its graves!
All is so quiet; the troubled breast,
The wounded spirit, the heart oppressed,
Here may find the repose it craves.

See how the ivy climbs and expands
Over this humble hermitage,
And seems to caress with its little hands
The rough, gray stones, as a child that stands
Caressing the wrinkled cheeks of age!

Were I a pilgrim in search of peace,
Were I pastor of Holy Church,
More than a bishop's diocese
Should I prize this place of rest, and release
From farther longing and farther search.

Here would I stay, and let the world
With its distant thunder roar and roll;
Storms do not rend the sail that is furled
Nor like a dead leaf, tossed and whirled
In an eddy of wind, is the anchored soul.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CONVERSION TO THE CHURCH OF CUTLER, RECTOR OF YALE COLLEGE, AND OTHER PURITAN MINISTERS OF CONNECTICUT.

ON Thursday, September 13, 1722, the day after the annual commencement, the following paper was presented to the Trustees of Yale College, in New Haven, assembled in the library:—

To the Rev. Mr. Andrew and Mr. Woodbrudge and others, our Reverend Fathers and Brethren, present in the Library of Yale College this 13th of September, 1722,—

REVEREND GENTLEMEN: Having represented to you the difficulties which we labor under, in relation to our continuance out of the visible communion of an Episcopal Church, and a state of seeming opposition thereto, either as private Christians, or as officers, and so being insisted on by some of you (after our repeated declinings of it) that we should sum up our case in writing, we do (though with great reluctance, fearing the consequences of it) submit to and comply with it: And signify to you that some of us doubt the validity, and the rest of us are more fully persuaded of the invalidity of the Presbyterian ordination, in opposition to Episcopal; and should be heartily thankful to God and man, if we may receive from them satisfaction herein; and shall be willing to embrace your good counsels and instructions in relation to this important affair, as far as God shall direct and dispose us to do.

TIMOTHY CUTLER,¹
JOHN HART,²
SAMUEL WHITTLESEY,³
JARED ELIOT,⁴
JAMES WETMORE,⁵
SAMUEL JOHNSON,⁶
DANIEL BROWN.⁷

A true copy of the original.

Testify:

DANIEL BROWN.

The missionary of the venerable society at Stratford, the Rev. George Pigot, who was present by invitation of President Cutler at the time of this declaration, in his recital of the affair to the secretary, throws additional light upon the extent to which this defection was thought at the time to extend: "On the 11th of the last month, at the desire of the President, I repaired to the Commencement of Yale College in New Haven, where, in the face of the whole country, the aforesaid gentleman and six others, hereafter named, declared themselves in this wise, that they could no longer keep out of the com-

¹ Harvard College, 1701.

² Yale College, 1703; tutor, 1703-1705.

³ Yale College, 1705; fellow, 1732-1752.

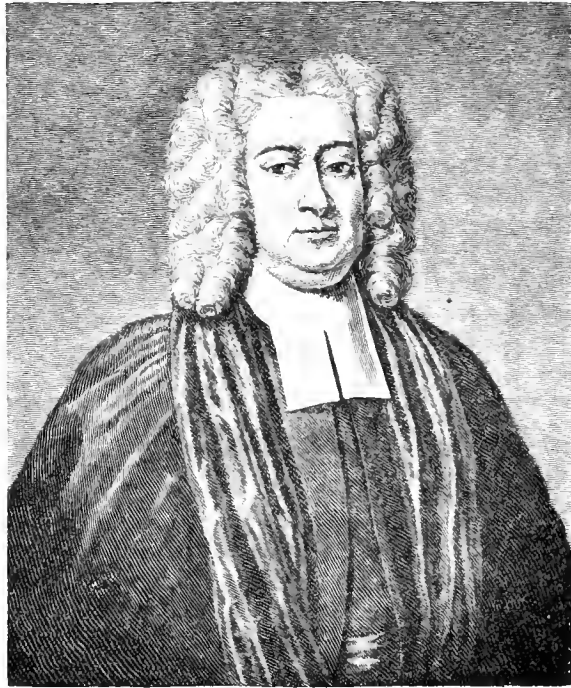
⁴ Yale College, 1706; fellow, 1730-1762.

⁵ Yale College, 1714.

⁶ Yale College, 1714; tutor, 1716-1719.

⁷ Yale College, 1711; tutor, 1718-1722.

munion of the Holy Catholic Church, and that some of them doubted of the validity, and the rest were persuaded of the invalidity, of Presbyterian ordination in opposition to Episcopal. The gentlemen fully persuaded thereof are the five following, viz. : Mr. Cutler, president of Yale College; Mr. Brown, tutor to the same; Mr. Elliot, pastor of Killingsworth; Mr. Johnson, pastor of West Haven; and Mr. Wet-



Timothy Cutler

more, pastor of North Haven. The two gentlemen who seemed to doubt are Mr. Hart, pastor of East Guilford, and Mr. Whittlesey, pastor of Wallingford. These seven gave in their declarations in writing, and at the same time two more, and these pastors of great note, gave their assent, of whom the one, Mr. Buckley, of Colchester, declared Episcopacy to be *jure divino*, and the other, Mr. Whiting, of some remote town, also gave in his opinion for moderate Episcopacy."¹

The impression produced by such a paper as the one we have trans-

¹ Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Ch. Docs.," 1., pp. 58, 59.

scribed could not be other than profound. In the words of one of the Puritan ministers who was present at this remarkable declaration, "all" were "amazed and filled with darkness." Another writes to the Mathers of Boston, of "the dark cloud drawn over our collegiate affairs," and adds, "How is the gold become dim! and the silver become dross! and the wine mixt with water!" while still another confesses, "It is a very dark day with us; and we need pity, prayers and counsel." "Our condition I look upon as very deplorable and sad."

Those who had thus professed their scruples as to the validity of Presbyterian orders were, as their opponents could not but confess, "persons of figure" and "not of the least note" among the ministers of the colony, "the most of them reputed men of considerable learning, and all of them of a virtuous and blameless conversation." Less than this could hardly have been said with truth. Cutler, the rector (or president) of Yale, was a native of Charlestown, in Massachusetts, and was graduated at Harvard in 1701. It was after a pastorate of ten years at Stratford that the trustees of the college invited him to assume the post for which his learning and acknowledged ability pre-eminently qualified him. It was in the autumn of 1719 that Cutler entered upon his residence at New Haven, sharing the task of the instruction of the students with Daniel Brown, a gifted young Puritan minister, a tutor prior to Cutler's assumption of the headship of the college. Johnson had been one of the two tutors of the institution; but with the settlement of the college on a permanent basis at New Haven he resigned his post, and was formally placed in charge of the Congregational parish at West Haven, on Sunday, March 20, 1720, having been, as he himself states it, "a preacher occasionally ever since he was eighteen." The occasion of his settlement at West Haven appears to have been a desire to avail himself of the literary associations and privileges of the college and its library, then numbering about a thousand volumes. His entrance upon the Presbyterian ministry was not without doubts and scruples as to the validity of the orders he was to receive; but "the passionate entreaties of a tender mother," and the hope that he might thus "be doing some service to promote the main interest of religion,"¹ together with a lack of familiarity with the conditions prerequisite, and the formal steps to be taken to secure the coveted ministerial commission of the English Church, served to allay his difficulties and justify his acceptance of "Presbyterial ordination." But the seed sown when Smithson, a devoted churchman of Guilford, placed in his hands the "Book of Common Prayer," was not to lie dormant. His reading led him more and more to admire the doctrines and worship of the Church. Scott's "Christian Life," Archbishop King's "Inventions of Men in the Worship of God," Potter's "Church Government," Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," Wall on "Infant Baptism," Echard's "Church History," "The Whole Duty of Man," and other works of this class, could not fail to produce an effect upon a mind of unusual logical power, as well as singularly devout. One by

¹ Beardsley's "Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson," p. 15.

one the folios of the great Anglican doctors of the seventeenth century were mastered by him in turn. His intimate friends shared his studies, and found themselves drifting steadily away from the Calvinistic tenets and the congregational polity in which they had been brought up. Each of the seven whose names are attached to the declaration of the 13th of September, 1722, held positions of trust and influence in the vicinity of the capital of the colony and the seat of its college.¹ All but Cutler were graduates of the college, and three of them — Johnson, Wetmore, and Brown — were members of the same class, 1714, and intimate friends. John Hart was the minister of East Guilford; Samuel Whittlesey was settled at Wallingford, Jared Eliot at Killingworth, and James Wetmore at North Haven. Meeting at each others' homes, or in the college library with the ponderous tomes of Anglican theology within reach, "a few Episcopalian things which their library at New Haven had been unhappily stocked with,"² the conferences and researches of this "little knot of young men" convinced them that the Church of England offered the apostolic commission they sought, and that without this valid authority each of them was, as Johnson termed it, "an usurper in the house of God."

Cutler appears to have been suspected of having fallen under the influence of one of the most uncompromising churchmen and gifted controversialists of the day, — John Checkley, of Boston. A contemporary account of the defection of Cutler and his friends, from which we have already quoted, and which appears to have been the production of Cotton Mather, speaks of "the great converter" as "a foolish and sorry toy-man, who is a professed Jacobite, and printed a pamphlet to maintain that the God whom King William and the churches there prayed unto is the devil! (*horresco referens!*)" and there can be little doubt but that Checkley, either by correspondence or conversation, aided Cutler in coming to a decision in favor of the Church, though he "declared to the trustees that he had for many years been of this persuasion (his wife is reported to have said that to her knowledge he had for eleven or twelve years been so persuaded), and that therefore he was the more uneasy in performing the acts of his ministry at Stratford, and the more readily accepted the call to a college improvement at New Haven."³ Bitter indeed was the scorn and indignity heaped upon these confessors of the Church by the Boston ministers, and notably by Cotton Mather. They are styled "cudweeds." It is "that vile, senseless, wretched whimsey of an uninterrupted succession" which they have set up. The charge is made that "they will have none owned for ministers

¹ Trumbull, in his "Hist. of Conn.," II., p. 33, referring to the change of views of Cutler and his associates, adds: "It was supposed that several other gentlemen of considerable character among the clergy were in the scheme of declaring for Episcopacy and of carrying over the people of Connecticut in general to that persuasion. But as they had been more private in their measures, and had made no open profession of Episcopacy, when they saw the consequences with respect to the rector and the other ministers and that the people would not hear them, but dismissed them from their service, they were glad to conceal their former

purpose, and to continue in their respective places."

² 2 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., II., p. 137. Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Ch. Docs.," I., p. 72. This "Faithful Relation of a Late Occurrence in the Churches of New-England," which the editor of the "Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections" pronounces "not very candid or temperate, if faithful," appears by numerous coincidences in expression, as well as by the general style of argument, to be the composition of Cotton Mather, whose letter on the subject is printed in "2 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.," II., p. 133, and "Conn. Ch. Docs.," I., pp. 75-78.

³ Conn. Ch. Docs., I., pp. 69, 70.

of Christ in the world, but such as anti-Christ has ordained for him; such as the paw of the beast hath been laid upon." They are "poor children," "degenerate offspring," "hightlyers," "unhappy men," "deserters," "backsliders." They are accused of a "scandalous conjunction" "with the papists," of attempting "boundless mischief" "by this foolish cavil;" and the question is asked, "Do not these men worship the beast?"¹ In striking contrast with these epithets and expressions are the words recorded by Johnson, in his private diary, immediately after the ordeal had been passed, and he had temporarily given up his ministry:—

It is with great sorrow of heart that I am forced thus, by the uneasiness of my conscience, to be an occasion of so much uneasiness to my dear friends, my poor people, and indeed to the whole colony. O God, I beseech thee, grant that I may not, in an adherence to thy necessary truths and laws (as I profess in my conscience they seem to me), be a stumbling-block or occasion of fall to any soul. Let not our thus appearing for thy church be any ways accessary, through accidentally to the hurt of religion in general, or any person in particular. Have mercy, Lord, have mercy on the souls of men, and pity and enlighten those that are grieved at this accident. Lead into the way of truth all those that have erred and are deceived; and if we, in this affair, are misled, I beseech Thee show us our error before it be too late, that we may repair the damage. Grant us Thy illumination for Christ's sake. Amen.²

At the suggestion of the governor of the colony, Gurdon Saltonstall, an attempt was made to give the signers of the September declaration the satisfaction they craved by a public discussion in the college library, on the day following the opening of the October session of the General Assembly. In this debate the advocates of the Episcopal side of the question had the advantage of familiarity with the whole controversy acquired by long study and careful and prayerful thought. The governor, himself a theologian of no mean ability, "moderated very genteely,"³ but the "gentlemen on the Dissenting side" found that their chief argument from the indifferent use of the words *bishop* and *presbyter* in the New Testament was met by the incontestable evidence from Scripture of the superintendency of Timothy over the clergy and laity of Ephesus, and of Titus over the church in Crete. The appeal to the history of the first and purest centuries of the Church was made until "at length," as Johnson records it, "an old minister got up and made an harangue against them in the declamatory way to raise an odium, but he had not gone far before Mr. Saltonstall got up and said he only designed a friendly argument, and so put an end to the conference."⁴

Hart, Whittlesey, and Eliot, influenced it may be by the debate in the college library in October, or dismayed at the opposition their declarations for the Church, had excited, returned to their old faith, silenced if not satisfied. It is the testimony of Chandler that "amidst all the controversies in which the Church was engaged during their lives, they were never known to act, or say, or insinuate anything to her disadvantage."⁵ The others were unshaken in their adherence to their

¹ *Ibid.* 2 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., II., 133 *et passim*. Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Ch. Docs.," I., 72-78.

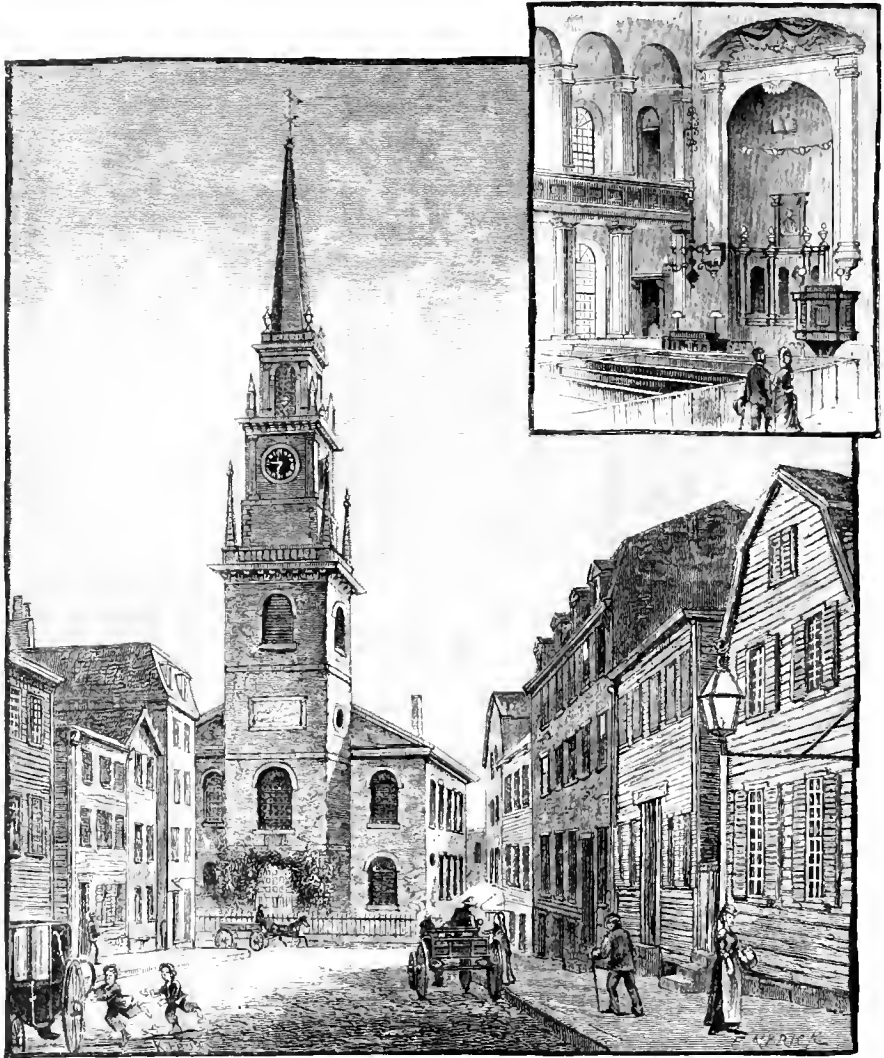
² Beardsley's "Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson," p. 19.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 20.

⁵ Life of Johnson, p. 31.

⁴ Beardsley's Johnson, p. 19.

convictions. Johnson, after the most patient self-scrutiny, as was his wont, records in his diary, that "upon the most deliberate consideration, I cannot find that either the frowns or applauses, the pleasures or profits of the world have any prevailing influence in the affair."¹ On the 17th



CHRIST CHURCH, BOSTON.

of October the trustees of the college voted, "in faithfulness to the trust reposed in them," to "excuse the Rev. Mr. Cutler from all further service as rector of Yale College," and "to accept of the resignation which Mr. Brown had made as tutor."² A week later Cutler, John-

¹ Beardsley's Johnson, p. 21.

² Trumbull's "Hist. of Conn.," II., p. 31.

son, and Brown were on their way to the sea-board, with a view of taking passage for England for ordination.

Meanwhile a movement had taken shape among the churchmen of Boston to erect a second church, the King's Chapel "not being large enough to contain the people of the church;"¹ and the attention of the promoters of this enterprise was turned at once towards securing the ex-president of Yale as their spiritual head. A letter from the leading members of the new Christ Church was addressed to Cutler, congratulating him and his friends on their declaration for the Church, inviting them to Boston, assuring them that a passage to England would be provided for him and his friends, "and all things proper to support the character of a gentleman" during his "stay in London." The care of Mrs. Cutler and children was also assumed by the committee of the church, and liberal subscriptions attested the fact that the zeal of the Boston church-folk was equal to their professions.

The journey to Boston was of itself long and tedious. Setting out on Tuesday, the 23d of October, Sunday the twenty-third after Trinity, and the Feast of SS. Simon and Jude, found them at Bristol, where Johnson records: "I first went to church. How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts! Mr. Orem² preached."³ On the following Sunday, the twenty-fourth after Trinity, they "first communicated with the Church of England. How devout," proceeds the excellent Johnson in his diary, "grand, and venerable was every part of the administration, every way becoming so awful a mystery! Mr. Cuthbert, of Amapolis Royal, preached. To-morrow we venture upon the great ocean for Great Britain. God Almighty preserve us."⁴ For five weeks and four days their "boisterous and uncomfortable voyage in the good ship 'Mary' was protracted." The little party occupied themselves with religious reading and study. On Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays they read prayers. They blessed God at the sight of land, for the ocean passage at the time these men, and others who followed their course, braved its terrors was something to be dreaded in its discomfort and danger. On the third Sunday in Advent they attended service in the cathedral at Canterbury. Strangers though they were, and in a strange land, they found friends at once. On presenting themselves at the Deanery they announced themselves as "some gentlemen from America, come over for Holy Orders, who were desirous of paying their duty to the Dean."⁵ The amiable and learned dean, Dr. Stanhope, whose name is yet familiar as a household word to all students of Anglican theology, welcomed them with great cordiality. A copy of the declaration, to which was appended the names of the signers, had found its way into the London papers, and the dean, and some of the cathedral prebends, were reading it at the very moment of this opportune call. No further introduction was necessary. The two archbishops, Dr. Wake, of Canterbury, and Sir William Dawes, of York, vied in extending to these new converts every possible attention and kindness. They were

¹ Foote's "Annals of King's Chapel."

² The Rev. James Orem, missionary of the venerable society at Bristol, R.I.

³ Beardsley's Johnson, p. 23.

⁴ *Ibid.*
⁵ Beardsley's "Hist. of the Epis. Church in Conn.," I., p. 45.

formally introduced to the members of the venerable society, the Archbishop of York being in the chair, "who," as Johnson tells us, "with the whole body of the clergy present, received us with a most benign aspect, and treated us with all imaginable kindness."¹ The Bishop of London, Dr. Robinson, of Salisbury, Dr. Willis, of Londonderry, Dr. Nicholson, and others, showed them marked attention, and leading divines and laymen spared no pains to prove to these proselytes from afar that their self-sacrifice and devotion were fully appreciated. After receiving in private, in the Church of St. Sepulchre, hypothetical baptism, on Friday, March 22, at the Church of St.-Martin-in-the-Fields, they were first confirmed and then ordained deacons, and on Passion Sunday, the 21st of March, at the same church, they were advanced to the priesthood by the Lord Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Thomas Green, the Bishop of London, Dr. Robinson being incapacitated from duty by his last illness. On Easter even, April 13, Brown died of the small-pox, and on Easter Tuesday was interred in St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, in the presence of about thirty of the city clergy. He was, as Johnson writes, "a fine scholar and a brave Christian."² At Oxford and Cambridge Cutler received the doctorate, and Johnson the master's degree. Before their return Wetmore joined them and was admitted to orders, and with the blessing of Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Gibson, the newly-made Bishop of London, they set sail for home, reaching the shores of America towards the close of September, Dr. Cutler immediately entering upon work at Boston, and Mr. Johnson a little later establishing himself at Stratford, in Connecticut.

The conversion of these Connecticut ministers to the Church and their admission to orders in England excited no little apprehension in the mind of some of the few clergy of English birth in New England, that they, to quote the words of David Mossom, of Marblehead, would "get the best places in the country and take the bread from off our trenchers." The assistant at King's Chapel, the Rev. Henry Harris, openly called in question the sincerity of Cutler in making the change from Congregationalism to the Church. The Rev. Matthias Plant, of Newbury, professed his readiness to join with Harris in addressing the Bishop of London for the purpose of preventing the ordination of the converts, and urged Mossom to unite in the same underhand proceeding. But the laity recognized the advantages likely to accrue to the church's cause by this accession, and the church-wardens and vestry of Trinity Church, Newport, wrote to the secretary of this venerable society, that "upon the whole it seems highly probable that upon these gentlemen's fate, we mean their reception and encouragement, depends a grand revolution, if not a general revolt, from schisms in these parts."³

While the church people of New England viewed this addition to their ranks with mingled satisfaction and jealousy, the feeling among the adherents of the "Standing Order" was that of apprehension and dismay. At a fast observed at the "Old North," Boston, on the 25th

¹ Beardley's "Hist. of the Epis. Church in Conn.," I., p. 29.

² Beardley's Johnson, p. 40.

³ Conn. Ch. Docs., I., p. 91.

of September, 1722, Chief Justice Sewall records in his diary that after a sermon by Cotton Mather, "Dr. I. Mather pray'd; much bewail'd the Coñecticut Apostacie." At Yale the trustees voted that all rectors, or tutors, subsequently elected should declare before the trustees their assent to the "Saybrook Platform," and "particularly give satisfaction to them of the soundness of their Faith in opposition to *Arminian* and Prelatical Corruptions, or any other of dangerous consequence to the Purity and Peace of our Churches."¹ But the tide could not be stayed. Of the class of 1723 Jonathan Arnold² conformed. Of the class of 1724, Henry Caner;³ of that of 1726, Ebenezer Punderson; of that of 1729, John Pierson, Solomon Palmer, Ephraim Bostwick, and Isaac Browne; of that of 1733, Ebenezer Thompson, were converts; and in the ten years subsequent to that memorable declaration more than one in ten of the graduates of Yale who entered into the ministry followed the example of Cutler, Johnson, Brown, and Wetmore, — the leaders of the great army of conformists who, from their day to this, have been drawn into the church's service from without.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

WHILE the notable events recorded in this chapter were transpiring the Puritan leaders spared no pains to warn the people of the danger of apostasy, and to confirm them in the faith and practice of the "standing order." In "Elijah's Mantle," published in Boston in 1722, "A faithful testimony to the Cause and Work of God in the Churches of New England," offered as a "highly seasonable" contribution to the polemic literature of the day, we find this earnest appeal: —

"Hence also those among us that desire to set up in this Country any of the *Wayes of Men's Invention*, (as *Prelacy*, stunted *Liturgies*, *Humane Ceremonies*, in Worship), they will bid Defiance to the Cause and Interest of Christ, and of this People in these Ends of the Earth; and will, I persuade myself, but *lay themselves as Potters' Vessels under the Iron Rod*, for Christ who has taken this *possession of these uttermost parts of the Earth* will not endure it. Let us *Go forward* to any of those Things of Christ that we are wanting in. But to *Go backward* unto those Things which we know and have openly Testified to be not of God, and which we departed from, will be such a *Wickedness* as the Lord's jealousy will not bear withal."

The venerable Increase Mather, then fourscore and four years old, thus urged this same plea: —

"From the Suburbs of that Glorious World into which I am now entering, I earnestly Testify unto the *Rising Generation* That if they sinfully forsake the God and the Hope and the Religious Ways of their pious ancestors, the Glorious Lord will severely punish their Apostasy, and be *Terrible from His Holy Places* upon them."

In "Some Seasonable Enquiries" concerning Episcopacy, issued the following year by Cotton Mather, the author refers to "The Sad and Strange Occurrence of This Day;" and, among his queries on the Scripture use of the word "Bishops" and the "Divine Right of Episcopacy," thus writes: —

"In Fine, *O Vain Men, What are you doing?* Who, after the Word of God in the *Sacred Scriptures* dost so Plainly and Loudly Condemn the Usurpation of a *Diocesan Episcopacy*, will for the Sake thereof Renounce the *Ministry* and Com-

¹ Clap's "History of Yale College," p. 32. ² M.A., Oxford, 1736; S.T.D., Oxford, 1766.

³ M.A., Oxford, 1736.

*munio*n of all the *Protestant Churches* in the World, except a very little party on Two Islands?

“Whether the Churches, which have their Beauty and Safety in keeping the *Second Commandment*, and were Planted on the very Design of withdrawing from the ‘*Episcopal Impositions*,’ will not, as they would Avoid the Jealous Wrath of the Glorious God, . . . with much Unanimity concur to Express their Displeasure against such an *Unaccountable Apostasy*?”

Quincy, in his “History of Harvard University” (I., p. 365), quoting as authority a letter from the celebrated Hollis to Rev. Benjamin Colman, under date of January 11, 1723, thus refers to an interview between this generous benefactor of “Harvard” and Cutler, when the latter was in England:—

“In the following January (1723) being in London, he was invited by the honest and zealous Hollis to a conference, in the hope of converting him from Episcopalianism. To this invitation Cutler acceded. The conference, however, never took place. ‘I am no doubter!’ said Cutler to Hollis, ‘I am resolved. I hope to be speedily ordained. I may with as much reason hope to bring you over to me, as you can hope to bring me over to you. I have a wife and seven children, am not yet forty years old. I have lost all my old friends. I am turned out of all. And if I should do anything now that looked like doubting, it were the way to lose my new friends. I was never in judgment heartily with the Dissenters, but bore it patiently until a favorable opportunity offered. This has opened at Boston, and I now declare publicly what I before believed privately.’ ‘After such positive barring cautions, I thought,’ says Hollis, ‘the proposed conference would be of little service.’”

It is difficult not to believe this report somewhat colored by the prejudices of the writer, especially when we have the advantage of tracing all the facts relating to the conversion of Cutler and his companions from contemporary documents, exhibiting, as they do, both sides as they appeared at the time.

CHAPTER XV.

THE TRIAL OF JOHN CHECKLEY AND THE STRUGGLES OF THE CHURCH IN MASSACHUSETTS AND RHODE ISLAND.

“**A**RM yourself with the humility and courage of a Christian; and when God shall suffer the enemies of His Church to afflict you, receive it with patience and cheerfulness, praying for your persecutors.”¹ These were the words of the Archbishop of York² to a nameless New Englander, who had sought his blessing and an audience in which to acquaint the venerable prelate with the state of the Church across the sea. The stranger thus counselled was one who, more than any other man at this period of controversy and inquiry about the Church, occupied the popular mind. Of John Checkley's family little is known. He was born in Boston, in 1680, of English parentage,



and received the rudiments of his education under the celebrated Ezekiel Cheever. He is said to have spent some time at the University of Oxford, from which he subsequently received an honorary degree of M.A.; but it is certain that he did not graduate, and no trace of his matriculation even has been found. From Oxford he is said to have travelled for some time upon the continent, and on his return to his birthplace he was certainly prepared, both by study and travel, to enter prominently into the discussions and controversies then beginning to attract, and even to absorb, the attention of all classes of society.

Abounding in wit and humor, possessing a genial temper, and an unfailling fund of anecdote, polished by his residence abroad, and especially interested in the political and religious controversies of the time, Checkley could not fail to attract the notice and secure the friendship of the men of parts who were from age and education his natural associates. Among these was one somewhat his junior, — Thomas Walter, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1713, and the son of the Puritan minister of Roxbury, and grandson of the celebrated Increase Mather. Walter was witty and accomplished, and the friendship between the two youths, begun while Walter was at Harvard, was continued in spite of the warning of Cotton Mather, who feared the influence of the churchman and Jacobite over his nephew. Churchman and Jacobite Checkley was, and while his friend, both from training and taste, leaned strongly

¹Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church, III., p. 665. 1713-14, and died April 30, 1724. — *Le Neve's Fasts Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, III., p. 118.
²Sir William Daves, Bart., Bishop of Chester, transferred to the Archiepiscopal see of York,

towards the Puritan theology and the House of Hanover, there grew out of their amicable discussions on the questions of divinity and politics then rife, a public controversy, which, ere its close, made itself felt in the Old World as well as the New. Several years after his friend's graduation, and while he was, probably, studying with his father in Roxbury, Checkley published a tract entitled "Choice Dialogues between a Godly Minister and an Honest Countryman, concerning Election and Predestination."¹ This attack on a favorite tenet of Calvinism provoked a speedy reply. The *brochure* of Checkley's, comprised within fifty pages, was answered at length by Walter, in "A Choice Dialogue between John Faustus, A Conjuror, and Jack Tory, His Friend; Occasioned by some *Choice Dialogues* lately published concerning *Prædestination* and *Election*. Together with Animadversions upon the Preface to the *Choice Dialogues*, And an *Appendix* concerning the True Doctrine of Prædestination, as held by the *Church of England*, and the Absurdities and Inconsistency of the *Choice Dialogues*. By a Young Stripling." The "Stripling" is certainly an adept in sarcasm and abuse. Referring in his preface, which is signed "Christopher Whigg," to the assertion that the "Choice Dialogues" were written "by a Reverend and Laborious Pastor in Christ's Flock, by one who has been for almost twice thirty years a faithful and painful Labourer in Christ's Vineyard," he retorts: "I believe I know the Reverend and Labourious Pastor he means, viz.: a certain Jacobite Clergy-man, who, I dare vouch, has served the Pretender ten years where he has the Flock of Christ one." He proceeds: "And really I never met with such an Oddity and Inconsistency as to fill a book with Calumnies and Reproaches, which is written out of Charity to the Souls of Men. . . . But his high-flying bitter spirit savours of too much Rancour, to let the world think that Love to Souls, and not Hatred to the Churches of New England, was the Spring and Motive of his undertaking this scurrilous Work." . . . "Now, Gentlemen, we are come to the Rectilinear and uninterrupted Succession of Episcopacy from the Apostles. Ay, and this Doctrine of the Choice Dialogues has been in the same uninterrupted Manner, by oral Tradition, handed down by the Clergy to this Day." . . . "As for the Uninterrupted Succession of the Clergy from the Apostles, I mean of Bishops Diocesan, I could never see the Catalogue of them yet. It has hitherto been much such a Secret in Ecclesiastical State as is the Philosopher's Stone in the kingdom of nature; of which it is often asserted there is such a thing in *Rerum Natura*; but we never can be certain any Body has been so sagacious and sharp as to find it. But I drop the Chimera and let it vanish among the shades." In the body of the work John Faustus, an emissary of the devil, is represented as applauding Jack Tory, *i.e.*, John Checkley, for his endeavor to prove that the New England churches worshipped the devil. The expression, "twice thirty years a servant of Christ," applied to the author of the Choice Dialogues, is changed to "twice thirty years a servant of the devil." Checkley is addressed, "You had better minded your shop than have took upon

¹A new edition of this tract was advertised and next week will be published." *Vide* "Ar-
in the "American Weekly Mercury," Philadelphia, Feb. 26, 740, '41, as "now in the press,
chæologia Americana," VI., pp. 384, 456.

you to be an author." The closing pages are full of animadversions upon the Church of England, and flings at the Jacobite views of Checkley.

This reply may have been the direct cause of a more extended and virulent controversy, in which Checkley could not fail to bear a prominent part, but other circumstances were also at work to produce a pamphlet war on the mooted question of doctrine, discipline, and worship. The preceding year Checkley had published the first edition of a treatise by the celebrated nonjuring divine, Charles Leslie, entitled:—

*The RELIGION of JESUS CHRIST the only True RELIGION, OR, A Short and Easie METHOD WITH THE DEISTS, Wherein the CERTAINTY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION Is demonstrated by Infallible Proof from four Rules, WHICH ARE Incompatible to any Imposture that ever yet has been, or that can possibly be. In a LETTER to a Friend. The Seventh Edition. BOSTON: Printed by T. Fleet, and are to be Sold by John Checkley, at the Sign of the Crown and Blue Gate over against the West End of the Town-House. 1719.*¹

From the title-page of this it would appear that Checkley was, at this time, in trade "at the sign of the Crown and Blue Gate over against the West End of the Town-House." Harris, the minister of King's Chapel, and the bitter foe of Checkley, writes of him, as we shall shortly see, as "one John Checkley who keeps a Toy shop in this place," and the "Stripling" refers, as we have seen, to his shop. But, whatever may have been this remarkable man's walk in life, he was an acknowledged power in the staid town of Boston, and in his "Toy shop" there were forged weapons for assault or defence, of a nature proving that there was no child's play purposed in the strife. In the controversy which grew out of these little tractates the leading theologians of New England were enlisted, and when arguments failed to support the dominant side the aid of the law was invoked to crush so determined and powerful an antagonist.

While the popular mind was thus interested and occupied with these questions of discipline and doctrine events had occurred in the neighboring colony of Connecticut which fanned the excitement into a flame. In 1722, on the day following the commencement at Yale College, Rector Cutler and several prominent ministers of the "standing order" presented a paper to the clergy and others assembled in the college library, expressing doubts as to the validity of Presbyterian ordination. A discussion ensued some weeks subsequent, resulting in the removal of the scruples in the minds of some of the signers, while the others openly avowed their conviction of the necessity of Episcopal ordination, and took measures to secure it. If we may believe the testimony of the inimical Harris, of the King's Chapel, this result, at least so far as the conversion of Cutler was concerned, was brought about by the keeper of the "Toy shop, at the sign of the Crown and Blue Gate, over against the West End of the Town House, in Boston." It is certain that Checkley accompanied Cutler and his friends to England, on their mission for orders. He had earlier petitioned the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, for the appointment of an

¹Title-page, "The Preface," pp. XII. The text, pp. 51. "The Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Trallians," pp. 7.

Some copies of the "Epistle to the Trallians" appear to have been issued separately. Vide "Arch. Am.," VI., p. 382.

itinerant missionary for the northern colonies, who should be "obliged, once a year, to visit the utmost limits of New England," and also for the establishment of a lending library for "the poor deluded people of that country."¹ He now sought orders which were refused, as we shall see, through the interference of the Puritans at home, who dreaded his influence, and were aided in their opposition to his ordination by the representations of such half-hearted churchmen as Harris and his friends. While in London he procured the publication of another edition of Leslie's work against the Deists, with the following title-page:—

A Short and Easie | METHOD | WITH THE | DEISTS. | Wherein the | CERTAINTY | OF THE | CHRISTIAN RELIGION | Is demonstrated, by infallible *Proof* from | *four* Rules. | WHICH ARE | *Incompatible* to any *Imposture* that ever yet | has been, or that can *possibly* be. | In a LETTER to a Friend. | *The Eighth Edition.* | LONDON: | Printed by J. APPLEBEE, and Sold by JOHN CHECKLEY, | at the Sign of the *Crown* and *Blue-Gate*, over | against the West-End of the Town-House in | *Boston.* 1723.²

The peculiarity of this edition is the addition to the "Short and Easie Method" of "A Discourse concerning Episcopacy" of more than twice the length of the ostensible essay against the Deists. This "Discourse" is the work of Leslie, with occasional interpolations and addition of matter designed to apply the arguments of the author to the peculiar objections of the New England Independents, and will be found to have been chiefly taken from "A Discourse, shewing Who they are that are now qualified to administer Baptism and the Lord's Supper: Wherein the cause of Episcopacy is briefly treated."³ The style is occasionally changed. Checkley himself alludes to the "lowness of diction," as "not ill-suited to the end proposed, viz. : demonstrating to either party the inconsistency of their respective schemes in their own dialect; to keep close to which, and to write with perspicuity, I assure you, is not very easy."⁴

Some strong expressions found in the original text are modified. References to the Quakers, against whom Leslie specially directed his arguments, are made applicable to the Independents and Presbyterians, and the whole treatise, in arrangement and argument, is adapted with no little skill to the New England public.

We can the more readily understand the excitement attending the publication and circulation of this work by giving a synopsis of the argument, and citing specimens of its style and language. It begins with "a solemn appeal to every person who has read the foregoing short method with the Deists, whether it is not absolutely necessary, that a lineal and uninterrupted succession of the Ministers of Jesus Christ should be preserved, lest Christianity, our holy Religion, should be rendered precarious, as a thing of which no certain proof can be given."⁵ Assuming that this "lineal and uninterrupted succession" is "absolutely necessary," he appeals to a posthumous sermon by the celebrated Ebenezer Pemberton, in support of the position "that those

¹ Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch., III., p. 133.

² Svo, pp. 132. Pp. 41-127 contain, without any special title-page, "A Discourse concerning Episcopacy." Pp. 128-132 are occupied with "The Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Trallians."

³ Leslie's Theological Works, VII., pp. 95-183. Svo. Oxford, 1832.

⁴ Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch., III., p. 664.

⁵ A Short and Easie Method, pp. 41, 42.

who are to serve God in the Ministry of this Gospel must be duly authorized to discharge the office of a Gospel Minister." He then considers the qualifications requisite in a "Gospel Minister" under the heads of "personal" and "sacerdotal." To the "holiness of the administrator" must be added "an outward commission." Christ had his outward commission given him "by a voice from heaven at his baptism." He commissioned the twelve and the seventy. The apostles proceeded in the same method. They commissioned men who were in turn to impart this commission to others. "This succession from the Apostles is preserved and derived only in the Bishops."

In support of this assertion he proceeds to give the historical argument for Episcopacy, defying the Presbyterians who, "only of all our Dissenters, have any pretence to succession," to prove "an uninterrupted succession of any one Presbyter in the whole World from the Apostles to this day." The Cambridge Platform is cited in proof of the assertion, that the Independents "allow laymen to ordain," and, consequently, our author asserts that they have neither "succession from the Apostles," nor "lawful ordination." "Our Korahites of several sizes" are bidden to "take a view of the heinousness of their schism; and," proceeds our writer, "let them not think their crime to be nothing because they have been taught with their mother's milk, to have the utmost abhorrence to the very name of a Bishop, tho' they could not tell why." The Papacy and the Jesuits were foes of Episcopacy, "Pope and Presbyter" using the same arguments, and "whoever would write the true history of Presbyterianism must begin at Rome and not at Geneva." The necessity of church government is evident. The universality of Episcopacy is urged, and the dissenters are challenged to produce "any one constituted Church upon the face of the Earth, that was not governed by Bishops, distinct from, and superior to, Presbyters, before the Vaudois in Piedmont, the Huguenots in France, the Calvinists in Geneva, and the Presbyterians thence transplanted in the last age, into Holland, Scotland, Old England and New England." Citations are given from the fathers and early councils, to prove that the government of the Church was in the hands of bishops for more than five hundred years before the Papacy. The testimony of "Calvin himself and Beza, and the rest of the learned Reformers of their part," that the lack of Episcopacy, which they owned to be a defect, was their misfortune rather than their fault, is given, and then the argument is succinctly summed up as follows:—

If Christ delegated his power to his Apostles, and they to others, to continue to the end of the world;

If the Apostles did delegate Bishops under them, in all the Christian Churches, which they planted throughout the whole Earth;

If Episcopacy was the known and received government of all the Churches in the world, not only in the Apostolic age, but in all the succeeding ages for 1,500 years;

If it was not possible for Churches so dispersed into so many far distant regions to concert all together, and at once, to alter that frame of Government which had been left them by the Apostles;

If such an alteration of Government could not be without great notice to be taken of it, as if the government of a nation was changed from Commonwealth to Monarchy;

And if no Author or Historian of those times makes the least mention of such a change of government, but all with one voice speak of Episcopacy, and the succession of Bishops in all the Churches from the days of the Apostles; and in those ages of zeal, when the Christians were so forward to sacrifice their lives in opposition to any error or deviation from the Truth, no one takes any notice of Episcopacy as being an encroachment upon the right of the Presbyters or the people, or being any the least deviation from the Apostolical institutions;

I say, if these things are not possible to any thinking man, then Episcopacy must be the primitive and Apostolical institution.¹

Hence the "ordinations in opposition to Episcopacy are not only invalid, but sacrilege and rebellion against Christ," and "if their ordinations are null, then their Baptisms are so too, and all their ordinances. They are out of the visible Church, and have no right to any of the promises in the Gospel, which are all made to the Church, and to none other."²

The appeal is made to "our misled Dissenters," in such words as these:—

And will tender parents carry their children to, at least, disputed Baptisms, while the Presbyterians themselves deny not the validity of Episcopal ordination, and, consequently, of the sacraments administered by their hands? Will you run an hazard then, where your souls are concerned, and of your children, when you may be sure, by the confession of all parties, even of those men who (through ignorance) unhappily mislead you?

The etymological argument, "the senseless jingle of the words Bishop and Presbyter," is next considered and illustrated by the use of the word "imperator," and the question pressed, "How could these Bishops have thrust themselves thus into the chief governments all the world over, without any opposition, and to be owned as such, and acknowledged by all, if the original institution had been Presbytery or any other Frame of Government? Or, if there were Presbyterians in those Days (as our Presbyterians would have us believe), they were much more moderate and complaisant than our Presbyterians, to let the Bishops usurp upon their authority, and engross all into their own hands, without so much as one remonstrance, or the least snarl from any of them? Strange! Wondrous strange!"³ The objection, that "Episcopacy did not come in all at once, but encroached by degrees," is next considered. The call is made, "Shew us the beginning of Episcopacy." The beginning of Presbytery with Calvin, the beginning of the Papacy in the seventh century, the beginnings of Popish errors, are all set forth; but no one can tell when Episcopacy began. These arguments are pressed with great directness, and the assertion made, "that it is downright impossible but that what has been said must create a doubt, at least in any considering man, whether he ought not to submit to Episcopacy." The case is then summed up in these incisive sentences:—

Now suppose I come to the Sacrament, and have any doubt whether this man is lawfully ordained, and can consecrate and administer the Holy Sacrament to me, will not that of Rom. 14, 23, come into my mind? *He that doubteth is damned if he eat, because he eateth not of Faith, for whatsoever is not of Faith, is sin.* In what

¹ A Short and Easie Method, pp. 97-98.

² *Ibid.*, p. 99.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

condition then are our unhappy dissenters who cannot eat in faith, unless they fully, plainly, and clearly answer what has been said, so as to leave no doubt behind it. They may (which God forbid) shut their eyes, and go on wilfully, but this will be a fresh aggravation, and will double their sin.

What compassion can they have for their tender Infants, to carry them to disputed Baptism, when they may have that which is clear and undisputed offered to them? Will they present the provocation of their offerings, and pawn their souls upon the greatest uncertainty? Will they dare to say, that it is not an uncertainty at best, when they will not because they cannot answer for themselves? Is not this to be self-condemned? To put the stumbling-block of their iniquity before their faces, and then come to inquire of the Lord!

This I should think were enough to rouse the conscience of any Dissenter that is not hardened to a stone. I am sure, if I was a Dissenter, it would prick me to the heart. And till I could give an answer to what has been said in these papers, I would never go to a meeting, lest I perished in their sin. I would not receive their Sacraments, lest I offered their provocations: and I should think myself guilty of the blood of my child, if I brought it to their Baptism: At least my own blood would lie on my head, if I did it with a doubting mind, while I could have that Baptism which was undisputed to make my child a member of the Church. And how can he who has thrust himself out of the Church, admit another to be a member of it? Can I make another free of any corporation, who am not free myself? No. If I am baptized by a schismatick, I am baptized into his schism, and made a member of it, and not of the Church against which he is in rebellion and open defiance to it. The children of Korah, Dathan and Abiram were swallowed up with them. If we will hazard ourselves, let us have some compassion for our innocent children.

The charge upon them is very, very heavy; I must confess it is exceeding heavy, but it is as true as it is great. I know it will raise the indignation of many of them, and I shall hear it from all hands. What!—say they, would he unchurch us, and annul our Sacraments?—would he make the ordinary ministrations of our Ministers as little valid, and more guilty, than if performed by a Mid-wife in case of necessity? Where, where is the moderation of this man? Where is his charity? He makes all our meetings to be assemblies of Korah, in rebellion against God? We are not able to bear it—We will not bear it—It is not fit that such a man should live upon the earth.¹ . . . And must they not be told of this? Must I be their enemy because I tell them the truth? Is it because I love them not? God knoweth, I declare, so far as I know my own mind (though I cannot say as St. Paul did in a like case, yet) I would give my life to purchase their reconciliation, and that I might see the unity of the spirit in the bond of Peace.²

Drawing the analogy between the transmission of the Creed, the Scriptures, the faith itself and the succession of the Church, our author proceeds to assert that the "evidence for them is the same, yea, and in one point stronger for Episcopacy, as being Matter of Government, which is more obvious to the notice of men, and any change or alteration in it is more observable than in doctrines or opinions."³ . . . "And the preservation of the faith and doctrine of the Church depends under God, mostly and chiefly in the support of the Government of the Church, that is in supporting her as a Society. Whence she is called in Scripture the pillar and ground of the truth."⁴ . . . "Let the Dissenters see if there be one circumstance of difference betwixt their case and that of Korah?⁵ And now as the Apostle says, If he died without mercy, who despised Moses's law, and the priesthood which he set up; of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who has trampled under foot the Son of God, and that Church and Priesthood which He has ordained and promised to be with it to the end of the world? FIXIS."⁶

¹ A Short and Easie Method, pp. 110-112.

² *Ibid.*, p. 114.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

Thus closed the most uncompromising and pungent attack which had yet been made upon the ecclesiastical authority of the Puritan colony. Remorseless in its logic, unsparing in its denunciations of dissent, and adding to the masterly argumentation of Leslie the keen thrusts and bitter sarcasm of Checkley's own cultivated wit and deep

Wm Dummer.

convictions, the impression produced by this thin octavo was profound. Nothing else was thought or talked of. On the street, by the firesides, in the shops, along the wharves, in the pulpits, in the very council chamber and the halls of legislature, "the discourse concerning Episcopacy" was the staple of discussion. The lieutenant-governor, William Dummer, and the council, ordered the attorney-general and Robert Auchmuty, a distinguished lawyer, belonging to the King's Chapel, to draw up an indictment against the book as "a scandalous libel," and "against the author or publisher of the book when he shall be known." The order of council adopted March 19, 1723, gave its reasons for this indictment as follows:—

R Auchmuty

Observing in the s^d Volume many vile and scandalous passages not only reflecting on the Ministers of the Gospel established in this Province, and denying their sacred Function and y^e holy Ordinances of Religion as administered by them, but also sundry vile insinuations against His Majesty's rightfull and lawfull authority and the Constitution of the Governm^t of Great Britain.

The grand jury of Suffolk found a true bill agreeably to the wishes of the council, and Checkley, naturally averse to this mode of deciding the question of church government, retired from the province until the end of the sessions. But it was not the policy or the wish of so eager a partisan as Checkley to remain long under cover, and on the adjournment of the court he returned to Boston, and complications having arisen, from the fact that he had not taken the oaths of allegiance to the reigning family, he publicly took the oaths, provoking his foes thereby to explain that he did it "with a mental reservation." The indictment was pressed at the next sessions. The absurdity of trying our author for a polemic treatise seemed to strike the judges, who "often declared from the bench" that Checkley was not "to be tried for writing anything in the defence of the Church of England and of Episcopacy; against the Presbyterian or Congregational Ministers in this Country:—No, by no means! for *the ministers were able to defend themselves.*"

The attorney-general was ordered to insist only on the three clauses of the book supposed to reflect upon the government. The privilege of speaking in his own defence was denied to Checkley, and the jury found him "guilty of imagining and contriving by the subtilty of arguments to traduce the title of His present Majesty." A "heavy judgment" was entered, but Checkley appealed to the Court

of Assize. The case was heard in November, 1724, and "the speech of Mr. John Checkley upon his tryal at Boston, in New England, for publishing the Short and Easy Method with the Deists: To which was added, A Discourse concerning Episcopacy: In Defence of Christianity, and the Church of England against the Deists and the Dissenters," is among the most curious and interesting, as well as among the rarest and most costly of our American polemic publications. "The speech" was printed in London a few years later,¹ and a second edition was called for afterwards.² It is in Checkley's happiest vein, full of hardly suppressed sarcasm and close reasoning. Disposing with great cleverness of the charge of sedition, while, at the same time, defending with marked ability the exclusive validity of Episcopal ordination and sacraments; compelling even the chief justice, who had attempted to cut short his arguments, to permit and listen to a labored defence of the most obnoxious portions of the discourse concerning Episcopacy; quoting, in support of his position, that "all ordination by the people is null and void," the language of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, the General Assembly of Scotch Presbyterians, and the learned Ebenezer Pemberton's Discourse of Ordination, Checkley proceeded to prove, 1st, that no provincial assembly could, by right or in fact, establish either the Presbyterian or Congregational systems "so as to make THAT the establishment and the Episcopal churches to be dissenters; 2nd, that "by a just and true construction of the laws of this very Province the Church of England is established here;" 3dly, that by the laws of England the Church of England, "as established in England, and no other, is positively established in all His Majesty's plantations." It is safe to assert that no such speech was ever made before a New England audience, and it is not hard to imagine with what rage and vindictive hate its sharp, cutting sentences were heard. The jury, at least, were influenced by so marked a display of learning and so ingenious and convincing a defence. The verdict was as follows:—

JOHN CHECKLEY, }
 Adsect' }
 Dom. Reg. } THE jury find specially, viz.: If this Book entituled, A Short
 and Easy Method with the Deists, containing in it a Dis-
 course concerning Episcopacy (published and many of them
 sold by the said Checkley) be a false and scandalous Libel; Then we find the said
 Checkley guilty of all and every Part of the Indictment (excepting that supposed
 to traduce and draw into dispute the undoubted Right and Title of our Sovereign
 Lord King George, to the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Territories
 thereto belonging). But if the said Book, Containing a Discourse concerning
 Episcopacy as aforesaid, be not a false and scandalous Libel; Then we find him
 not guilty.

Att'

SAMUEL TYLEY, *Clerc.*

Thus the verdict of the jury of the court of the sessions was practically reversed, and, in his "plea in arrest of judgment, Checkley claimed there were "no expressions in the Book at bar tantamount to the censures of the Dissenters in the Canons" of the Church of England "published by his Majesty's Authority under the Great Seal of England," these canons being "part of the law of the land." But neither logic nor wit could ward off the hastening vengeance. The

¹ *In* 1730.² *In* 1738.

justices were men of sterner stuff than the befogged jurymen, and the closing page of "the speech" contains, without a word of comment, "the Sentence of Court":—

SUFFOLK, SS.

AT A COURT OF ASSISE, &C.,

Nov. 27, 1724.

CHECKLEY, } THE Court having maturely advised on this special Verdict, are
Adsect' } of opinion that the said John Checkley is guilty of publishing
Dom. Reg. } and selling of a false and scandalous Libel. It's therefore considered by the Court, that the said John Checkley shall pay a Fine of Fifty Pounds to the King, and shall enter into Recognizance in the Sum of One Hundred Pounds, with two Sureties in the Sum of Fifty Pounds each, for his good Behaviour for six Months, and also pay Costs of Prosecution, standing committed until this sentence be performed. At

SAMUEL TYLEY, *Clerc.*

Such was the answer of New England Puritanism to the attack of the church's champion. It is a testimony to the force of the arguments employed that recourse should have been had to the vengeance of the law. It is unnecessary to say that Checkley was not convinced by this mode of reply to his logic and learning. During his trial he "printed by stealth"¹ two pamphlets, one of which has been styled "the first original controversial writing of any importance on the Episcopal side in the long debate here."² This was

A [Modest Proof] of the [Order & Government] Settled by Christ and his Apostles [in the] Church [By shewing] I. What Sacred Offices were Instituted [by them.] II. How those Offices were Distinguished [III. That they were to be Perpetual and] Standing in the Church. And, [IV. Who Succeed in them, and rightly] Execute them to this Day [Recommended as proper to be put into the Hands of the Laity] Boston: [Re-printed by Tho. Fleet, and are to be Sold] by Benjamin Elliot in Boston, Daniel Aurault in [Newport, Gabriel Bernon in Providence, Mr. Jean in Stratford, and] in most other Towns within the Colonies of [Connecticut and Rhode-Island. 1723]

In the preface to this scriptural argument, which seems to be the only portion of the work of Checkley's composition, the premise is laid down:—

That whosoever justly sustains the character of a Minister of the Gospel of Christ, hath, besides his Internal Qualifications, an External Visible Commission delivered to him, by those who have Power and Authority to grant it: From whence these Inferences do naturally flow.

First. That the Ministers of the Church of England, who freely own that the Power of Ordination was first vested in the Apostles, and from them, through all Ages since, in a succession of Bishops, from whence they derive their own Ordinations, are to be acknowledged true Ministers of the Gospel.

Secondly. That it is a daring Offence to intrude into the sacred Function, without a regular designation to the Exercise of it. See Numb. 16. 40. 2 Sam. 6. 6, 7. 2 Chron. 26. 19, 20, 21, 22. Heb. 5. 4, 5.

Thirdly. That People ought to endeavour after all the Assurance they can attain to, that they have the Means of Grace in the Word and Sacraments, duly administered and dispensed unto them, by Persons fully authorized for those holy offices. For since the Priest's Lips are to preserve Knowledge, the People ought to be satisfied that they are really such at whose Mouth they seek the Law. And,

¹ His own language. Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch., III., p. 664.

² Foote's "Annals of King's Chapel," pp. 294, 295. The title-page speaks of it as a reprint.

Fourthly. That it is a very criminal Presumption, and an insufferable Insolence in some, to value their Gifts at so high a rate, as to think themselves by the virtue of them, entitled to the Ministerial Office, without being admitted by the Imposition of the Hands of those, whom Christ has ordered to preside over the affairs of his Church.

Fifthly. That since there is no approaching before God's Altar, without the appointed Rites of Consecration, nor any meddling with his Institutions without his Order and Command; those invaders of the sacred Services cannot be said to be Ambassadors of God, or accounted the Stewards of the Mysteries of Christ, who presume to touch those holy things, with their unhallowed Hands, and like Saul, would sacrifice without a Call. 1 Sam. 13. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. For those who offer strange Fire before the Lord, their Incense must be an Abomination to him. Levit. 10. 12.

Lastly. Tho' we can by no means question our Saviour's Gifts and Abilities, yet he did not enter upon his Ministry, until he was solemnly inaugurated into that Office; for he glorified not himself to be made a High Priest, but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, which was said unto him at his Baptism, Luke 2. 22. So when he was about to leave the world, he commissioned others to go upon the great Embassy of Reconciliation, to transact in his Name, and proclaim and seal his Pardons, saying, As my Father sent me, so send I you: whereupon he immediately gave them the power of Censures and Absolutions, John 20. 22, 23. Matth. 28. 19, 20. And they also before their Death, imparted their Power to others, by Imposition of Hands. Thus the Apostles ordained seven Deacons, Acts 6. 5, 6, among other Services, to Preach and to Baptize, in the Exercise of which Offices we find St. Philip, one of them diligently employed, Acts 8. 1, &c. Thus Paul and Barnabas ordained Elders in every Church, Acts 14. 23. And thus St. Paul, who had ordained Timothy and Titus, appointed Titus to ordain Elders in every City in Crete, Tit. 1. 5. And that these sacred Offices should continue in a regular Ministry to the end of the World, is undeniable from Matth. 6. 18, and Chap. 28. 19, 20, and Eph. 4. 11, 12, 13. And finally, that there was a pre-eminence of Jurisdiction and Authority in some of these Church-Offices over others, is plainly proved in this Treatise, in the Apostolical Dignity (to which the Episcopal must needs succeed) over the seventy, and the Deacons; and St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy and Titus, where we find many marks of the Power of those Bishops over their inferiour Presbyters, as to Ordain them, or upon occasion to promote them to a higher Order, to Judge and Censure them, and if the case required, to proceed to Deposition. This is the standing Ministry that the Church of England claims a Part and Lot in: This is the Nature and true Notion of a Gospel Ministry, as we find it founded by our Saviour and his Apostles.¹

The other tractate — an octavo of sixteen pages with a supplementary page of errata — was "A Discourse Shewing Who is a true Pastor of the Church of Christ." The last five pages of this pamphlet, which bore neither title or imprint, were occupied by a reissue of "The Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Trallians." Certain peculiarities of type and "make up" prove conclusively that this little treatise was printed in London. A foot-note on page 11 indicates the object had in view in its publication: —

☞ Those who have a mind to see the Propositions in this small Tract prov'd beyond the Possibility of a Reply, are desir'd to read a Discourse concerning Episcopacy, which they may have at the Crown and Gate opposite to the West End of the Town-House in Boston. Where likewise may be had Barclay's Persuasive, printed in London, by Jonah Bower, with other Books of the like Nature.

On a single octavo page, appended sometimes to the "Discourse shewing who is a true Pastor," and also to the second edition of the "Speech," is the following racy squib directed against his opponents, and evidently prepared in Checkley's happiest vein: —

¹ "The publisher to the Reader," pp. i.-v. of the Preface to "A Modest Proof," etc.

A | Specimen | Of a True | *Dissenting* Catechism, | Upon Right True-
 Blue | Dissenting Principles, | with | *Learned Notes, | By Way of Explica-
 tion. | *Question.* Why don't the *Dissenters* in their Pub | lick Worship make use
 of the Creeds? | *Answer.* Why? — Because *they* are not set down | *Word for Word*
 in the Bible. | *Question.* Well—But why don't the *Dissenters* | in their Publick
 Worship make use of the *Lord's- | Prayer?* | *Answer.* Oh!—Because *that* is set
 down | *Word for Word* in the Bible. | *They're so perverse and opposite | As
 if they worship'd God for Spite. |

“Printed by stealth,” as Checkley acknowledges these tractates to have been, they were certainly of sufficient moment in the controversy to have made his further comments probable: “Had the Judges known of it, they would have made it a forfeiture of my bonds (for, you must know, my countrymen think it treason to write in defence of the Church); and indeed I had not run such a risque, had there not been a necessity for it.”¹ It was soon apparent that other measures than oppressive verdicts were necessary to sustain the imperilled fabric of Puritanism. The “King’s Lecturer,” the Rev. Henry Harris, the assistant to the rector of the King’s Chapel, angry, as the amiable Johnson of Stratford asserts, in consequence of the preferences given by the proprietors of the new Christ Church to the Rev. Timothy Cutler, Checkley’s convert to the Church, in their choice of a rector over himself, arraigned the author and the discourse in a sermon, while he labored no less with his pen in letters addressed to the venerable society and to dignitaries of the Church at home, to create an unfavorable impression against both Checkley and his supporters. But “the Ministers,” who were supposed by the justices to be “able to defend themselves,” found themselves put upon their own defence. The minister of the First Church, Thomas Foxcroft, himself the son of a former warden of King’s Chapel, but an adherent of the faith of his mother, the daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Danforth, issued “The Ruling and Ordaining Power of Congregational Bishops, or Presbyters. Being Remarks on some Part of Mr. P. Barclay’s Persuasive, lately distributed in New England. By an Impartial Hand.” This treatise dealt wholly with the scriptural arguments for and against Episcopacy, and, ostensibly at least, ignored the pungent sarcasm and remorseless logic of “The Discourse.” It was felt, at least by some, that it was to take an unfair advantage to assail a work the responsible author or publisher of which was on trial before the civil courts, and consequently unable to avail himself of the press in reply.

In the Boston “News Letter” of May 21, 1724, the following advertisement appeared, which is quite to the point:—

Whereas public notice was given, some time ago, in this Weekly Paper, that there was just going to the Press An Answer to the author of the Snake in the Grass,² his discourse of Episcopacy, with seasonable Remarks upon all the interpolations of the late Edition of it: This is to give as publick notice, that the Author of the Answer hath hitherto suppress what he had prepared, because at present he could not encounter the Interpolator upon even Ground. He leaves others to act for themselves: but for his part he thinks it ungenerous to attack one who must not have the Liberty of defending himself.

¹Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch., III., p. 664.

²The Rev. Charles Leslie.

In this manly view of the case and in its further confession of the "ill usage" meted out to "the Interpolator," we may possibly detect the chivalric spirit and generosity of Checkley's old friend and disputant, Walter, of Roxbury, who, as we shall see, a little later entered the fray. Others, however, shared no such scruple. They had no idea "of fairly and handsomely trying it out on equal terms." The Cambridge Divinity Professor, Edward Wigglesworth, issued "Sober Remarks on a Book lately reprinted at Boston, Entitled a Modest Proof," etc., and a Presbyterian minister, afterwards the first president of the college of New Jersey, Jonathan Dickinson, published "a Defence of Presbyterian Ordination in answer to . . . a Modest Proof," etc. A fellow of Harvard, Nathan Prince, A.M., himself a few years later a convert to the Church, issued "An Answer to Lesley and his late Interpolator's discourse concerning Episcopacy By N. P.;" and Walter answered "the little Pert Jacobite," as he styles Checkley, with his accustomed vigor and vindictiveness. Reprints of English tracts were not wanting till the very "atmosphere was heavy with controversy." Ere the year ended which had witnessed his trial and condemnation, Checkley replied to four of his assailants at once. Dickinson issued a rejoinder, which Checkley answered early in the following year, speaking of Dickinson's "wild ramble" and "defective reason," and adding: "that the Defence of the *Modest Proof* has given a deep and sensible, nay, a mortal wound to your expiring cause, is demonstrable in that the supporters of it hideously Roar and Rage at the Smarting of it." To this Foxcroft rejoined in defence of "the Ruling and Ordaining Power of Congregational Bishops or Presbyters" retorting upon Checkley's use of the phrase "expiring cause," and asserting "that he was really digging a profound grave to bury it in." The republication of Dr. Samuel Mather's "testimony from Scripture against Idolatry and Superstition," originally preached in Dublin in 1660, was a proof that the Puritanism Checkley attacked was no less bitter than in its days of political preëminence. Words such as these are not to be equalled for severity and offensiveness of application by any of Checkley's arguments or language. Instancing in "Ten particulars the principal ceremonies and idols of the Church of England," Mather proceeds:—

1. Do you think that ever Jesus Christ wore a Surplice? 2. The sign of the Cross, that special mark of the Beast. *Rev.* xiii. 16. 3. Kneeling at the Lord's Supper . . . a dangerous symbolizing with the Papists, who kneel before their Breaden God. 4. Bowing to the Altar and setting the Communion-Table altar-wise . . . a gross piece of Popish Idolatry. 5. Bowing at the Name of Jesus. A most vile piece of *Syllabical Idolatry*. . . . 6. Popish Holy Days. As if the Lord Jesus Christ himself were not wise enough to appoint Days and Times Sufficient to keep his own Nativity, etc., in everlasting Remembrance in the hearts of his Saints, but the Devil and the Pope must keep it out. 7. Consecrating Churches. Inherent Holiness is in Persons which Places are no way capable of. 8. Organs and Cathedral Musick. Not one word of Institution for them in the Gospel; but on the contrary they are cashiered . . . by that General Rule, *1 Cor.* xiv. 26, 15. 9. The Book of Common Prayer. It is as unreasonable and absurd as to force a Man to go with Crutches when he is not Lame, etc., etc.

Surely fanaticism and frenzy could hardly go further. The result

of all this pamphlet and pulpit discussion is seen in the steady growth of the Church in numbers and influence.

During a temporary cessation of the polemic war Checkley crossed the ocean, seeking the coveted privilege of ministering at the altars of the Church whose apostolical institution and government he had so stoutly maintained. He had become an object of special dislike to the members and ministers of the "Standing Order." He had ferreted out and published to the world an attempt of the Puritan members to assemble in a "Synod"¹ and had by his exposure prevented an assembly which, though certainly harmless when assembled as an ecclesiastical body merely, became dangerous when convened with the sanction and by the direction of the civil authorities. His busy mind had sought and obtained an influence over the Indians of the north-eastern coast, and he had strong hopes of detaching them from the French and from the Jesuit teachers, and making them both allies of the English and members of the English Church. But in all these plannings there was the single purpose of obtaining the ministerial commission, and for this he crossed the ocean a second time in 1728. He had received "hard usage" in the judgment of good Dr. Johnson, of Stratford, when he went before. He was again repulsed. The Bishop of London was warned against him as an enemy of the House of Hanover,² and as peculiarly inimical to the New England dissenters; and, disappointed and defeated in his purpose of serving at the church's altars, he again returned to his home, "cast down" it may have been, "but not dismayed." The annals of King's Chapel bear witness to his undiminished zeal and interest in church matters, and in the year 1739 the Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Stephen Weston, a friend of Bishop Sherlock's, "was found willing to hear this impracticable man, begging at the age of fifty-nine, to be *allowed* to minister in one of the hardest spheres on earth to which a churchman was ever doomed."³ It was with no change of views or principles that Checkley received the "laying on of hands" in holy orders. He had just republished in London his famous "Speech" on his trial, bringing afresh before the world the issues on which he had been persecuted for his devotion to the church's cause. And there is little doubt but that the grace of orders was conferred upon him by the good Bishop of Exeter with the full knowledge and consent of the Bishop of London, who was still alive, and whose relations to the colonies and to the venerable society were such that Checkley could not have held a cure or received an appointment as missionary had not Bishop Gibson given his consent. The newly ordained clergyman, one of the oldest recipients of orders in the reformed church, was appointed, with a stipend of £60 sterling, to St. John's Mission, Providence, and began at the age of sixty a

¹ For a notice of this attempted Synod, note Hutchinson's "Hist. of Mass.," second ed., II., pp. 322, 323. *Vide* also references *passim* in the "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church," vol. III.

² The Rev. John Barnard, the Puritan minister of Marblehead, wrote, as he tells us in his autobiography, to the Bishop of London, accusing Checkley of lack of learning, of intolerance, and of disaffection to the government. These

charges were sufficient to carry the point, and their author exultantly records his pleasure; "Thus our Town and the Churches of this Province, through the favor of God, got rid of a turbulent, vexatious, and persecuting-spirited non-juror."—*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Series III., Vol. V., p. 229.

³ Uplyke's "Narragansett Church," p. 216.

ministry that was ended only by his death, after fourteen years' faithful service. Old though he was at his entrance upon duty, "No man was more desired"¹ by the church-folk of Providence. "Received with joy" by his congregation, he labored for the negroes and Indians as well as those more immediately of his charge, and in the midst of engrossing duties found time and strength to minister at Taunton, twenty miles distant, and also at Warwick and Attleborough. From time to time he visited the Indians in various parts of New England, with whom he appears to have no little influence, in consequence of his ability to speak with them in their own tongues. At length, on the 15th of April, 1754, having reached the age of nearly three-quarters of a century, after two years' illness, the faithful old man died, and the worshippers who throng the noble church which has replaced the simple structure in which he ministered, pass, as they enter "the courts of the Lord," over his unmarked grave. "After life's fitful fever he sleeps well" and "his works follow him."

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

THE interest attaching to the life of so remarkable a man as John Checkley, warrants the insertion of the following notices of his mission-work in Providence. They are transcribed from the yearly abstracts of the venerable society, a complete set of which from the beginning of the century to the close of the war of the Revolution is to be found among the treasures of the library of Brown University, Providence, R.I. :—

The Society removed Mr. (Arthur) *Brown* from the Town of *Providence*, because the Inhabitants of *Providence* did not pay their promised Contributions towards a Missionary's support; but they having since thought fit to purchase a decent House, with near Twenty Acres of Orchard, Meadow and Pasture Lands, and to settle the same forever on their Minister for the time being; and humbly petitioned the Society for a new Missionary. The Society hath sent the Reverend Mr. *Checkley*, lately admitted into Holy Orders in *England*, upon the Recommendation of the Clergy of *New England* to the Mission at *Providence*, and there are good Hopes of his doing considerable Service there from his being a Native of the Country, from his great Skill in the neighbouring *Indian* Language, and from his long Acquaintance with the *Indians* themselves, and it is to be hoped Mr. *Checkley* is by this time happily arrived at his Mission. — *S. P. G. Abstract*, 1738-9, pp. 12, 43.

The Members of the Church of *England* in the Town of *Providence*, by a Memorial dated the 4th of *May*, 1739, return their most unfeigned Thanks to the venerable Society for reviving the Mission among them, by the Appointment of the Reverend Mr. *Checkley* to officiate to them, than whom no Man, they say, was more desired, and they do not doubt, but he will answer the Expectation of all good Men concerning him. And Mr. *Checkley*, by a Letter dated *November* 1st, 1739, acquaints the Society, that his Congregation received him with Joy; and that as the most steady Application to his Duty is required, he can with Truth affirm, that he hath not been absent one *Sunday* since his Arrival, and hath baptized 13 Persons, one of them a Woman sick in Bed, and is preparing some *Indians* and *Negroes* for that Sacrament; but at the Desire of the Reverend Mr. Commissary *Price*, he hath sometimes performed divine Service, and preach'd on a *Wednesday*, at *Taunton*, 20 Miles distant from *Providence*, where the Congregation consists of more than 300

¹ Memorial of members of the Church of England, May 4, 1739. Quoted in Uplike's "Narragansett Church," p. 458.

Persons, many of whom were never before in any Christian Church; and he requests a large Common-Prayer Book for the Church of *Providence*, and some small ones for the Use of the Poor. The Society hath sent him a Folio Common-Prayer Book for the Church, and two Dozen of small ones for the Use of the Poor at *Providence*, &c. — *Abstract of S. P. G.*, 1739-40, pp. 48, 49.

The Reverend Mr. *Checkley*, Missionary at *Providence*, in *New England*, by a Letter dated *November 6*, 1740, complains of his being hardly beset by several *Romish* Missionaries, and particularly by one in the shape of a *Baptist* Teacher, but that he was at last gone away, and notwithstanding all their Pains, his Congregation increased; he hath been visited by some of his old *Indian* Acquaintance from distant Places, and they have promised to send their Children to him for Instruction; and he hath himself visited the neighbouring *Indians*, and performed Divine Service, and baptized three Children at the Distance of 50 Miles from *Providence* without having been absent one Sunday from his Church. He hath baptized within the year twenty-six Persons, one a *Mulatto* and two *Negro* Boys, and four white adults, two of them a Man and his Wife, whose Behaviour at the Font much moved and edified the Congregation and they received with great Devotion the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper on the Sunday following, and have been constant Communicants from that time. — *S. P. G. Abstract*, 1740-41.

The Reverend Mr. *Checkley*, Missionary at *Providence* in this Country, says, that notwithstanding all Opposition to the Church increases, and is likely to increase; that he had found a greater Number of People in the Woods than he could have imagined, destitute of all Religion, and as living without God in the World; and he had likewise visited the *Indians* upon *Quinabaug* River, and was in Hopes of doing some Good among them. — *S. P. G. Abstract*, 1743-44.

[Nothing relating to Mr. *Checkley* appears in the Abstracts for 1744-45, or 1745-46, etc.]

The Church of *Providence*, in *Providence* Plantation, being become vacant by the Death of the Rev. Mr. *Checkley*, and the Church-wardens and Vestry of that Church having very earnestly petitioned the Society to supply that Loss by the Appointment of a new Missionary, the Society hath thought it proper to appoint the Rev. Mr. *John Graves*, Vicar of *Clapham* in *Yorkshire* in the Diocese of *Chester*, a most pious and worthy Clergyman, Brother to the Rev. Mr. *Matthew Graves*, the Society's worthy Missionary at *New London* in the Colony of *Connecticut*, and animated with the same holy zeal to propagate the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to be their Missionary to the Church of *Providence*; and it is to be hoped that Mr. *John Graves*, he having before his departure resigned the Vicarage of *Clapham*, is happily arrived at that Mission. — *S. P. G. Abstract*, 1754-55.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONTROVERSIES.

WE have traced in minute detail the controversies crystallizing around the name and fortunes of Checkley. This at least was due to a man of extraordinary perseverance and indomitable courage, to whose uncompromising churchmanship and persistent labors the Church in Massachusetts and Rhode Island owes a debt of lasting gratitude. With the appearance of his letter to Dickinson, in 1725, the controversy, if not terminated, ceased for a time at least. The number of converts to the Church steadily increased. The venerable society was beset with applications for missionaries from all parts of the New England colonies. One after another of the younger Puritan ministers, or the recent graduates of the colleges at Cambridge and New Haven, "conformed," and undertook the ocean passage, then beset with perils of which we know little now, to obtain the ministerial commission from apostolic hands. It was not till the year 1731 that the publication of a sermon preached by John Barnard, the minister at Marblehead, Massachusetts, on Christmas, 1729, on "The Certainty, Time, and End of the Birth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," awoke the smouldering fires and fanned them to a flame. Answered by the Rev. George Pigot, in his "Vindication of the Practice of the Ancient Christians, as well as the Church of England and other Reformed Churches, in the Observation of Christmas Day," the churchman pertinently remarks:—

George Pigot

I wish . . . that the vile Rout and Firing of Guns at Marblehead, on Christmas Day, were suppressed by Authority; and that the same Respect at least were paid to *that* day, and the Thirtieth of January, from his people, as is given by Churchmen to their Thanksgiving and Fast Days. For our Festivals are founded upon as good Authority as theirs can be: and if the *Act of Toleration* secures them from the Penalty of the Law, for not observing 'em, so likewise ought the *Rule of Moderation* to secure us from being insulted upon their Account.

The observance of the church's feasts and fasts, which had provoked the attack of Barnard, found an admirable defence in the republication in Boston of Bishop Beveridge's sermon concerning the excellency and usefulness of the Common Prayer.¹ The ice once broken by Barnard and Pigot, the controversy became general. In "The Scripture Bishop: or, The Divine Right of Presbyterian Ordina-

¹ The 29th edition of this tract, originally published at the request of Bp. Compton, was issued in Boston, 1733.

tion and Government," published in Boston, 1732, the form of a dialogue, the interlocutors being named respectively "Prelaticus" and "Eleutherius," was adopted by Dickinson to present in the most attractive manner the Presbyterian argument. The Rev. Arthur Browne, of Providence, a man of education and culture, replied early the following year in "The Scripture Bishop, an examination of the Divine Right of Presbyterian Ordination and Government, considered . . . In two Letters to a Friend." In this performance the writer asserts in rebutting the charge of persecution, which had been raised against the Church of England, that Puritan New England had been "notorious for her barbarities and cruel Persecutions," and pressing the argument home adds, that she still "robs honest and well-meaning Christians, members of the True Church, for the support of schismatical teachers, and yearly imprisons them for refusing to comply." "*Prelaticus Triumphatus*, the Scripture Bishop vindicated. A Defence of the Dialogue between Prelaticus and Eleutherius against the Scripture Bishop examined. In a letter to a friend, by Eleutherius, V. D. M.," speedily followed, in which Dickinson parried with no little ability the thrusts of Browne, and pressed home, with all the skill of an experienced

Samuel Johnson

disputant, arguments hard to be met. Meanwhile there appeared another answer to Dickinson's first attack. The amiable Johnson, of Stratford, Connecticut, who, when a tutor at Yale, had conformed to the Church, with Cutler, the head of the college, and James Westmore, who, though one of the signers of the address presented in the library of Yale, September 13, 1722, had not been able to apply for orders till later, entered the arena of controversy under the title of "Eleutherius Enervatus; or, an Answer to a Pamphlet intituled the Divine Right of Presbyterian Ordination." Published in New York in 1733. Philathes and Eusebius, champions of Episcopacy, meet the Presbyterian Eleutherius at the home of a mutual friend, Attalus, and ply the scriptural argument so warmly and well that the recreant Eleutherius, who had been brought up in the Church, is reclaimed from schism and confirmed in his original belief. Two letters from Johnson follow this happily conceived and sprightly dialogue in defence of the Episcopal government of the Church, in which the argument is made use of, that the government of the Church must be sought for, not in its formative period, while our Lord was on the earth, but after its constitution, agreeably to the divine injunctions, when the faith and order had become fixed and settled. To this able presentation of the church's argument Foxcroft replied in his "Eusebius Inermatus. Just Remarks on a late Book Intituled Eleutherius Enervatus . . . done by way of Dialogue by Phileleuth Bangor, V. E. B." This bitter and biting answer was appended to Dickinson's "*Prelaticus Triumphatus*," and is undoubtedly the most trenchant of all the pamphlets issued on the Presbyterian side. A "Letter from a Minister of the Church of England to his Dissenting Parishioners," by Johnson, issued the same

year, had elicited a reply from "an Irish Teacher" in his neighborhood, by the name of Graham. In noticing these "Remarks" of Graham, Johnson replied as well to Foxcroft, in a postscript to "A Second Letter of a Minister of the Church of England to his Dissenting Parishioners," published the following year. In this "Second Letter" Johnson recapitulates and enforces the positions he had earlier taken in defence of the Church. These "reasons" are as follows:—

1. My first Reason against you was, that you are *destitute of the Episeopal Government*, which was at first appointed and established in the Primitive Church, and continued down for 1500 years, and is still, by God's Goodness continued and established in our Nation and Mother Country, as well as in several other Protestant Countries. . . . Under this head I told you, that you have utterly forsaken the Scripture Rule, in not Ordaining Deacons, *Acts*, 6. 6., and in the Layity's Ordaining Ministers, for which you have no Scripture Rule or Example, but the Contrary. This indeed you are generally ashamed of, and have long laid aside. But I showed you from the Original *Platform* agreed upon in 1649, *Chap.* 9, it was the ancient allowed Custom of the Country, and has propagated a fundamental Disorder down to this very Day. . . .

2. My *next* Objection was, that the Separation was founded upon an *unwarrantable Disobedience to Authority*, both in Church and State, contrary to those Texts, *I. Pet.* 2. 13, and *Heb.* 13. 17. . . .

3. My *third* Objection was of your being in a state of *unjustifiable Separation* from the Church. . . .

4. My *fourth* Reason was, your *not reading the Holy Scriptures* in Public Worship, which I proved it to be your Duty to do, from *Luke* 4. 6, *Acts* 13. 27, *I. Tim.* 4. 13. . . .

5. I told you it appeared to me a great Duty commanded by Christ, *Luke* 11. 2, *Mat.* 6. 8, to use the *Lord's Prayer* in Public Worship. . . .

6. I found fault with you that you are destitute of *Public Forms of Prayer*, which I proved to be the ancient Scripture-Method, from the examples of *David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Daniel, our Saviour* in *John* 17, and *Mat.* 6. 9, & 26, 44, and the *Apostles, Acts* 4. 24, &c. . . .

7. Another thing I told you wherein you appeared to me to vary from the Scripture way of Worship is, *that the People do not bear a part in your publick Worship*. . . .

8. Another thing wherein you appeared to me to have gone off from Scripture rule and Example, was your Neglect of *bodily Worship*, which I proved to be your Duty from *I Cor.*, 6. 20, where we are required to *glorifie God with our Bodies, as well as our Spirits*. . . .

The last thing I objected against you, was your teaching Children "That God has preordained whatsoever comes to pass." For I say, since Sin has come to pass it seems clear to me that you must herein teach them that God has preordained, *i.e.*, willed, Sin, &c. I added, that your Doctrine of Absolute Reprobation seemed to me decidedly inconsistent with what God declares with an Oath, in *Ezek.* 33. 11, that he hath *no pleasure in the Death of him that dieth*. *Chap.* 18. 32, &c. . . .

This well-reasoned pamphlet, rising almost to the size, as it certainly does to the dignity, of a volume, closes with these earnest words, indicative of the temper and style of the writer and man:—

For GOD'S sake, my Brethren, Let us not, for the Future, study to put the worst Constructions we can on one another's Words or Actions; but let us rather endeavour to make the best we can of them: Let us not try to magnifie and aggravate the Differences between us, but rather to make as little of them, and to consider them with as much Tenderness, as possible: Let us not dispute which has already most or least Charity, but let us strive to see who shall hereafter, really and in fact, most abound in the Practice of that Heavenly Virtue, both towards each other, and toward all Men: This is the best Course we can take, as far as possible in this imperfect State, to reconcile ourselves to one another, both in Judgment and Practice:

to meet together in Truth, and live in Peace here, or however to meet at last in that perfect State of Truth and Peace, and Holiness hereafter, where GOD and Charity alone shall forever Reign.

Two years elapsed before Graham replied to this dignified and manly defence of the Church. In the meantime Charles Chauncy, a

Charles Chauncy

rising Puritan minister of Boston, destined to become one of the foremost men of his profession in the land, published proposals in the Boston "News-Letter," of May 30, 1734, of "A Compleat View of the

first Two Hundred Years after Christ, touching Episcopacy." Subscriptions failed to warrant the appearance of this work, which was not destined to see the light for a whole generation, and then to gain a reading only in connection with the controversy respecting an American episcopate. Among the "Theses" prescribed for the Master's degree at Harvard in 1733, is this: "Is an unbroken Apostolic Succession necessary to the Validity of the Ministry?" Of course it was the negative of the proposition that was maintained.

In 1736 Jonathan Dickinson again entered the polemic arena, with the issue from the press of John Peter Zenger, of New York, of "The Vanity of Human Institutions in the Worship of God." The motto of this sermon, which was originally preached at Newark, N.J., June 2, 1736, is taken from Gal. iv. 9, and the turning "to the weak and beggarly elements" referred to is explained in the prefatory address to the Presbyterian congregation at Newark, which speaks of "the Circumstances of your Congregation where so many were enclined without any known Cause, to change their Profession and forsake your Communion." In the following February Mr. Dickinson felt it incumbent upon him to return to the attack, in "A Defence of a Sermon . . . against the Exceptions of Mr. John Beach, in a Letter to him," occupying upwards of one hundred pages, and in the following year, "A Second Defence" is issued at Boston, at even greater length, with a view of meeting "The Exceptions of Mr. John Beach, in his Appeal to the Unprejudiced," and having, for its heading, the title "The Reasonableness of Non-Conformity to the Church of England in Point of Worship." John Beach, who was the object of Dickinson's repeated assaults, had conformed to the Church in 1732, and was the missionary of the venerable society at Newtown, Connecticut. Graduating from Yale College in 1721, the Puritan ministers of Connecticut sent him to counteract the tendency towards the Church among the people of Newtown and Ripon. This "very popular insinuating young man"¹ being "well-affected towards the Church," and using "some of the Prayers out of the Liturgy," for a time allayed the discontent, until, on "inquiry, reflection and prayer," he declared publicly for the Church, and sailed for England to receive the ministerial commission. "Ingenuous and studious," a "truly serious and ecclesiastical Christian," as Dr. Johnson styles him,² his change of ecclesiastical relations

¹ Conn. Ch. Docs., I., p. 99.

² *Ibid.*, I., p. 152.

occasioned great uneasiness among the congregationalists, and his return to his old home in the capacity of a missionary of the venerable society was made the ground of a bitter and unrelenting personal opposition. "Johnson's Plain Reasons for Conforming to the Church" had been issued at the instance of a brother of the new convert, who had himself conformed to the Church,¹ and when the controversy arising out of the "scurrilous and abusive ballad" published by John Graham, to which we have referred, had been closed by Johnson, Beach took up the Church's side in reply to Dickinson, as we have seen, in his "Vindication of the Worship of the Church of England." The rejoinder of Dickinson was immediately met by Beach in his "Appeal to the Unprejudiced," in the course of which appears this personal allusion to his change of views:—

I have evened the scale of my judgment as much as possibly I could; and, to the best of my knowledge, I have not allowed one *grain* of worldly motive on either side. I have supposed myself on the brink of eternity, just going into the other world to give up my account to my great Judge; and must I be branded for an anti-christ, or heretic and apostate, because my judgment determines that the Church of England is most agreeable to the Word of God? I can speak in the presence of God, . . . that I would willingly turn dissenter again, if you or any man living would show me reason for it. But then it must be reason (whereby I exclude not the Word of God, the highest reason), and not sophistry and calumny, as you have hitherto used, that will convince a lover of truth and right.

With this trenchant pamphlet the controversy, so far as the Church was concerned, was temporarily closed. The charge of "Arminianism" had been made by the veteran controversialist, Dickinson, in his attack upon Mr. Beach; and when, after a little, the polemic strife was renewed, it was in the form of a doctrinal dispute rather than, as before, a contest as to matters of polity or prayers. In the "advertisement" to "A Letter from Aristocles to Aufhades concerning the Sovereignty and the Promises of God," published in Boston in 1745,² Dr. Johnson gives the following reasons for its appearance:—

What prevailed on me to consent to the publishing of the following Letter, was a sincere and firm Persuasion that it is really the Cause of God and his CHRIST that I here plead, and that the eternal Interest of the Souls of Men is very nearly concerned in it. For it is manifest to me that some Notions have of late been propagated and inculcated in this Country that are equally destructive to the right Belief both of God and the Gospel. I have indeed that Charity for those that have done it, that I do not believe they are at all sensible of these fatal Consequences of what they teach, tho' I very much wonder they are not aware of them.

I am not insensible that the odious Name of Arminianism will be the Cry against these papers from those little Minds that are affected with Sounds more than Sense, and that are engaged at any Rate to support a Party, without seriously and impartially attending to the Truth and Right of the Case. But I do hereby declare

¹Beardsley's "Hist. of the Epis. Church in Conn.," I., p. 95.

²Archæologia Americana, VI., p. 487. Dr. Beardsley, in his "Hist. of the Epis. Ch. in Conn.," I., p. 137, assigns the year 1741 as the close of this controversy; but Dr. Johnson's rejoinder to Dickinson bears date of 1747, and he contributed a preface to Mr. Beach's pamphlet

on "God's Sovereign Free Grace," in 1748. It needed not the issue of these pamphlets, calm, logical, and convincing, as they are, to secure for Johnson the Oxford Doctorate. He had long since earned a claim to this dignity by the respect for his scholarship and ability he had obtained on both sides of the Atlantic.

that I abhor all such Party Names and Distinctions, and that I will call no Man Master upon Earth, for one is my Master in Heaven. The only Question worth attending to is not what Calvin or what Arminius taught, but what CHRIST and his Apostles taught; for He alone was the Author and Finisher of our Faith. And (all Metaphysics and Words without any Meaning being set aside, which have nothing to do in the present Subject) I humbly submit it to every one's Candor and unbiassed Consideration, whether what follows be not truly the Doctrine of Christ: The Substance of which may be briefly expressed in the following Manner, and in the very Language of the Holy Ghost, viz. :—

“ That God really means as he says, when he says, and swears by him-self, That he hath no pleasure in the Death of him that dieth :— That he is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to Repentance and be saved. — And that he hath given his Son a Ransom for all, who accordingly hath tasted Death for every Man, and was a Propitiation for the Sins of the Whole World :— So that whosoever will may now come and take of the Waters of life Freely. — And, because of our inability to help ourselves, God hath, by his blessed Son, assured us that he will, for his sake, give his Holy Spirit to every one that seriously asks him, and earnestly strives to work out his Salvation with Fear and Trembling, in whom he works by his blessed Spirit both to will and to do :— And that he will, through his free Grace in Jesus Christ, most assuredly pardon every true Penitent, except of every sincere Believer, and eternally reward all those that, in the way of well doing, or in a steadfast Course of sincere and universal Obedience to the Gospel, are faithful unto the Death.” This is the true Doctrine of Jesus Christ; and this is all that I was concerned to defend in the following Letter.

To this able and dispassionate treatise Dickinson replied the following year, in a “Vindication of God's Sovereign Free Grace,” published in Boston, and shortly after in a “Second Vindication.” Mr. Beach, in 1747, contributed to the controversy a reply to Dickinson, entitled “God's Sovereignty and Universal Love reconciled,” while Dr. Johnson published at the very beginning of the same year “A Letter to Mr. Jonathan Dickinson, In Defence of Aristocles to Authades, Concerning the Sovereignty & Promises of God, From Samuel Johnson, D.D.” The following year appeared Dickinson's “Second Vindication of God's Sovereign Free Grace, Against the Exceptions made to a former Vindication by Mr. John Beach, in his Discourse entitled ‘God's Sovereignty, and his Universal Love to the Souls of Men reconciled,’ In a Letter to that Gentleman.” The energetic Beach was not laggard in the strife, but before his answer could appear his antagonist had died. The “Second Vindication of God's Sovereign Free Grace Indeed, in a fair and candid Examination of the last Discourse of the late Mr. Dickinson” had a preface by Dr. Johnson. This closed the controversy so far as the Rector of Stratford was concerned; but Beach, whose appetite for discussion had evidently not been appeased, found a new antagonist, and issued the same year a pamphlet of twenty-three pages, with the title, “An Attempt to Prove the Affirmative of that Question, Whether there be any Certainty that a Sinner, under the Advantages of the Gospel and Common Grace, striving with all his Might, and persevering to the last in his utmost Endeavors to please God, shall obtain such a Measure of Divine Assistance as is necessary to fit him for Eternal Salvation? or, Whether God be a rewarder of all those who diligently seek him: Containing some Remarks upon a late Piece, entitled: ‘A Vindication of Gospel Truth, and Refutation of Some dangerous Errors,’ etc., Done in a Letter to Mr. Jedediah Mills.” The doctrinal question

being in a measure disposed of, the controversy broke out anew with reference to the old issues.

A sermon preached at the ordination of the Rev. Noah Welles, of Stamford, Conn., by the Rev. Noah Hobart, on the last day of the year 1746, had contained some reflections on the Church and its members, which were answered by the missionary at Rye, N.Y., the Rev. James Wetmore, in his "Vindication of the Professors of the Church of England in Connecticut against the Invectives contained in a Sermon preached at Stamford by Mr. Noah Hobart, Dec. 31, 1746. In a Letter to a Friend." The Rev. Henry Caner, of Newport, issued early the following year a "Discourse on the Public Worship of God, the Liturgy of the Church of England, etc." Caner's maiden effort was, in a measure, overlooked; but Hobart was not a man likely to pass lightly by the animadversions of Wetmore. Taking up and appropriating to himself the claim earlier advanced by Johnson in his "Letters to his Dissenting Parishioners," there appeared, in a ponderous duodecimo of one hundred and thirty-nine pages, "A Serious Address To the Members of the *Episcopal Separation in New-England*. Occasioned by Mr. Wetmore's 'Vindication of the Professors of the Church of England in Connecticut.' Being an attempt to fix and settle these three points: —



I. Whether the inhabitants of the *British Plantations in America*, those of New-England in particular, are OBLIGED, in *Point of Duty*, by the Laws of God or Man, to conform to the *Prelatic Church*, by Law established in the *South Part* of Great Britain.

II. Whether it be PROPER in *point of Prudence* for those who are already settled in such churches as have so long subsisted in *New-England*, to forsake them and go over to that *Communion*.

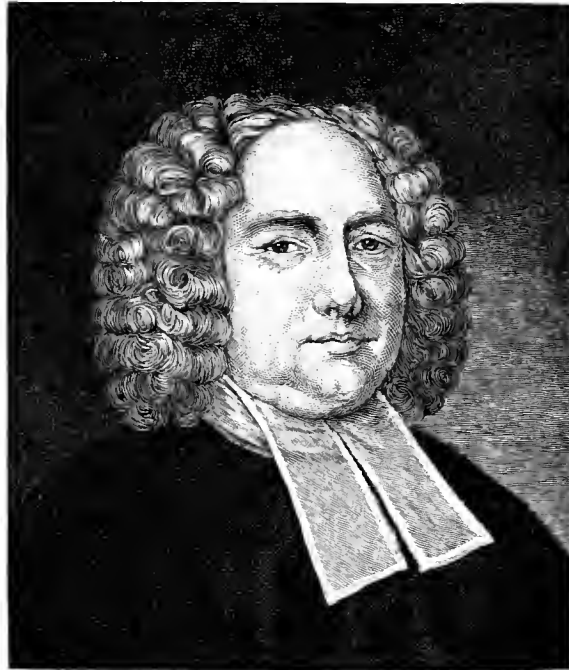
III. Whether it be LAWFUL for particular Members of *New-English Churches* to separate from them, and join in *Communion* with the *Episcopal Assembly* in the Country. By Noah Hobart, A.M., Pastor of a Church of Christ in Fairfield."

This ambitious title indicates with sufficient precision the animus and argument of the book. Its appearance was followed by a reprint of Micajah Towgood's "Dissenting Gentleman's Answer to the Reverend Mr. White; Three Letters in which a Separation from the Establishment is fully justified; The Charge of Schism is refuted and retorted; and the Church of England and the Church of Jesus Christ are impartially compared, and found to be constitutions of a quite Different Nature." Several editions of this tract, which was one of the ablest of the dissenters' publications, were issued in Boston and New York, and in its various forms was widely circulated throughout the northern colonies. Mr. Wetmore returned to the attack with a reprint of another famous polemical treatise on the side of the Church, and "The Englishman directed in the Choice of his Religion, with a Prefatory Address to the Gentlemen of America by J. Wetmore." closed up the controversial issues of the year.

In 1749 John Beach issued "A Calm and Dispassionate Vindication

of the Profession of the Church of England against Noah Hobart," with a preface by Dr. Johnson, and an appendix containing Wetmore's and Camer's animadversions. Jedediah Mills replied to Beach's attack on him of the preceding year, and an edition of the Rev. John White's "Letters to a Dissenting Gentleman" served to correct the arguments and misrepresentations of Towgood's dissenting gentleman's answer to White.

The following year, 1750, the controversy took a new form. Two issues alone continued the Episcopal discussion, with a brief rejoinder by Moses Dickinson to "Mr. Beach's Second Reply to Jonathan



REV. JAMES McSPARRAN.

Dickinson's Second Vindication of God's sovereign free grace." These issues were the reprint of "A Discourse on Government and Religion: calculated for the Meridian of the 30th of January," and Jonathan Mayhew's "Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to the Higher Powers: with Reflections on the Resistance made to King Charles I. and on the Anniversary of his Death, in which the Mysterious Doctrine of that Prince's Saintship and Martyrdom is unriddled."

In 1751 Beach published a "Continuation of the Vindication of the Professors of the Church of England against Mr. Hobart," while Hobart issued "A Second Address to the Members of the Episcopal Separation in New England" as an answer to the criticisms of Johnson and Wetmore.

In 1752 the Rev. James McSparran, D.D., of Narragansett, published a sermon from Hebrews v. 4, on "The Sacred Dignity of the Priesthood Vindicated." The occasion of this discourse, which was preached on Sunday, August 4, 1751, at St. Paul's, Narragansett, was described by the preacher himself in a letter to his cousin and correspondent, the Rev. Paul Limerick, of Ireland, printed in the appendix to the writer's "America Dissected":—

Vagrant, illiterate preachers swarm where I am; and the native Novanglian clergy of our Church, against the opinion of the European Missionaries, have introduced a custom of young scholars going about and reading prayers, etc., where there are vacancies, on purpose that they may step into them when they can get orders; yea, have so represented the necessity and advantages of the thing, that the very Society connive at it, if not encourage it. This occasioned my preaching, and afterwards printing, the inclosed discourse, on which I shall be glad to have your sentiments. . . . And as this was a bold step, I have sent one to the Bishop of London, and other Members of the Society; and I hope, instead of procurring me a reproof, it will open their own eyes, and make them guard better against irregularities, which, when they happen to be coeval with any church, are hard to be reformed.¹

Although the most cursory perusal of Dr. McSparran's sermon could not fail to convince any unprejudiced mind that the object of the preacher was to point out and correct certain irregularities which had crept into his own communion, the appearance of the discourse was made the signal for a bitter attack upon the Church. Mr. Samuel Beaven published "The Religious Liberties of the Christian Laity Asserted." Another reply issued anonymously, but the work of John Alpin, was entitled "An Address to the People of New England, occasioned by the preaching and publishing of certain Doctrines destructive of their rights and liberties, both religious and civil" (by James McSparran), "in a sermon entitled The Sacred Dignity of the Christian Priesthood Vindicated, by a native of New England." The motto of this splenetic production was taken with singular appropriateness from 2 Peter ii. 16. A lawyer in Newport, Mr. William Richardson, replied to Alpin in an essay entitled "The Liberty of the Laity not infringed by the Sacred Dignity of Christian Priesthood, containing some gentle animadversions on a late Rhapsody, with a short Appendix by a Layman." Beaven rejoined in a pamphlet entitled "Lay Liberty re-asserted, in a Letter to the late Orthodox Champion for the Dignity of the Christian Priesthood." Dr. McSparran took no notice of his assailants, and with these issues of the local press the controversy which had not attracted attention to any extent beyond Newport and the adjacent mainland came to an end.² A New York reprint, issued in 1753, of Squire's "Answer to some late Papers entitled the Independent Whig; so far as relate to the Church of England, as by Law Established, etc.," closed the general controversy

¹ Uplike's "Narragansett Church," pp. 238, 239, 527.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 238-241.

for a number of years. It was in connection with the bitter strife engendered by the struggle of the Church in the colonies for the episcopate that the polemic war again broke out. For a time the champions on either side rested on the field of battle. In the effectual silencing of their opponents and in the growth of the Church throughout the land the fruits of victory at least were found on the church's side.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE.

FOR the bibliography of these controversies, which, in their frequency and the numerous issues from the press, to which they gave birth, evidently occupied much of the time and thought of New England readers of the last century, we would refer to the "Archæologia Americana," vi., pp. 307-661, which contains a "Catalogue of Publications in what is now the United States, prior to the Revolution of 1775-6."



No portrait of the Rev. John Beach is known to exist. On the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Trinity parish, Newtown, Conn., a memorial tablet, secured through the exertions of the present rector, the Rev. Gouverneur Morris Wilkins, a descendant of the celebrated Isaac Wilkins, D.D., of Westchester, N.Y., was placed in the church as a fitting testimony that "he, being dead, yet speaketh."

CHAPTER XVII.

DOCTOR JOHNSON, OF STRATFORD, AND THE GROWTH OF THE CONNECTICUT CHURCH.

THE earliest indication of the presence of churchmen in Connecticut appears in a "humble address and petition" laid before the General Assembly, in October, 1664. This document, signed by William Pitkin, Michael Humphrey, John Stedman, James Enno, Robert Reeve, John Moses, and Jonas Westover, all freemen of the corporation of Connecticut, and "professors of the Protestant Christian Religion, Members of the Church of England, and subjects to our sovereign lord, Charles the Second, by God's grace king of England," was intended "to declare our grievances, and to petition for a redress of the same." The petitioners complain of their "past and present want of those Ordinances which," they assert, "ought to be administered" to them and their children "as members of Christ's visible Church." They appeal to the language of the charter, and to the king's letter to the Massachusetts Bay Colony of June 20, 1662, as warranting their claim to the administration of the sacraments, and they ask the action of the assembly to put them "in a full and free capacity of enjoying those fore-mentioned advantages, which to us, as members of Christ's visible Church, do of right belong." They refer to the relations they stand in to "Our Mother Church," and assert that they and theirs "are not under the due care of an orthodox ministry that will in a due manner administer" the two sacraments. Professing themselves to be "as sheep scattered having no shepherd," they pray "that for the future, no law in this corporation may be of any force to make us pay or contribute to the maintenance of any minister or officer of the Church that will neglect or refuse to baptize our children, and to take care of us as of such members of the Church as are under his or their charge and care."¹ This plea for comprehension, on the part of the few "members of the Church of England," was favorably received, and the following action entered upon the minutes of the General Assembly, to wit: —

This Court vnderstanding by a writing presented to them from severall persons of this Colony, that they are aggrieved that they are not entertained in Church fellowship; this Court having duely considered the same, desiring that the rules of Christ may be attended, doe commend it to the ministers and churches in this Colony, to consider whether it be not their duty to enterteine all such persons whoe are of an honest and godly conversation, haueing a competency of knowledg in the principles of religion, and shall desire to joyne wth them in Church fellowship, by

¹ Copied by C. J. Hoadley, M.A., from "Conn. Doc. 106, and published in the "Am. Church Re-necticut State Papers, Ecclesiastical," Vol. I., view," x., pp. 106, 107.

an explicit covenant, and that they have their children baptized, and that all the children of the Church be accepted and accord real members of the Church, and that the Church exercise a due Christian care and watch over them: and that when they are growne up, being examined by the officer in the presence of the Church, it appears in the judgment of charity, they are duely qualified to participate in that great ordinance of the Lord's Supper, by their being able to examine themselves and discern the Lord's body, such persons be admitted to full communion.

The Court desires y^t the severall officers of y^e respective churches would be pleased to consider whether it be not the duty of the Court to order the churches to practice according to the premises, if they doe not practice wthout such an order."¹

Pitkin was a man of note in the colony, the attorney of the corporation, and treasurer from time to time. Enno, or Ennoe, as the name is sometimes written, and Humphrey, had been pronounced guilty by the General Court, only the year before, on the complaint of "the Church of Christ at Winsor,"² of "offensive practices" likely to "prove prejudicial to the welfare of the Colony," and, although the records do not recite the nature of these "practices," they appear to have been connected with ecclesiastical disputes, and may have grown out of the very "grievances" complained of at a later day. We hear nothing more of these aggrieved churchmen. In being "entertained" or received into communion with the "established" or "standing order," they, doubtless, were satisfied. No hope, even, of securing in their new home the services and sacraments of their "Mother Church" seems to have entered into their minds. Nearly half a century was to pass ere that mother-church was to find a welcome and a permanent home in the Puritan colony of Connecticut.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century it appears that there were "a considerable number of freeholders, inhabitants of the town of Stratford, professors of the faith of the Church of England," who were "desirous to worship God in the way of their forefathers;" but, to use their own language, they were "hindered from enjoying the holy ordinances of Jesus Christ" until the year 1705. There is record of services at New London on the fifteenth Sunday after Trinity, September 13, 1702, when the Rev. John Talbot preached to a large auditory in the morning, and the Rev. George Keith in the afternoon, at the meeting-house occupied by Mr. Gurdon Saltonstall. There is little doubt but that this was the first time that the services of the Church of England were publicly held in the colony. It is certain that, prior to this date, no clergyman of the Church had preached to a Connecticut audience. It was through the kind offices of Colonel Caleb Heathcote, of Scarsdale Manor, in the province of New York, whose "principles and natural temper" led him "to do the Church all the service" he could, that the minister of Rye, the Rev. George Muirson, visited the few church-folk of Stratford. Application for services had been made by them to the rector of Trinity, New York, the preceding year, to preach and administer baptism at Stratford; but, in consequence of the distance from New York, the duty was assigned to Mr. Muirson. In company with Colonel Heathcote this zealous young missionary visited Stratford on the fifteenth Sun-

¹The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, prior to the union with New Haven Colony. Hartford, 1850, pp. 437, 438.

²*Ibid.*, p. 420.

day after Trinity, September 1, 1706. Application was made to the town authorities, for "the use of the publick meeting house," "either before, after, or between their exercises,"¹ but without success. "The ministers," wrote Colonel Heathcote to the secretary of the venerable society, were —

Very uneasy at our coming amongst them, and abundance of pains was taken to persuade and terrify the people from hearing Mr. Muirson; but it availed nothing, for, notwithstanding all their endeavours, he had a very great congregation, and, indeed, infinitely beyond my expectations. The people were wonderfully surpris'd at the order of our church, expecting to have heard and seen some wonderful, strange things, by the account and representation of it that their teachers had given them. . . . Mr. Muirson baptiz'd about twenty-four, mostly grown people; and when he goes there next, I hope many more will be added to the church.²

At the second visit made by Mr. Muirson, who was not deterred by hard usage and threats of imprisonment,³ the missionary, as we learn from Colonel Heathcote, who accompanied him, —

Baptiz'd four or five more, mostly grown persons, and administered the sacrament to fifteen. He met with more opposition this time than the last, the justices having taken the freedom to preach, giving out at the same time, amongst the people, that he and all his hearers should be put in gaol.⁴

On the night before the administration of the Lord's Supper one of the council, named Joseph Curtice, accompanied by James Judson, a justice of the peace, called at the house where Colonel Heathcote and the missionary were lodged, and read a formal protest against the introduction of the church services in the town as illegal and a violation of the law of the colony: —

That there shall be no ministry or church administration entertained or attended by the inhabitants of any town or plantation in this colony, distinct and separate from, and in opposition to, that which is openly and publicly observed and dispensed by the approved ministers of the place.⁵

On the following day, the member of the council, Mr. Joseph Curtice, —

Stood in the highway himself, and employed several others to forbid any person to go to the assembly of the Church of England, and threatened them with a fine of five pounds, as the law directed.⁶

It was an additional source of alarm that the independent minister of the place, the Rev. Mr. Reed, "the most ingenious man they have amongst them," writes Colonel Heathcote, was favorably inclined towards the Church, and was only hindered from going to England for orders by circumstances over which he had no control. He lost his place in consequence of his leaning towards the Church, and was succeeded by the Rev. Timothy Cutler, who was in time to lead that vast

Timothy Cutler

¹ Hawks and Perry's "Connecticut Church Documents," I., pp. 39, 40.

² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 21.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I., p. 19.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

army of converts from Congregationalism to the Church at the sacrifice of place, power, and the love of all his early friends. At the third visit of Muirson and Colonel Heathcote, in April, 1707, the organization of the churchmen of Stratford was formally effected, and church-wardens and vestrymen chosen for the parish of Christ Church. Shortly after this step had been taken the infant parish was visited by the Rev. Evan Evans, of Philadelphia, who accompanied Mr. Muirson, with a view of ascertaining by personal inspection the prospects of the Church in the colony, and of furthering, on his return to England, the petition of the church people for help from home. In company with this excellent clergyman Mr. Muirson visited Fairfield, where he had been invited to preach and baptize some children. An application to the minister and magistrates for the use of the meeting-house for a week-day service was refused. The Church was "railed and scoffed at," and even "the liberty of ringing a bell or beating a drum, to give the people notice,"¹ was denied. Still a "large congregation" assembled at a private house, "notwithstanding all the stratagems used to hinder the people from coming." We may gather some interesting particulars of the opposition encountered by this first "missioner" of the Church in Connecticut from an admirable letter he addressed to the secretary of the venerable society who had counselled "meekness and moderation" in his efforts to introduce the Church among the independents:—

It will require more time than you will willingly bestow on these lines to express how rigidly and severely they treat our people, by taking their estates by distress, when they do not willingly pay to support their ministers. And though every churchman in that colony pays his rate for the building and repairing their meeting-houses, yet they are so maliciously set against us, that they deny us the use of them, though on week-days. They tell our people that they will not suffer the house of God to be defiled with idolatrous worship and superstitious ceremonies. They are so bold that they spare not openly to speak reproachfully, and with great contempt of our church. They say the sign of the cross is the mark of the beast and the sign of the devil, and that those who receive it are given to the devil. And when our people complain to their magistrates of the persons who thus speak, they will not so much as sign a warrant to apprehend them, nor reprove them for their offence. This is quite a different character, to what, perhaps, you have heard of that people. That they are ignorant I can easily grant; for if they had either much knowledge or goodness they would not act and say as they do; but that they are hot-heads I have too just reason to believe; and as to their meaning, I leave that to be interpreted by their unchristian proceedings with us. . . . I beg that you would believe that this account (though seeming harsh and severe, yet no more than is true) does not proceed from want of charity, either towards their souls or bodies, but purely for the good of both, and to give you better information concerning the state of that people, that proper remedies may be taken for curing the evils that are among them, and that our churchmen in that colony may not be oppressed and insulted over by them, but that they may obtain a liberty of conscience, and call a minister of their own communion, and that they may be freed from paying to their ministers, and may be enabled to obtain one of their own. This is all these good men desire.²

The death of the devoted Muirson, in October, 1708, put back for years the growth of the Stratford church. Surrounded by uncompromising foes, destitute of regular ministrations, it was only by the self-

¹ Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Church Documents," I., p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 31.

sacrificing labors of the neighboring clergy that life was maintained at all, and the good work begun by Muirson saved from utter ruin. The services rendered during the dreary interval of months and years that elapsed ere a missionary was sent to them by that "faithful and worthy laborer in God's vineyard," the Rev. Mr. John Talbot, are specially mentioned by the church-wardens and vestry, in their address to the Bishop of London and the society, as giving the people "great comfort and courage;" and the visits from the clergy to the westward, and the encouragement received from Colonel Heathcote, are referred to as the means of enduring "the trouble and grievances" they had experienced. "The want of a minister," they complained, was "the greatest of their afflictions."¹ But it was not until just before Christmas, 1712, that this lack was supplied, by the coming of the Rev. Francis Phillips, as missionary. Already hopes deferred had diminished the numbers of the churchmen, and retarded the building of the church, which had been determined upon ere the death of Mr. Muirson; and then the new clergyman, tiring of his life among the poor, persecuted churchmen of this provincial town, spent the most of his time in New York, and after less than four months of actual service removed, without leave of the society, to Philadelphia. He was "of a temper," writes Colonel Heathcote, "very contrary to be pleased with such conversation and way of living as Stratford affords," and he "had no sooner seen that place but his whole thoughts were bent and employed how he should get from it."² Thus left "a scorn and reproach to the enemies of the church," there is little wonder that the Rector of Rye, the Rev. Christopher Bridge, was forced to write to the society "that the interest of the church in Stratford seems to be declining."³ In addressing the society for relief they refer to the fact that they "have had at least a hundred baptized into the church, and have had at one time thirty-six partakers of the Holy Communion of the Lord's Supper, and have several times assembled in a congregation between two and three hundred persons."⁴ The timber for the church had been felled "at last," in the spring of 1714, and the hope had been expressed that the church would be "raised in three months' time;" but it was not till Trinity Sunday, May 31, 1722, that the mission received its priest, and the Rev. George Pigot entered upon the long vacant cure. A few weeks later he was able not only to administer the holy communion to thirty, and to baptize twenty-seven infants, but also to record his "expectations of a glorious revolution of the ecclesiastics of this country," the "President of Yale College, and five more," having had a conference with him, and being determined to declare themselves professors of the Church of England. We have already told the story of that startling defection from independency, which for a time shook the New England "standing order" to its foundations. Those who made this change were men of the highest position and promise, and no one could deny to Timothy Cutler, Samuel Johnson, James Wetmore, and Daniel Brown, full credit for conscientious convictions in casting in their lot with the almost unknown churchmen

¹ Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Church Documents," I., p. 47.

² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

of Connecticut, at the sacrifice of all that they or others might hold dear in social position, influence, ease, or wealth. At the conference with the college trustees, under the presidency of the governor, Gurdon Saltonstall, once minister of New London, and the host of Keith and Talbot a score of years before, three of their number, Jared Eliot, John Hart, and Samuel Whittlesey, who only doubted the validity of Presbyterian ordination, were induced to remain at their posts. Tradition points to one of the three — Whittlesey — as seeking the valid orders he so much craved, at the hands of one of the non-juring bishops in Philadelphia, a short time afterwards; but, be that as it may, the thoughts of religious men throughout the American colonies were for a time busied with questions of church polity and practice to an extent never before equalled.

In the conversion of Johnson, Cutler, Brown, and Wetmore, it does not appear that Pigot had any special part or share. A prayer-book, the gift of a Guilford churchman, Smithson by name, had been placed in the hand of Johnson ere he entered upon his ministerial life. He had earlier read the work of Archbishop King on "The Inventions of Men in the Worship of God," and the dislike of extemporaneous prayer, which this treatise had increased, was followed by a love and reverence for the forms of the Church which led him to the use of the prayer-book in his public services. The works of the leading divines of the Church of England were to be found on the shelves of the college library, and, with their help, the young minister pursued a course of reading that could not fail to lead him to conform to the Church. Even prior to his entrance upon the Congregationalist ministry he had his scruples about the validity of the orders he was to receive. Circumstances to which we have already alluded induced him to waive his doubts and enter upon the charge of the parish at West Haven. The coming of Pigot into the country, in the spring of 1722, gave to Johnson, and the friends who had shared his burden and who participated in his doubts, the opportunity for a conference with a clergyman of the Church of England who could answer their queries, and impart to them needed advice. Though Pigot was present at the famous Commencement, when the declaration for the Church was formally made, it does not appear that he took any part in the discussion, or that he supplied the disputants with arguments. There was no need. Each point of the controversy had been carefully examined and studied ere a conclusion was reached, and Johnson and his friends came out of the discussion only confirmed in their new faith. In the full ardor of their new conversion they set out for England for the orders they desired. Death invaded their number, and Brown fell a victim to the scourge that proved fatal to members who sought the valid commission in after years. Cutler found a home and life-long work in Boston. To Johnson was assigned, on his return from England, the work at Stratford. His arrival at his new home, early in November, 1723, was the signal for new life and new hopes among the church people there. The work on the church was at once resumed. It had proceeded "but heavily, by reason of the poverty of its professors, who," as Pigot writes, were "too closely fleeced by the adverse party to carry it on with despatch."¹

¹ Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Church Documents," I., p. 87.

It was not till Christmas of the year following the coming of Johnson to Stratford that it was opened for divine service, the only church edifice in the colony, "a very pleasant and comfortable building."¹ Here, in this quiet retreat, occupied in ministering to the people of his cure, and in extending the Church at Fairfield, — where the Church, at the time of his



Samuel Johnson

coming, was "well enclosed," — at Newton, Norwalk, West Haven, and Ripton, as well as elsewhere: engaged in study, the result of which brought him face to face and on common ground, in after years, with the leading men of his time: and numbering among his correspondents the best and purest spirits at home and abroad, Johnson spent the best part of a useful and honored life. His acquaintance with the celebrated Dean Berkeley, while this distinguished divine and philosopher was at Newport, made him a "Berkeleyan" in his philosophical views: while in his converse with this excellent man, to whom was well ascribed "every

¹Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Church Docs.," i., p. 100.

virtue under heaven," he spent many hours of rare intellectual enjoyment, and begun an intimacy which ended only with the life of the good bishop. From the Stratford study there went forth, from time to time, wise and temperate answers to the attacks made on the Church by the dissenters around him; while, as years rolled on, his studies bore fruit in more learned treatises, the preparation and publication of which attracted attention and commendation in the Old World as well as in the New. The University of Oxford recognized his ability and merit by conferring on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and the clergy of Connecticut asked again and again for his appointment as their commissary; although this was not granted, as the bishops of London, to whom the request was presented, had in the one case settled on another choice before the name of Johnson was proposed, and in the latter decided not to make any appointment at all. Still the clergy of Connecticut, and of the neighboring provinces, looked up to Doctor Johnson as their guide and counsellor, and deferred to his wisdom and sought to further his plans in all the measures proposed for the church's good or advance. On his visit to Oxford, at the time of his journey to England for orders, the ancient university, in recognizing his literary merits and his devotion to the church's cause, had expressed the hope that, through his exertions, another, and yet the same, communion might spring into being in the New World: "*Sperantes nempe, illius ministerio aliam et eandem olim nascituram Ecclesiam.*"¹ The work had found a measure of fulfilment, and in the diploma conferring the higher degree of the Doctorate it was so stated "*ut incredibili Ecclesie incremento summam sui expectationem sustinuerit plane et superaverit.*" The worthy recipient of this merited distinction found in it a fresh incentive to live and labor for the Church of God.

From the correspondence of this excellent man we can gain some insight into the condition of the Church in the colony where his ministrations were continued for a space of thirty years. Under date of February 10, 1727, he writes to the secretary as follows:—

I have just come from Fairfield, where I have been to visit a considerable number of my people, in prison for their rates to the dissenting minister, to comfort and encourage them under their sufferings.²

In a letter to the Bishop of London, referring to the same instance of persecution, he says:—

The complaint was drawn up, and some of the persons were in prison before I was sent for. Upon their request I came to the prison, and found it full of them, and an insulting mob about them. I administered what comfort I could to them, but I wish your lordship, or some of your sacred character, could have been by to behold the contempt and indignity which our holy religion here suffers among an ungrateful people. It could not fail to excite your utmost zeal and compassion; and I assure your Lordship, the Church here is in a gasping condition, though, indeed, our people bear it with as much meekness and patience as can be expected.³

We give the Puritan governor—Joseph Talcott's explanation and defence of these and similar acts of oppression:—

¹Chandler's "Life of Johnson," p. 71. London ed., 1824.

²Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Church Documents," i., p. 113.

³*Ibid.*, p. 108.

. . . There is but one Church of England Minister in this Colony, and the Church with him have the same protection as the rest of our Churches, and are under no constraint to contribute to the support of any other minister. There are some few persons in another town or two, that have stipulated with the present ministers now living in said towns (which persons cannot be much recommended for their zeal for religion or morality), who cannot well be judged to act from any other motive than to appear singular, or to be freed from a small tax, and have declared themselves to be of the Church of England; and some of them that live thirty or forty miles from where the Church of England's minister lives; these have made some objections against their customary contributions to their proper minister, under whose administration they have equal privileges with their neighbours.

The law in this colony is such, that the major part of the householders in every town shall determine their minister's maintenance, and all within the precincts of the town shall be obliged to pay their parts in an equal proportion to their estates in said town or societies and so in the precincts of each ecclesiastical society. Under this security all our towns and ecclesiastical societies are supplied with orthodox ministers. We have no vacancies at present.¹

Such is the Puritan view of these acts of oppression. Of the sufferers, whose character for piety or integrity the governor rates so low, Johnson writes:—

There are thirty-five heads of families in Fairfield who, all of them, expect what these have suffered; and though I have endeavoured to gain the compassion and favours of the Government, yet I can avail nothing; and both I and my people grow weary of our lives under our poverty and oppression.²

A few months later Johnson presented to the society, in response to the "Queries" sent out by the secretary, a brief sketch of the history of the Stratford church. In this interesting account of the progress of his work he gives the following description of the little structure which was the first "Church" in the colony:—

It is a neat, small wooden building, forty-five feet and a half long, thirty and a half wide, and twenty-two between joints or up to the roof; but there is no house or glebe belonging to it, nor is it at all endowed, nor has it any settled salary besides the honorable society's bounty; only the poor people are as liberal in small presents as can be expected of them.³

There were about fifty church families within the limits of the town, "and besides them, there are a considerable number of people scattered up and down in the neighboring towns, some five, some ten, twenty and thirty miles off, who come to Church as often as can be expected."⁴ There was "no Church westward within forty miles, only Fairfield, which is eight miles off, where there is a small wooden Church built, and about forty families." There was "no Church eastward within one hundred miles, only at New London, about seventy miles off, where I sometimes preach to a good number of people, and they are building a wooden Church somewhat larger than ours."⁵ There was "no Church northward at all." "We are," writes the discouraged missionary, "oppressed and despised as the filth of the world,

¹ Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Church Documents," I., pp. 106, 107.

² *Ibid.*, p. 118.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 118, 119.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

and the obscuring of all things, unto this day."¹ The Puritans "all boast themselves of an establishment, and look down upon the poor Church of England with contempt, as a despicable, schismatical, and popish communion."² A stranger, if a churchman, proposing to settle in their towns, was "immediately warned" to depart. He could not purchase land without leave of the authorities, and it was in their power, if he refused to leave, "to *whip* him out of town."³ "By this means," writes Johnson to the Bishop of London, "several professors of our Church, for no other crime but their profession, have been prevented from settling here."⁴

In May, 1727, the church-wardens and vestry of the church at Fairfield petitioned "the Governor, Assistants, and Representatives in General Court assembled," for relief "from paying to any dissenting minister, or to the building of any dissenting meeting-house." They further asked the restoration of the amount taken from them by distraint, as they recite, "we were, ten of us, lately imprisoned for our taxes and had considerable sums of money taken from us by distraint."⁵ Upon this petition the General Assembly enacted that all persons who were of the Church of England, and those who were of the religious societies established by the colonial law, living in the bounds of any allowed parish, should be taxed by the same rule and in the same proportion for the support of the ministry; but when it chanced that there was a parish of the Church of England, having a clergyman in charge, so near any tax-payer, who had declared himself to be of that church, that he could and did attend public worship there, the collector was then to pay over such an one's tax to the nearest resident church clergyman, who was also authorized to receive and recover the same. If such portion of the taxes was insufficient for the support of the Church of England incumbent, the parish to which he ministered was authorized and empowered to levy and collect of the professed members such additional assessments as should be deemed necessary. The members of the Church of England actually connected with some existing "society of the Church of England" were further excused from paying taxes assessed for the erection of meeting-houses for the established societies of the colony. Content with this measure of relief the church People of Fairfield declined to insist on the return of the money distrained from them. In fact, the passage of the law affording exemption to the members of the Church of England, in the matter of taxation for the independent establishment, was in direct consequence of the plain-spoken petition of the stout-hearted churchmen of Fairfield. It is recorded on the public records of the colony, immediately after the following recital of the Fairfield complaint, from which we have already given extracts, and the enactment was evidently passed in consequence of this earnest appeal for redress:—

Upon the prayer of Moses Ward, of Fairfield, church warden, and the rest of the church wardens, vestry-men, and brethren, representing themselves under obligations by the Honourable Society and Bishop of London, to pay to the support

¹ Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Church Documents," 1, p. 111.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

of the established church, praying this Assembly, by some act or otherwise, to free them from paying to dissenting ministers and for the building dissenting meeting-houses, and complaining that money has been lately taken from them by distress, praying that the said money might be returned unto them. The said Ward appeared, and by his attorney declaring to this Assembly that he should not insist on the return of the money prayed for, asserted it to have always been esteemed as an hardship by those of the profession establishd by this government, to be compelled to contribute to the support of the Church of England, where that is the church establishd by law; and thereupon urged that no such thing should be here imposed upon any dissenting from the churches here approved and establishd by the law of this government; further urging, that there might be some provision made by the law for the obliging their parishioners to the support of their ministers.¹

All honor to Moses Ward and the outspoken churchmen of Fairfield who fought and won this triumph for the Church.

The same year, 1727, the Rev. Henry Caner entered upon the charge of Fairfield. Mr. Caner was a graduate of Yale, in the class of 1724, and received his master's degree in course, and an *ad eundem* from the University of Oxford, in 1736, from which honored source he obtained the doctorate in 1766. He found a "very serious and well-minded people," "ready to entertain any instructions that may forward them in the paths of virtue and truth and godliness."² He informed the Bishop of London, in less than a year after the passage of the act to which we have referred, that —

Although the Dissenters in this Government have lately passed an act to exempt all professors of the Church from paying taxes to the support of their ministers, yet they take the liberty to determine themselves who may be called Churchmen, and interpret the act to comprehend none that live a mile from the Church minister; by which means not only two-thirds of the Church, but of its revenues also, we are entirely deprived of the benefit of; and the favour which they would seem to do us proves, in reality, but a shadow.³

To this testimony of Mr. Caner, that of Johnson may be added, to the effect that those churchmen "that live scattering in the country are yet persecuted as bad as ever."⁴ Still, in spite of all these obstacles and petty hindrances, the Church grew. At New Haven and Norwalk there were movements for the erection of churches and the organization of parishes. In 1728 the churchmen again memorialized the assembly: —

That an explanation of the Assembly's Acts, in May last, relating to the premises, may be given by them, and also that for the future the affairs of the Church may be wholly managed by the book of canons relating to gathering taxes for the support of the ministry that is established by law according to the rubrick of the Church of England; and that for the future so long as there remains missionaries among us, we may gather all needful taxes by said book of canons and not by your collectors.⁵

The memorialists further urge that "great contentions have already arisen, and many lawsuits, as well as great hardship imposed upon us." In asking for relief they at the same time assure the As-

¹ The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, from May, 1726, to May, 1733, inclusive, p. 105.

² Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Church Documents," 1, p. 125.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 130

sembly that we are bound in our consciences to adhere to said church in doctrine and discipline, let our difficulties be ever so great." In view of "the difficulties and oppressions" that the church people were under, "seven families" are reported by Johnson to the society in 1728, as having "removed hence into New York government."¹ It could hardly be otherwise when Caner, in much the same language he had earlier employed, writes the same year that church people "are slighted and despised, and imposed upon, accounted as the filth and dross of the earth, and the offscouring of all things."² To avoid some of the annoyances and impositions Caner petitioned the society for an appointment as general missionary, serving "from Fairfield to Byram river," and residing sometimes in one portion of his field and sometimes in another; but a legal opinion from the society's council was unfavorable to such an appointment, as liable to be construed as an attempt at evading the act, and consequently not advisable. The church people of New London, Groton, and the adjacent towns, to whom Johnson had from time to time ministered, and where, as early as April 25, 1723, the Rev. Mr. Pigot had preached and administered holy baptism,³ had applied in 1730 for the appointment of Mr. Samuel Seabury,⁴ "a gentleman born and bred in this country," as the petitioners recite, and their wish was granted. In the petition for the appointment of this worthy missionary, a graduate of Harvard College in 1724, and a convert to the Church from the Congregationalists, there is brought to our notice for the first time a name which the American Church must ever delight to honor, as borne for generations by some of her best, wisest, and most distinguished sons. In 1730 Johnson writes that "a good temper towards the church" "very sensibly increases." "A love to the church," he continues, "gains ground greatly." At Yale College "several young men that are graduates, and some young ministers," had been "prevailed with to read and consider the matter so far, that they are very uneasy out of the communion of the church, and some seem much disposed to come into her service, and those that are best affected to the church are the brightest and most studious of any that are educated in the country."⁵ Two of these converts appear to have been John Pierson and Ephraim Bostwick. These with Isaac Browne, brother of the lamented Daniel Browne, who died in England when Johnson and Cutler were there, all of the class of 1729, at Yale College, were doubtless referred to in this letter of Johnson. It was not long afterwards that, in 1732, the honored name of John Beach was added to the number. More than eight years before, in the summer of 1723, this "very popular, insinuating young man,"⁶ had been sent to Newton, for the purpose of counteracting the influence which the Church had obtained there and in the adjacent towns. The people of Newton and Ripton had applied for a missionary, but, in consequence of the delay which the necessity of sending to England for one in holy orders occasioned, the temper of the applicants cooled, and the acceptable ministrations

¹ Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Church Documents," I., pp. 131, 132.

² *Ibid.*, p. 133.

³ Beardsley's "History of the Episcopal Church in Conn.," I., p. 85.

⁴ Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Church Documents," I., p. 140.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

of Mr. Beach put off for all these years the realization of the hopes of the few church-folk who were firm to their principles and faith. But discussion with his former college tutor, with "inquiry, reflection and prayer, opened his eyes to the truth, and on Easter day, the 9th of April, 1732,¹ the eloquent young independent preacher knelt at the chancel-rail of the little church at Stratford, to receive the Holy Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, as an avowed member of the Church of England. Recommended by his former instructor to the society as "a very ingenious and studious person, and a truly serious and conscientious Christian," Mr. Beach sailed for England for holy orders, and on his return was appointed to minister to the people among whom he had served as an independent. The conversion of Beach was followed by that of others. In 1733 Mr. Johnson writes to the Bishop of London:—

That the growing confusion among the Dissenters in these parts very much tends, among other means, to put serious and thinking persons upon coming over to the church. Among others there are two or three very worthy young ministers in this colony, who, I have reason to believe, from no other reason than the love of truth and order, and a sense of duty, will, in a little time, declare for us, and two of them especially have hopes that the most of their congregations will conform with them. One of them is one Mr. Arnold, who succeeded me at West Haven, near the college, where I preach once a quarter.²

Jonathan Arnold was a graduate of Yale College, in the class of 1723. Ebenezer Punderson, the other convert referred to, was of the class of 1726. The third was, doubtless, Solomon Palmer, of the class of 1729, which furnished to the Church four clergymen from its seventeen members, while but three of them were ministers of the "standing order." In the midst of these notable conversions of the studious and thinking men of the colony the Church was daily adding to its numbers on every side. Reading, Norwich, Hebron, and Milford were added to the number of congregations. At Fairfield Mr. Caner writes, in 1736: "The professors of the Church of England here increase in numbers and seriousness." At Newtown and Reading Mr. Beach reported over one hundred communicants. Twenty families in Hebron and its vicinity embraced the Church, and fourteen received the holy communion at the first administration by the Rev. Mr. Scabury. In 1739 six hundred and thirty males above the age of sixteen signed a memorial to the General Assembly, praying for the assignment of their share of the public money obtained from the sale of lands in new townships for the support of their clergy. The same year the Connecticut clergy, with the Rev. James Wetmore, of Rye, represented to the society the case of the church people of Stamford and Horseneck, who were compelled to pay taxes towards the support of the independent minister, instead of the Rev. Mr. Wetmore, their nearest church clergyman, who ministered to them regularly. Nor this only. The clergy proceeded in their petition to lay before the society the case of the Rev. Mr. Arnold, as follows:—

¹ Beardsley's "Episcopal Church in Conn.," p. 89.

² Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Church Documents," I, p. 156.

William Greyson, of London, esq., made a donation of a piece of land in New Haven to Mr. Arnold, as Trustee for the Church of England, to build a Church on; and when he went to take possession and make improvement of said land by ploughing the same, he was opposed by a great number of people, being resolute that no church should be built there, who, in a riotous and tumultuous manner, being (as we have good reason to believe), put upon it by some in authority, and of the chief men in the town, beat his cattle, and abused his servants, threatening both his and their lives to that degree that he was obliged to quit the field. And though he made presentment against sundry of them for breach of the peace to the court authority, yet they refuse to take cognizance of it, and so he could obtain no relief.¹

Seven clergymen, including Wetmore, signed this memorial, Johnson, Caner, Beach, Seabury, Punderson, and Arnold. The following year, 1740, the clergy of New England met in convention at New London, on the 4th of May, and ten were present, five from Connecticut. About the middle of the year the Rev. Theophilus Morris succeeded Arnold at West Haven. He established services at Sinsbury, where they had "prepared some timber to build a church,"² at Derby, and at Wallingford, where there were twelve church families. At the latter place, where Mr. Morris could come only once in four months, and where, "on every Lord's day besides," the people were wont to perform the service as far as is proper for laymen, the church-wardens and vestry addressed the Bishop of London as follows:—

With melancholy hearts we crave your Lordship's patience, while we recite to you that divers of us have been imprisoned, and our goods from year to year distrained from us for taxes, levied for the building and supporting meeting-houses; and divers actions are now depending in our courts of law in the like cases. And when we have petitioned our governor for redress, notifying to him the repugnance of such actions to the laws of England, he hath proved a strong opponent to us; but when the other party hath applied to him for advice how to proceed against us, he hath lately given his sentence "to enlarge the gaol and fill it with them." (that is, the Church). But we supplicate both God and man that our persecutors may not always prevail against us.³

The dissenters in North Haven "obliged the church people to contribute towards building a meeting-house, and sent one poor fellow to jail who was not in a capacity to pay;"⁴ while "two more in North Haven were some time in jail," for "not paying their rates to the dissenting teachers." Some, "at a village called Cheshire," had "been hauled to jail and there been forced to abide till they paid the uttermost farthing."⁵ These are but instances selected from the correspond-

¹ Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Ch. Documents," I., pp. 168, 169. A pertinent and amusing reference to this act of violence is found in "A Vindication of the Bishop of Landaff's Sermon, from the gross Mis-representations and abusive Reflections contained in Mr. William Livingston's Letter to his Lordship . . . By a Lover of Truth and Order . . . New York: 1768."

"It would give me pleasure to have it in my power to say, that the Society's missionaries have met with the same kind of treatment in *New England*. Their treatment in general has been the reverse of this. They have met with great and undeserved opposition; and have been injured not only in their character, but in their property, on account of their religion. Perhaps Mr. Livingston may remember some instances of this himself; once especially in a gallant ex-

plot performed by the students of *Yale College*, in which he was *more* than a *spectator*. The scene of this *noble* action was a lot of ground in the town of *New-Haven*, which had been bequeathed to the church for the use of a missionary. There these magnanimous champions signaled themselves; for once upon a time, quitting soft dalliance with the *muses*, they *roughened* into sons of *Mars*; and issuing forth in deep and firm array—with courage bold and undaunted, they not only attacked, but bravely routed a *YOKE OF OXEN*, and a poor *Plowman*, which had been sent by the then missionary of *New-Haven*, to occupy and plow up the said lot of ground. An exploit truly worthy of the renowned *Hulibras* himself." pp. 40, 41.

² *Ibid.*, p. 176.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

ence of the missionaries with the secretary of the venerable society, and are the record of but a single year, 1740. The wild enthusiasm that attended the Whitefieldian movement seems to have turned the attention of the persecutors to other matters and to other victims. The fruits of the enthusiasm that was so prevalent were found to result in "reconciling many sober, considerate people to the communion of the Church."¹



CHRIST CHURCH, STRATFORD.

In 1742 the clergy, in petitioning the Bishop of London, for the appointment of Mr. Johnson as commissary, report that there are now fourteen churches built and building, and seven clergymen within this colony, and others daily called for. There were "considerably more than two thousand adult persons of the Church in the Colony," and "at least five or six thousand, young and old."² Since the progress of this "strange spirit of enthusiasm," the Church was "daily very much more increasing." Richard Caner, of the class of 1736, and Barzillai Dean,

¹Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Church Does.," 1, p. 181.

²*Ibid.*, p. 183.

who was graduated the following year, were soon added to the number of clergy. In 1743 Mr. Johnson had admitted to the holy communion, two "candidates for holy orders," graduates of Yale College, — Hezekiah Watkins of the class of 1737, and Joseph Lamson of the class of 1741. Ebenezer Thompson, of the class of 1733, was now added to the list of converts. The church in Stratford had "so increased of late," writes Johnson, "that our house will not hold us, which has obliged us to build a new church, for which £1,500 of our money has been subscribed, and we have got timber and are going on vigorously. It is to be sixty feet long and forty-five feet wide, and twenty-four feet high to the roof; with a steeple sixteen feet square to be one hundred and twenty feet high; and eight feet the chancel, which is to have a library on one side and vestry on the other."¹ There were four hundred church families in the town. The devoted John Beach writes in the same year from Reading: —

My people are not at all shaken, but rather confirmed in their principles by the spirit of enthusiasm that rages among the Independents round about us, and many of the Dissenters, observing how steadfast our people are in their faith and practice, while those of their own denomination are easily carried away with every kind of doctrine, and are now sunk into the utmost confusion and disorder, have conceived a much better opinion of our Church than they formerly had, and a considerable number in this Colony have lately conformed, and several Churches are now building where they have no minister. Indeed, there is scarce a town in which there is not a considerable number professing themselves of the Church of England, and very desirous to have it settled among them; but God only knows when and how they can be provided for. Were there in this country but one of the Episcopal order, to whom young men might apply for ordination, without the expense and danger of a voyage to England, many of our towns might be supplied which now must remain destitute.²

A new church was opened this year at Ripton; and a congregation was gathered at Lyme. The church people at New Milford and New Fairfield were building a church, while on Sundays they met together, and "one of their number read some parts of the common prayer and a sermon."

"But the Independents," writes Mr. Beach, "to suppress this design in its infancy, having the authority in their hands, have lately prosecuted and fined them for their meeting to worship God according to the common prayer, and the same punishment they are like to suffer for every offence in this kind, although it is the common, approved practice of the same Independents to meet for worship in their own way when they have no minister; but what is a virtue in them is a crime to our people."³ "The case of this people is very hard," continues Mr. Beach; "if, on the Lord's day, they continue at home, they must be punished; if they meet to worship God according to the Church of England, in the best manner they can, their mulct is still greater; and if they go to the Independent meeting in the town where they live, they must endure the mortification of hearing the doctrine and worship of the Church vilified and enervated by enthusiastic anti-nomian dreams."⁴ Mr. Caner writes that "where the late spirit of

¹ Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Church Documents," I., p. 187.
² *Ibid.*, pp. 190, 191.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 200.
⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

enthusiasm has most abounded, the Church has received the larger accession."¹ At Guilford and Northbury there were, in 1743, numerous applicants for a clergyman. Richard Miner, of the class of 1726, and Richard Mansfield, of the class of 1741, of Yale College, went over for orders. Miner and Lamson, of whose conversion to the Church we have already spoken, were captured on their passage and carried prisoners to France. Miner died in England, in 1744; but Lamson and Mansfield returned to do the Church good service. The following year, 1745, Jonathan Colton, of the graduating class at Yale, and one of the Bishop Berkeley Foundationers, offered himself for the Church; while from the same class the Church was to secure the eminent Thomas Bradbury Chandler, and the devout Jeremiah Leaming, and the faithful William Sturgeon, for the ranks of her future clergy. A year later the name of Ebenezer Dibble, of the class of 1734, at Yale, was added to the conforming graduates of that institution, and a number of others of these or other years, whose applications for missions failed, were reported to the authorities at home. At Newtown another church had been erected, "forty-six feet long, thirty-five broad, and twenty-five up to the roof."² It was "a strong, neat building," and its erection attested the strength of the Church under the ministrations of the faithful Beach. Litchfield and Norwich were now added to the church congregations. At the former the dissenters had "executions out against" the church people, "for rates due long since," and daily "threatened to take them to gaol." One "who had been a communicant in the church above a year" was "actually seized by their collector, and on the way to the gaol was freed by his own brother, who paid the rate to the collector."³

Three clergymen of the Church were at the commencement of Yale College, in 1748, the "worthy Mr. Commissary Barclay," of New York, being one. "All consulted the best things," writes Johnson, "for the Church's interest." "Among the candidates for their degrees there were no less than ten belonging to the Church, five Masters and five Bachelors; among the former two in orders, Messrs. Sturgeon and Leaming; and two candidates, Chandler and Colton; of the Bachelors, besides "Johnson's younger son and Mr. Ogilvie, Seabury had a promising son," "a solid, sensible, virtuous youth," who, as Johnson proceeds, "may in due time do good service."⁴ This was the future first Bishop of Connecticut.

The correspondence of the missionaries with the society for the year 1749 comprises a letter from the Rev. William Gibbs, of Simsbury, dated from "Hartford Gaol," where the missionary was confined on an execution for the costs in an unsuccessful suit he had entered for his "churchwarden's rate," collected by the dissenters of New Cambridge. The church people were still forced to pay their rates to the dissenters unless supplied with "ministers of their own in orders." "Meantime," writes Dr. Johnson, "many of our people are frequently persecuted and imprisoned for their rates to dissenting teachers, which they have never been in any stipulation with. The

¹ Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Church Documents," I., p. 201.

² *Ibid.*, p. 227.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

case of great numbers is extremely hard, if they can have no ministers in orders, neither from any title of the Society, nor from any that themselves can make, and, at the same time, cannot have the excellent liturgy and sermons of the church read to them by candidates of their own, whom they would gladly support to the utmost of their power, if they could have their own money for their own purposes." ¹

But another grievance had arisen, and the good doctor thus continues : —

And to add to all our other griefs, it seems we have some enemy or other that has represented us to the Venerable Board, as *presuming to vary from the established form of Prayer, omitting, adding or altering, etc.* This is very hard indeed, when we have given so much proof of our inviolable attachment to it, and that the Established Episcopacy and liturgy is dearer to us than any thing in the world besides; so dear as to make us leave *fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, houses and lands*, and venture our lives to the greatest hazard for it; twenty-five of us having gone a thousand leagues for Episcopal orders, of whom no less than five have lost their lives, and several others suffered the most dangerous sickness, and all at the expense of more than we could well afford, and all this when we might have had the greatest applause of all our friends and acquaintances, if we could have made our consciences easy as we were, and the best preferment they could give.

I have diligently inquired what foundation there could be for the report and can find none. Most of the Clergy and readers have read in my Church in my absence, and my people tell me they never heard the least variation, nor can I find anything in this kind in the Clergy or lay readers. One, indeed, tells me he has sometimes added two or three words in the prayer after sermon, *Grant us, we beseech Thee*, etc., in which he had followed a great example he heard in London. Perhaps the first lesson, or some of the latter part of the liturgy may have been omitted on some extreme cold day, or in the collect for the day, for the gunpowder treason, it may have been read, *Giving his late Majesty, King William, a safe arrival in England*, instead of *here*, which could not be true; and I should be glad if the informer were put upon proof, that if there ever was anything worse than this it might be made to appear, that the offender might receive condign punishment. ²

The persecution of the Church still continued. Mr. Punderson writes, in 1750, "In Branford and Cohasset they have, in the most violent manner, been distressing and imprisoning the members of the Church of England." ³ The Rev. Matthew Graves, addressing the Bishop of London in the same year, proceeds: "T'would be too long as well as tragical to repeat the several difficulties, severities, and affronts which our hearers are harassed with in many parts of the colony, by rigorous persecutions and arbitrary pecuniary demands, inflicted on the conscientious members of our church by domineering Presbyterians, the old implacable enemies of Zion's prosperity and peace." ⁴ The Rev. Richard Mansfield addressed the venerable society, as appears by their minutes of July 22, 1750, to the effect, "that the people of Derby and Oxford, as well as those of Waterbury and Westbury, have been sharers in the great oppressions which are laid upon the members of the Episcopal Church in that Colony by means of the dissenting collectors distraining their goods towards the support of the dissenting teachers, and their meeting-houses." ⁵ Well might Archbishop Secker, in an autograph note appended to this "minute," write:

¹ Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Church Documents," I., p. 259.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 262, 263.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 259, 260.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

"N. B.—These sort of complaints come by every ship almost; there are now some ministers of the Church of England in prison on account of these persecutions from the dissenters."¹

It is needless to multiply extracts in this vein. Enough have been cited to prove conclusively the temper and spirit of the "Standing Order" towards the Church, and to make its rapid growth under such untoward circumstances a proof of the strength of the convictions of its adherents, and their willingness to "suffer all things" for the cause they had espoused. As years passed on new parishes were established, though but sparingly, for the venerable society, assailed and vilified, and consequently hampered in its work, and somewhat impoverished in its revenues, could not accept all who offered their services. There were added one and another of the promising young graduates of Yale to the clergy list. In 1760, Dr. Johnson, who had removed to New York, writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "There are now thirty churches in that colony,"—Connecticut,— "though but fourteen ministers, there being three or four new ones."² This year the successor of Dr. Johnson at Stratford, the Rev. Edward Winslow, in his letter to the society, indicates the spread of doctrinal errors among the people, upspringing naturally, as a reaction from the wild enthusiasm of the Whittfield movement, and soon to find a general acceptance in the wide-spread defection of the Congregationalist body towards Unitarianism and Universalism, which marked the close of the century and the beginning of the next. Mr. Winslow thus writes:—

At a late Convention of the Clergy of our Church in this Colony, at New Haven, a sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Beach, wherein, much to his own reputation and I trust, by the Divine blessing, to the credit of religion and advantage of the Church here, he has with great zeal and faithfulness, endeavoured to vindicate and establish the important fundamentals of the Sacred Trinity, and the Divinity of our blessed Saviour; his atonement and satisfaction; the necessity of the renewing and sanctifying influence of Divine Grace, and the eternity of future punishment, and to expose the falsehoods and errors of the contrary pernicious errors, which by means of spreading bad books and other industrious arts of too many men of bad principles in these parts, have been successfully propagated. The clergy have unitedly taken the occasion of the publication of this discourse to give their testimony against these errors, and to recommend the doctrines inculcated as the prime truths of the gospel, and the foundation on which the whole structure of the articles and liturgy of the Church is framed.³

From this time, though the persecutions continued⁴ in some places, the correspondence of the missionaries, in every instance, bears testimony to the increase of the Church. A new element of annoyance appeared, in the arrest and imprisonment, for over a week of the Rev. Roger Viets, of Simsbury, for uniting in marriage a couple in the town of Great Barrington, although his license to officiate, from the Bishop of London, embraced New England.⁵ Later the Rev. Richard Mosley was arrested, convicted, and fined, for performing the same office at Litchfield.⁶ In 1765 a number of the clergy "accidentally convened," addressed the venerable society on the tumults growing out of the Stamp Act, and assured their ecclesiastical superiors that they and their

¹ Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Church Docs.," I., p. 267. ² *Ibid.*, p. 311. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 317.
⁴ *Ibid.*, II., pp. 17, 18, 31, 53, 63, 137. ⁵ *Ibid.*, II., pp. 59, 60, 78. ⁶ *Ibid.*, II., pp. 195, 196.

people "will steadily behave themselves as true and faithful subjects," and as "obedient sons of the Church of England."¹ The names of James Scovil, Thomas Davies, Samuel Andrews, Bela Hubbard, and Abraham Jarvis, are appended to this document. In 1770 the Church was still rapidly advancing. In 1772 the Rev. Solomon Palmer, of Litchfield, and good Dr. Johnson, who had returned to Stratford, died in the odor of sanctity.² The clergy in convention had appointed a committee "to recommend candidates" and to provide for "the supply of vacant parishes." But the work of the Church was soon interrupted and, amidst the opening scenes of the revolutionary war, the churches were closed, the clergy silenced, and the loyalist churchmen banished from their homes. It was thus that the growth of the Connecticut church was for a time checked. But for the wondrous grace of God the Church would have been totally destroyed.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

THAT there was actual persecution encountered in the attempt to introduce the church's service in Stratford will appear from "An Account of the Sufferings of the Members of the Church of England at Stratford," preserved among the archives of the venerable society in London. From this "true narrative" we give some pertinent extracts.

After reciting the circumstances of their first services and organization, and referring to their application to the venerable society for the appointment of good Mr. Muirson as their clergyman, the narrative proceeds:—

Before we had any return from England, it pleased Almighty God, in his providence, to bereave us of the Rev. Mr. Muirson, by taking of him to himself, by reason whereof we remain as sheep without a shepherd, notwithstanding the great kindness we have received from the Rev. ministers to the west of us, viz., the Rev. Mr. Talbot, the Rev. Mr. Sharpe, who was near a month amongst us, and took much pains, and baptized many (amongst whom was an aged man, said to be the first man-child born in the colony of Connecticut), and the Rev. Mr. Bridge, who have administered the holy Sacraments and ordinances of Jesus Christ, to our great comfort and consolation. Nevertheless, by reason of their great distance from us, we remain as sheep having no shepherd, and are exposed the more, as a prey to our persecutors, the Independents, who watch all opportunities to destroy the Church, both root and branch.

But as yet we received no other persecution but that of the tongue, until the 12th day of December, 1709. Some of their officers, namely, Edmund Lewis, Jonathan Curtice, and Francis Griffith, having a warrant from the authority, viz., Joseph Curtice and James Judson, abovesaid, to levy by distress of estate, or imprisonment of the bodies of such person or persons as should refuse to pay to them such sums of money as were by them demanded, they no sooner having power but put it vigorously in execution; and on the 12th December, 1709, about midnight, did apprehend and seize the bodies of Timothy Tiharton, one of our Church-wardens, and John Marcy, one of the Vestrymen, and forced them to travel, under very bad circumstances, in the winter season and at that unseasonable time of night, to the common gaol, where felons are confined, being eight miles distant, not allowing them so much as fire or candle light for their comfort, and there continued them until they paid such sums as by the gaoler was demanded, which was on the 15th day of the same month.

Notwithstanding all this, they still persisted with rigor to continue their persecution, and seized the body of Daniel Shelton, at his habitation or farm, being

¹ Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Church Documents," II., p. 81.

² *Ibid.*, II., pp. 178, 179.

about eight miles distant from the town, and hurrying of him away toward the town in order to carry him to the county gaol; passing by a house, he requested of them that he might go in and warm him, and take some refreshment, which was granted; but they being in a hurry bid him come along, but he desiring a little longer time, they barbarously laid violent hands on his person, and flung his body across a horse's back, and called for ropes to tie him on the horse; to the truth of which several persons can give their testimony, and are ready when thereunto called; and, having brought him to the town, they immediately seized the bodies of William Rawlinson and Archibald Dunlap, and carried them, all three, to the county gaol, it being the 16th day of January, 1709, and there confined them, until such time as they disbursed such sums of money as the gaoler demanded of them, which money was left in the hands of the Lieutenant Governor, Nathaniel Gould, Esq., he promising them that the next general court should hear and determine the matter, and that the money left in his hands should be disposed of as the court should order, and they were at present released, being the 17th day of the same instant.

Several others of the Church had their estates distressed on the same account, and rended from them, particularly William Jeanes, having money due to him in the hands of the town treasurer, the above Edmund Lewis, distressed of his estate that which was in said treasurer's hands on the same account, for the maintaining the Dissenting minister the year 1709, and left no copy of his so doing; and also the treasurer detains all the rest that remains in his hands, telling him that he will keep it for his rate, which rate is chiefly for the purchase of a house for their Dissenting minister, which house and land cost £180: and so are our estates rended from us. Notwithstanding this, the said William Jeanes did, for himself in person, go to a town meeting convened in Stratford, (being empowered by the Society of the Church of England,) when they were ordering a rate to raise money to pay for the said house and land, and did, publickly, in behalf of himself and Society, declare and protest against any such proceedings, and tendered money to the town recorder to enter said protest, but he refused so to do.

When the general court of said Colony of Connecticut was assembled in Hartford, in May, 1710, the Society of the Church of England empowered William Jeanes, their lawful attorney, to address said general court for a determination and issue of what should be done with said money committed to the above said Lieutenant-Governor, and also to see if we should, for the future enjoy peace amongst them: our said attorney, in order thereunto, tendered an address to said court, dated May 20th, 1710, but could obtain no positive answer, but was detained there by dilatory answers, until the 26th day of the said instant, (May,) when one of the members of the lower house brought to the said Jeanes the address and power of attorney, and told him the thing had been often moved, but they see cause to give no answer, and so we find no relief for the poor distressed Church, nor the members thereof.

The poor Church at Stratford, being left in a deplorable condition, destitute and without hope of any relief in this colony under this government, several of our Society have already, of necessity, fled, their persecution, finally, being such an additional one as was seldom heard of; for finding that some of our Society, being tradesmen and handicraft, and such as had dependence upon working at their trades for other people, they combined together not to set them to work, saying that by that means they should weaken the interests of the Church; by which subtle stratagem of Satan's to persecute the Church of Christ, we are likely to be brought low, for some are already gone, and others looking out where to shelter themselves from their cruelty, and must inevitably fall, if God, of his infinite mercy, do not raise up some goodly, compassionate friends for us; and we, the subscribers, do assert the truth of what is here written.

TIMOTHY TITHARTON, }
WILLIAM SMITH, } *Church Wardens.*

WM. RAWLINSON,
JOHN JOHNSON,
DANIEL SHELTON,
JAS. HUMPHREYS,

WM. JEANES,
RICHARD BLACKATH,
ARCHIBALD DUNLAP,
JAMES CLARKE.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LEADING MISSIONARIES AND CLERGY AT THE NORTH AND SOUTH; THEIR LIVES AND LABORS.

IF the annals of the Church in America do not furnish as many and as illustrious names on the list of the missionary priests as are afforded by other religious bodies, there are abundant reasons for this lack. For upwards of a century after the Reformation the Church was so constantly occupied in the defence of its position, and maintaining its independence against the persecution and intrigues of the papacy on the one hand, and the plottings and vindictive assaults of puritanism on the other, as to have little time for the evangelization of the heathen world. Still, as we have already seen, there were not wanting, from the very first years of the reformed faith, men who counted not their lives dear unto them for the sake of advancing the cause of Christ abroad. The ships sailing westward from English ports on voyages of discovery; the transports conveying to the new found world the founders of an empire for England in the west, had each their chaplains, who, at the sacrifice of ease and comparative comfort at home braved the terrors of the deep, and willingly endured the dangers and diseases incident to an unknown clime, to minister to settlers and savages alike. "Master Wollfall," amidst the snow and ice of the extreme north, the unknown priest who, at Raleigh's colony of Roanok, admitted to holy baptism the Indian chieftain Manteo, and the Anglo-American infant Virginia Dare; the devoted Richard Seymour, "preacher" and priest at Popham's colony, at the mouth of the Sagadahoc; the saintly Robert Hunt, the faithful priest of Jamestown; Whittaker, the apostle of Virginia; and the persecuted Richard Gibson, of the coast of Maine, — were men who, in the early years of independence of the reformed and catholic Church of England, showed a spirit of consecration and self-denial second to none. They were men who hazarded their lives for the Lord Jesus. Their names are worthy of everlasting remembrance.

Then came the great rebellion and the temporary overthrow of the Church. Her prelates and priests were silenced or banished. Her stately cathedrals and churches were despoiled. Her solemn services and sacraments were interdicted by law. Her members, if faithful to their mother, the Church, were helpless and hopeless before their foes.

In the Old World, at but a single spot was the Church of England still "visible," — the chapel of the English ambassador in Paris, where the services of the Church were maintained, and her sacraments administered until this tyranny was overpast. But in the New World the Church was never fully overthrown. The clergy dispossessed of their

benefices at home were welcomed in the loyal and faithful province of Virginia across the sea. The church's prayers, silenced and forbidden in the Old World, were never intermitted in the humble churches and chapels and homes of the "Old Dominion." The religion of the Church which divine George Herbert had in his day sung at standing tiptoe in expectance of the change, had crossed to the American strand.

At length with the crown the Church was restored. With the incoming of the old-time faith and forms at home, we find at once the revival of efforts for the establishment of the Church from Maine to Carolina. It was, however, a day of little faith and love. The undue austerity of the puritan rule was succeeded by a flood of licentiousness. The profligacy of the court permeated all classes of society, and, as a natural result of the wide-spread corruption, a period of indifference to religion rendered all efforts for its extension feeble if not futile. It was long before there was seen any disposition for the reformation of manners, or a return to the old moderation and purity of life. Still there were those who walked in white amidst the general corruption. There were those whose knees were never bowed to Baal. And in the coming of a better day we note the organization of efforts for the evangelization of the western world. The age which witnessed the inauguration of the great missionary societies of the English Church, providing for the dissemination of Christian knowledge at home and abroad, and the propagation of the Gospel in foreign lands, was pregnant with good for all time to come. It was the earnest of a better day.

We have on other pages given the story of many of the faithful ones whose names would else appear under the heading of this chapter. It is not necessary to repeat what has already been said, and, in our search for an initial name, we need not go further back than the settlement of Maryland, and tell in brief the story of the mission life and labors of William Wilkinson,¹ the first Church of England clergyman who came into the Lord Baltimore's province, though it had then been settled for fully sixteen years. Wilkinson was not indeed the first clergyman of the Church who settled on what is now the soil of Maryland, but the first in the settlement at St. Mary's, and under the Baltimore patent. As early as 1629, while the territory, afterwards known as Maryland, was a part of the Old Dominion, Kent Island, on the Chesapeake Bay opposite the site of the present city of Annapolis, had been settled by Virginians. With them came a clergyman of the Church of England, the Rev. Richard James. This clergyman had been in earlier years the librarian to Sir Robert Cotton, the famous antiquary, and he had shown his zeal for the extension of the Church in the New World by accompanying Sir George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, before his perversion to the Roman Church, to his settlement in Newfoundland under his patron's charter for Avalon. When, in 1638, Lord Baltimore obtained by force of arms the possession of Kent Island, Mr. James returned to England and died the same year at the place of his former master, Sir Robert Cotton.

¹ Rev. William Wilkinson, of Maryland, 1650-1663.

At the time of Mr. Wilkinson's immigration, there were, as we learn from the researches of the historian of the Maryland Church,¹ at least three places of Church of England worship: Trinity Church, six miles west of St. Mary's; Poplar Hill Church, about six miles to the north-west, and St. Paul's, some twenty miles still farther in the same direction, in what is now called King and Queen parish. It is not unlikely that there was still another church on the Patuxent, where Mr. Wilkinson located his grant of land, and settled with his family, — wife, children, and servants, nine in all, — about twelve or fifteen miles north of St. Mary's. So far as is known there was then but one Romish place of worship in the colony. This fact, among others, shows that the larger part of the immigrants were not of the Romish faith. It is not at all to the discredit of the Church that at the period of which we write it was difficult to find "missioners" for Maryland. It was an evil day for the Church. The parishes at home were filled with intruders. The clergy were silenced or banished. It was doubtless to escape the power of the prevailing party at home that Wilkinson left England for a home in the wilds of Maryland.

Prior to the coming of this excellent priest the Church of England settlers had been served by lay-readers, and in their humble log churches by the river side, or in the forest glades of the new settlements, the prayers of the Church proscribed in the cathedrals and stately churches of the mother-land were heard and reverently listened to by these far-away and forgotten colonists, who were still faithful to their mother, the Church.

Little is known of this first church clergyman of Maryland, save that the public records prove, by their incidental allusions, that he won for himself and his ministry the regard of those who with him were the pioneers of a new community, securing, for the Church and for himself its minister, the legacies of those who felt the obligation of recognizing his ministrations, and gaining by his integrity the care of the orphan, while his hospitality was such that his humble home became the refuge of the sick and the dying. Like his Master, this faithful priest seems to have gone about doing good. Evidences of the regard in which he was held appear in the records of the settlement, but we know little of the nature and extent of his clerical services save as they appear by these scant references to him, found in the midst of the dry legal or business details of the settlement. He died in faith in August, 1663, leaving in his will, which is still on record, the proof of his pious trust in God: —

Imprimis: I give my soul to God, and my body to the Earth, from whence it came, with humble confidence that both body, and soul shall, at the Resurrection, receive a happy union, and be made partakers of that happiness which is purchased by my blessed Redeemer, Jesus Christ, the Righteous.

Such was the sustaining hope of this pioneer priest of Maryland. In these words, he "being dead, yet speaketh."

¹The late Rev. Ethan Allen, D.D., in Sprague's "Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit," p. 5.

In 1696 the Rev. Hugh Jones¹ came into the province of Maryland, and was for a time the incumbent of Christ Church parish, in Calvert County. The annals of the colony attest the position he speedily acquired by his faithfulness, his devotion, and his learning; while from his pen there appeared among other essays of importance, attesting his observation and literary taste, a general account of the province, which, as originally published in the Transactions of the Royal Society in London, made him widely known.

Hugh Jones

Possibly, in consequence of these evidences of literary ability, or else from his known acquirements in this department of knowledge, he was appointed in 1702 or 1703, professor of Mathematics in William and Mary College, lately established under the charge of the excellent and celebrated Commissary Blair. It is not improbable that the influence of Governor Nicholson may have been felt in this appointment, as it would appear that Jones first came to Maryland at the suggestion, or at least in the company, of the governor. His talents secured for him the appointment as chaplain of the Assembly and lecturer at Williamsburg. Subsequently he held the position of incumbent at Jamestown, the historic parish of the Virginia Church. In 1722 he left Virginia, and two years subsequently he published in London an interesting and valuable volume entitled "The Present State of Virginia," including a short view of Maryland and North Carolina. This work, which has been reprinted within the present century, is one of our most important original authorities for the period and the subjects of which it treats. It was certainly a literary venture of unusual merit.

Returning to Virginia he officiated for a time as minister of St. Stephen's Church, in King and Queen County. The occasion of his leaving this place appears to have been a dispute "concerning the placing of the pulpit," but in his withdrawal he bore with him the attestation of the "principal inhabitants" of the parish to his diligence in the discharge of his sacred function, and to "his sober life and edifying conversation." His departure was "universally lamented even by his adversaries." With these ample testimonials he now returned, after an absence of nearly a quarter of a century, to Maryland, and became the incumbent of William and Mary parish, where, in addition to his pastoral work, he engaged in the instruction of youth. Continuing in this double duty for several years, living "a sober and exemplary life," he was inducted by the governor into the living of North Sassafraz parish, in Cecil County, at the age of sixty years. Here he labored faithfully and successfully. The erection of two substantial churches of brick during his ministry in place of the temporary structures he found at his coming attested the value his people placed on his services. A published sermon, entitled "A Protest against Popery," evinced his care for the spiritual needs of his charge, and when, at the age of ninety, he resigned his cure he had well and worthily won the title of "venerable." He died at the age of ninety-

¹ The Rev. Hugh Jones, M.A., Maryland and Virginia, 1696-1760.

one after a ministry of sixty-five years, leaving the reputation of earnest piety, sound learning, and devotion to the work of the ministry.

Among the early appointments of the venerable society was that of the Rev. George Ross¹ in 1705 to Newcastle in Pennsylvania (now Delaware). After laboring for several years in this unpromising field, either on account of the unhealthiness of the climate or the little "encouragement" he received, the missionary left his post and removed to "Upland," or Chester, from which station the incumbent had withdrawn. It was not the first effort the restless missionary had made for bettering his condition, and the society, in consequence of his unauthorized removal, suspended the payment of his stipend. Returning to England he was able to vindicate himself before his superiors, and was restored to his charge. On his return voyage he was captured by a French man-of-war on the 9th of February, 1711, and carried into Brest, where he was stripped of all he possessed, even his clothes, and was treated in the most inhuman manner. On his release he proceeded to Chester, but not long after, by direction of the society, he resumed the care of Newcastle. In 1717, at the invitation of Sir William Keith, then Governor of Pennsylvania, he accompanied the governor on a tour through the counties of Kent and Sussex, in the course of which, in a single week, he baptized upwards of one hundred persons. He remained at Newcastle till the close of his long life. In the Abstracts of the Society for the year 1754-55, allusion is made to the receipt of a letter from this worthy old missionary, which we give below:—

NEWCASTLE UPON DELAWARE, Oct. 13, 1752.

REV^d SIR,—

I am at this time upon the verge of extreme old age, being according to my own computation, in the 73rd year of my life, and the 47th of my mission. Hence some imagine that I am not only the oldest missionary, but the oldest man in the mission. Be that as it will, I have been very often exercised for two years past with those maladies and infirmities which are commonly incident to my present stage of life. This, to my no small mortification, interrupted my former correspondence with you, and exposed me perhaps to the charge of negligence. My service at this time is confined to the mean village of Newcastle, where little or nothing occurring, beside the common offices of a settled cure, it was not in my power to offer anything to your consideration that deserved a place in your collection. As to the Behaviour of my Hearers at the public worship, it is not to be complained of, save that the word Amen, for want of a Clerk is much suppressed among us. As I am in a tottering condition this may happen to be my last to you. If this should be the case, I beg this may transmit my most hearty acknowledgments to the Hon^{ble} Society for their innumerable favours conferred upon me in the course of a long mission, which had my lot fallen anywhere but in a poor sinking town, would have proved I believe more successful. I cannot clear myself from oversights & mistakes in the course of so many years, but thank God he has been pleased in his great goodness to preserve me from such blots and stains, as would do harm to the cause I was engaged to maintain—the Honor—I mean and interest of the Church of England, from which I never varied from the day I wrote Man. I cannot conclude without paying my past acknowledgments to you, who upon all occasions showed yourself a constant advocate for & real friend to,

Rev^d Sir,

Your most obliged and most humble Servant,

GEORGE ROSS.²

¹ The Rev. George Ross, of Pennsylvania and Delaware, 1705-1751.

² Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church, v., p. 99.

But the end was not yet. On the 10th of October of the following year the aged missionary addressed to the secretary of the society the last letter that has been preserved of a long correspondence. We extract from this communication as follows:—

It is with great pleasure I can now acquaint you that, thro' the divine assistance, I have been better enabled to go thro' the Service of the Church and preaching than I have been for these two years past, and that I live in good esteem with the people here, both of our own and the Presbyterian Church, which is by far the most numerous congregation. But I am in great hopes I shall see the Congregation of the Church at New Castle flourish, to accomplish which my endeavour shall never be wanting.¹

The abstracts of the society of 1754–55, to which we have already referred, state that, "it hath lately pleased God to call to Himself this worthy servant to receive the reward of his pious labors." Whitefield² refers to the kindly welcome given him by this good man. A son, the Rev. Æneas Ross, became one of the best of the society's missionaries in Pennsylvania and Delaware, living "on friendly terms with the Dissenters," and hoping "in time to see many of them conform." Another son bearing his father's name, born at Newcastle in 1730, was a delegate to the Continental Congress of 1774, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence from his native State. Though a devoted patriot he sought on several occasions to obtain that justice for loyalists in the courts which the people at the time were disposed to refuse. In 1779 he was appointed judge of the Court of Admiralty, which office he held till his death.³

The Rev. Jacob Henderson,⁴ a native of Ireland, was admitted to holy orders by the Bishop of London, in 1710, and proceeded directly to his mission at Dover, Kent County, in Delaware, where he remained for a year. He appears to have taken a prominent position among the clergy of the provinces from the start, as his representations of the state of the Church in New York and New Jersey, seriously implicating "Brigadier" Hunter, the governor, were deemed of sufficient importance by the accused to be met with rebutting evidence, secured at no little pains. The honesty and directness of Mr. Henderson, certainly gave him credit with the society, which the efforts of the governor were unable to lessen or remove. On his return to America he received an appointment to a mission on the western shore of Maryland, where he married, and where, in 1713, he and his wife built a chapel on their own land and not far from their home. In 1716 Dr. Robinson, then Bishop of London, appointed Mr. Henderson as his Commissary on the western shore of Maryland, which, on the death of the Commissary of the eastern shore, the Rev. Christopher Wilkinson, in 1729, was renewed by Bishop Gibson, and made to include the whole of the province. In 1713 the Commissary was presented by Governor Hart with the living of Queen Anne's, the parish in which he resided, and of which his chapel now became a chapel-of-ease. On

¹ Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church, v., p. 100. By a clerical error in the original MSS. the date of the letter is incorrectly given as 1759.

² Works, viii., p. 48.

³ Hist. Mag., III., p. 370, 371.

⁴ The Rev. Jacob Henderson, Commissary of Maryland, Delaware and Maryland, 1710–1751.

the renewal and extension of his commissarial commission he exercised his delegated authority in the interest of a sound clerical discipline, and, in his official relations, sought to secure, on the part of the clergy, personal holiness of life and strict attention to the duties of their sacred functions. But the difficulty of enforcing his powers was such that in 1734 he resigned his office, and from that time the Bishop of London ceased to have an official representative in the province. In the year 1737 he visited England, and was elected to membership of the venerable society, he being the first person elected from the colonies, other than the colonial governors or officials. The interest he took in the work of the society may be inferred from the efforts he made to secure gifts from his own parish and from other congregations in the neighborhood, and from his bequest of his whole estate, on his decease, to this worthy cause. He died on the 27th of August, 1751, in the thirty-fourth year of his connection with the parish of which he was incumbent, and in the forty-fifth year of his ministry. He was at least sixty-five years old at the time of his death; probably more, for the notice of his decease, in the Maryland "Gazette," refers to him as "the venerable and aged Jacob Henderson." Upwards of a thousand pounds sterling were realized by the venerable society from the estate of this eminently wise and godly man.

Appointed, in 1712, by the venerable society, as assistant to the Rev. Gideon Johnstone, incumbent of St. Philip's, Charleston, the Rev. William Guy¹ was elected minister of St. Helena's parish, on Port Royal Island, where he officiated during the remainder of his diaconate. In 1713, returning to England for priests' orders, he was appointed missionary to this extensive parish, which included the territory occupied by the Yamassee Indians, to whom the Rev. Samuel Thomas had been sent a few years before. As no church had been erected Mr. Guy performed divine service and administered the sacraments in the homes of the planters, and proved untiring and devoted in the discharge of his most arduous pastoral duties. In 1715 the war with the Yamassee Indians broke out so suddenly that many of his people were massacred by the savages, and Mr. Guy narrowly escaped with his life, taking refuge in an English ship, providentially lying in the river. After this unhappy interruption in his labors he was sent by the society to Narragansett, Rhode Island. He reached his new home, at Kingston, in 1717, visiting and officiating in the neighboring towns of Tiverton, Little Compton, and elsewhere, as well as in the place of his residence. His labors were most assiduous and were very acceptable to his numerous congregations; but, finding his health affected by the climate, he was ordered, at his own request, to his old home at the South, in 1719. Here he became incumbent of St. Andrew's Church, thirteen miles from Charleston, in which position he continued until his death, in 1751. He was not only diligent in caring for the people of his immediate cure, but extended his ministrations on every side, preaching and administering the sacrament to those at a distance from the parish church, and making the provision of a chapel-of-ease a necessity.

¹ The Rev. William Guy, of South Carolina, 1712-1751.

The same results attended his labors in his own charge. From the increase of his congregation, the parish church was found, in 1722, too small for the people who thronged to attend service, and, in 1723, it was enlarged by the addition of transepts, completing it in the form of a cross. The number of communicants largely increased under the efficient labors of this devoted clergyman. The people, notwithstanding the cost of their church, which was estimated at £3,500 currency, subscribed largely towards the settlement of Georgia, and for the relief of the sufferers at the great fire in Charleston, in 1740. An endowment fund in 1744 amounted to nearly £1,200 currency. Thus abundant in labors and successes the ministry of this amiable and excellent man continued until his decease. He left behind him a grateful memory of faithfulness unto death.

In the year 1704 the Rev. James Honyman¹ was appointed, by the society, missionary at Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island, where he discharged the duties of his mission with devotion and success for forty-five years. Besides the care of his immediate

James Honyman

cure he made frequent missionary visits to the neighboring towns on the mainland, until, in the growth of the congregations to which he had ministered, another minister was required for their use. In 1709, addressing the secretary of the society, he writes: "You can neither well believe, nor I express, what excellent services to the cause of religion a Bishop would do in these parts," adding the expression of his belief that if one were sent "these infant settlements would become beautiful nurseries, which now seem to languish for want of a father to oversee and bless them." In 1714 he presented to Governor Nicholson a memorial on the religious condition of Rhode Island. The people, he states, were divided among Quakers, Anabaptists, Independents, Gortonians, and Infidels, with a remnant of true churchmen. In 1723 it was his painful duty for a period of nearly two months to minister to a great number of pirates who were brought into Newport, and there suffered the penalty of the law. In 1728 Mr. Honyman and the Rev. James McSparran, of Narragansett, united in memorial in which, after complaining of the "frowns and discouragements to which they were subjected by the government," made the assertion that there was only "one baptized Christian in their whole legislature." Two years previous, in the year 1726, Mr. Honyman had preached a sermon in the King's Chapel, in Boston, before a convention of the clergy of New England, which was published anonymously in 1733.² This discourse is written in a moderate tone, quite in contrast with the bitter sarcasm and violent vituperation of the pamphlet publications of that controversial period. Few allusions to matters other than those directly referring to the sacred functions of those addressed are found in this sermon. In fact, the chief allusion to the questions then in dispute

¹The Rev. James Honyman, of Rhode Island, 1704-1750.

²*Idem* Notices of this discourse in Hist. Mag., II., pp. 338, 336.

between the clergy of the Church and the dissenters is a half-ironical disclaimer of the preacher, in his own and his brethren's behalf, of the desire manifested a few years earlier by the congregationalist ministers of Massachusetts for a "Synod," which was frustrated through the efforts of the celebrated John Checkley and the Rev. Dr. Timothy Cutler. The convention to which this discourse was addressed, must have been comprised of the major part or possibly of all of the few clergymen of the Church in New England. These were the Rev. Samuel Myles,

rector of the chapel, and the Rev. Henry Harris, his assistant; the Rev. Dr. Cutler, of Christ Church, Boston; the Rev. Matthias Plant, of Newbury; the Rev. George

Matthias Plant

Pigot, who had just succeeded the Rev. George Mossom at Marblehead; the Rev. John Usher, of Bristol; and the Rev. Ebenezer Miller, of Braintree.

The celebrated George Whitefield, in his early journals, thus notices his intercourse with this excellent missionary:—

Sunday—September 14. — In the Evening, with him [Mr. C—p (Clap) an aged Dissenting Minister] I waited on Mr H—n, the Minister of the Church of *England*, and desired the use of his Pulpit. At first he seemed a little unwilling, being desirous to know "what extraordinary call I had to preach on Week Days," which he said was disorderly? I answered, "*St. Paul* exhorted *Timothy* to be instant in season—and out of season! That, if the orders of the Church were rightly complied with, our Ministers should read public Prayers twice every day, and then it would not be disorderly, at such time to give them a sermon. As to any extraordinary call, I claimed none otherwise than the Apostle's Injunction, *as we have opportunity let us do good unto all Men.*" He still held out, and did not give any positive Answer, but, at last, after he had withdrawn and consulted with the Gentlemen, he said, "If my preaching would promote the Glory of God, and good of Souls, I was welcome to his Church, as often as I would, during my stay in Town." We then agreed to make use of it at ten in the morning, and three in the Afternoon — *Monday September 15*—At 10 in the morning, and 3 in the Afternoon, according to appointment, I read prayers and preached in the Church! 'Tis very commodious, and I believe will contain 3000 People. It was more than filled in the afternoon.—Persons of all Denominations attended. God assisted me much, etc. *Tuesday* (misprinted Friday) September 16. — enabled to read prayers and preach with much Flame, clearness and power to still greater Auditories than Yesterday. It being Assembly Time, the gentlemen adjourned in order to attend the Service—Before I retired to bed, I went to take my leave of Mr H—n, and had some close talk with him about the New Birth. *The Lord give him an experimental knowledge of it.* He was very civil, and would have had me stay with him longer; but being to go a journey on the morrow, after we had conversed near half an hour, I took my leave. pp. 18, 19, 20, 21.¹

In 1732 Mr. Honyman memorialized the society for a small increase of his stipend. In his application he states that, —

Between New York and Boston, a distance of 300 miles, and wherever there are any missions, there is not a congregation, in the way of the Church of England, that can pretend to compare with mine, or equal it in any respect; nor does my church consist of members that were of it when I came here, for I have buried them all; nor is there one person now alive that did then belong to it; so that our present appearing is entirely owing to the blessing of God upon my endeavors to serve him.

¹ A continuation of the *Rev. Mr. Whitefield's Journal*. The seventh journal. London, 1741.

Mr. Honyman died in 1750. His epitaph speaks of him as "of venerable and ever worthy memory, for a faithful ministry of near fifty years in the Episcopal Church in this town, which, by divine influence on his labors, has flourished and exceedingly increased. He was of a respectable family in Scotland; an excellent scholar, a sound divine, and an accomplished gentleman; a strong assertor of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and yet, with the arms of charity, embraced all sincere followers of Christ. Happy in his relative station in life, the duties of which he sustained and discharged in a laudable and exemplary manner. Blessed with an excellent and vigorous constitution, which he made subservient to the various duties of a numerous parish, until a paralytic disorder interrupted him in the pulpit, and in two years, without impairing his understanding, cut short the thread of life, on July 2, 1750."

The most prominent name among the list of the Rhode Island clergy is that of James McSparran.¹ Educated at the University of Glasgow, where he proceeded, Master of Arts, in 1709, he took orders in 1720, being made a deacon by the Bishop of London, and receiving the priesthood at the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Appointed "to officiate, as opportunity shall offer, at Bristol, Free-town, Swansea, and Little Compton," he reached his mission in 1721, and at the expiration of three years' labor was able to report that "all the church people, young and old," were not less in number than three hundred. Faithful in his labors he carried the ministrations of the Church into the neighboring colony of Connecticut, rendering no little aid in the building of the church at New London, and being instrumental in the conversion to the Church of its first missionary, the Rev. Samuel Seabury, the father of the first Bishop of Connecticut. In 1731 the University of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity. Dr. McSparran published several sermons, one of which, on "The Sacred Dignity of the Christian Priesthood," occasioned, through a misconception of its purpose, a spirited controversy. A more ambitious work of his was entitled, "America Dissected, being a full and true account of all the American Colonies, showing the intemperance of the climates, excessive heat and cold, and sudden violent changes of weather; terrible and murderous thunder and lightning; bad and unwholesome air, destructive to human bodies; badness of money; danger from enemies; but, above all, to the souls of the poor people that remove thither, from the multifarious and pestilent heresies that prevail in those parts. In several Letters from a Reverend Divine of the Church of England, Missionary to America, and Doctor of Divinity; Published as a caution to unsteady people who may be tempted to leave their native country." It is but just to the author to say that this remarkable title is supposed to have been the invention of the Dublin publisher, and to have been prefixed to the work without the writer's knowledge or consent. In the autumn of 1754 the doctor and his wife visited England, where Mrs. McSparran fell a victim to the small-pox. This bereavement seriously affected

¹The Rev. James McSparran, D.D., of Rhode Island, 1720-1757.

the health of the doctor, who, on his return, soon followed his wife to the grave. He died at South Kingston on the first of December, 1757, having been the minister of the parish of St. Paul's, Narragansett, for thirty-seven years. Uplike, the historian of the Narragansett church, pronounces him to have been "the most able divine that was sent over to this country by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." Certainly his manly devotion to the work of his ministry, his learning, candor, and untiring zeal deserved the honorable recognition he has received at the hands of the accomplished annalist who, in writing the history of the church to which McSparran ministered, made as the text of his work the records and journal of the faithful mission-priest.

A ministry of upwards of half a century spent in a single parish offers but few matters for public record, but the name and memory of Rev. John Usher,¹ of St. Michael's Church, Bristol, Rhode Island, deserves, at least, a passing notice. A graduate of Harvard College in 1719, the descendant of an ancient and honorable New England family, and ordained in 1722, Mr. Usher was at once appointed to Bristol, where a parish had been organized but three years before, and was then vacant by the removal of the first minister, the Rev. James Drew, to New York. Cordially received and entering upon his work with alacrity and zeal, the story of his long incumbency reveals no striking results, but simply the steady growth of a congregation faithfully ministered to, until he died on the 30th of April, 1775, at the age of eighty-six, having continued the exercise of his office, "though aged, lame, and infirm," to the very last.

The son of this worthy missionary, whose baptism was the first recorded by his father on his entrance upon duty, was graduated at Harvard College, in 1743. Though a practitioner of the law, after the death of his honored father, Mr. John Usher assembled the scattered members of the congregation on each successive Easter Monday, and went formally through the prescribed duties of the day; thus keeping up the organization to which his father had so patiently ministered. At the close of the war he gathered a congregation in the old courthouse, where he officiated as lay-reader until the erection of a church, and, in fact, until he received, at the age of seventy-one, holy orders, at the hands of Bishop Seabury, and was continued in charge of the parish which he retained till the year 1800. He died in July, 1804, in the eighty-second year of his age, leaving behind him the memory of sterling worth, indomitable devotion to the Church, and personal piety. He was doubtless one of the oldest candidates for orders who ever received the apostolic commission.

Among the students of Yale, at the time of the declaration for the Church by Rector Cutler and his associates, was Henry Caner,² a native of Connecticut, and a graduate of the college in 1724. In the following year he began to read prayers at Fairfield, and, on obtaining orders, he was appointed missionary of the venerable society to this town, where, as well as at Norwalk, his services were received with every

¹The Rev. John Usher, A.M., of Rhode Island, 1722-1778.

²The Rev. Henry Caner, D.D., of Massachusetts, 1727-1783.

token of satisfaction and were rewarded by abundant evidences of success.

On the 27th of November the Rev. Roger Price, Commissary of the Bishop of London in New England, and the incumbent of King's Chapel, in Boston, announced his purpose of resigning his cure and returning to England. The parishioners of the chapel thereupon took the novel step of choosing a committee to recommend, not to the Bishop of London, but to the congregation, a suitable person to fill the vacant rectorship, and the choice fell on the missionary at Fairfield. Inducted to the rectorship of the leading church in New England Mr. Caner entered upon his work with every promise of success. He was a popular preacher and a man of exemplary life, possessing fine intellectual endowments, coupled with unusual business talents, and enjoying, in an eminent degree, the affection and regard of his church and the community at large. It was under his successful rectorate that the rebuilding of the chapel was accomplished, and throughout his ministry in Boston the Church gained steadily in numbers and reputation. In 1766 Mr. Caner received the Doctorate from the University of Oxford. In the faithful and laborious discharge of the duties of his important position, he continued steadfast until, after some months of "difficulty and distress," he was forced to leave Boston on the evacuation of the town by the British, in March, 1776, and remove to Halifax. He "had but six or seven hours allowed to prepare for this measure," and was wholly unable to save his books, furniture, or any part of his fortune. He spent his last years in London, dying at the close of the year 1792, and at the age of ninety-two. His published discourses display learning and good taste. Though not a stipendiary of the society during his thirty years' residence in Boston, he was its confidential adviser and correspondent. Few of the clergy filled a more important position in the Church of America, or could have filled it to better purpose for the Church.

The Rev. Arthur Browne¹ was born at Drogheda, in Ireland, in the year 1699, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where, in 1729, he received the degree of Master of Arts. Ordained by Dr. Gibson, Bishop of London, in 1729, he was first sent to Providence, where he ministered for nearly six years at the King's Chapel, now St. John's. Here his talents, learning, and devotion were fully appreciated. His congregation and communicants increased, but an urgent and unanimous invitation to the church established but a few years before at Portsmouth was the occasion of his removal, and in his new field of labor he remained for thirty-seven years, beloved, revered, and admired by all who knew him or came within the reach of his influence. He was an accurate scholar, a keen controversialist, a profound thinker, and an able and excellent preacher. An incident of his long and comparatively uneventful career has been told in charming verse among the "Tales of a Wayside Inn;" and many, who else would never have even heard of this worthy priest and missionary, will recall, in "the Poet's Tale" of Lady Wentworth, the mention among the guests at the birthday feast in the "Great House," of, —

¹The Rev. Arthur Browne, A.M., of Rhode Island and New Hampshire, 1729-1773.

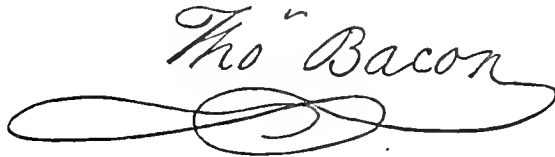
"One in bands and gown,
 The rector there, the Rev. Arthur Browne,
 Of the established church; with smiling face
 He sat beside the Governor and said grace."

After a long life, in which he displayed a universal benevolence, an unbounded hospitality, and an unquestioned piety, he died on the 20th of June, 1773, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, while on a visit to his daughter, the wife of the Rev. Winwood Serjeant. He was in his seventy-fourth year, and in the forty-fourth year of his ministry. His remains were brought to Portsmouth, and interred in the Wentworth tomb in the graveyard of old St. John's. A son of this noted clergyman was the Rev. Marmaduke Browne, who, after a ministry spent in New Hampshire and Rhode Island, died before his venerable parent.

Among those who "left all" to serve the cause of the Church in America, the name of the Rev. Thomas Cradock,¹ of Maryland, must not be forgotten. Born in Bedfordshire, England, in 1718, and educated at Cambridge, the young Cradock, and his younger brother John, who afterwards became first Bishop of Kilmore, and then Archbishop of Dublin, grew up and entered upon their life careers under the patronage of the Duke of Bedford. Through the influence of his noble patron with Lord Baltimore, the proprietary of the province, a living in Maryland was procured for the intending immigrant; and in October, 1742, the probable year of his arrival, an act of the Assembly was passed for the erection of a chapel-of-ease in the north-western part of St. Paul's parish, providing that on the death of the incumbent of St. Paul's, the Rev. Benedict Bourdillon, the parish of "Baltimore Town" should be divided, and the chapel by the name of St. Thomas's, set off as an independent parish. On the death of the rector of St. Paul's, as had been provided, the Rev. Mr. Cradock was formally inducted to the new cure. It was then a frontier post. The church, built of brick, was placed on a hill, and still stands as it has done for nearly a century and a half, amidst old oaks and chestnuts, gracing the highest eminence for miles around. In the course of a long and faithful ministry Mr. Cradock published several sermons, which are still extant. In 1753 he published a "Version of the Psalms," translated from the Hebrew into heroic verse. This work was issued by subscription, and the number, position, and character of the subscribers indicate the high estimation in which the versifier was held. In 1763 Mr. Cradock was rendered helpless by an attack of paralysis, but, as his speech and mental powers were unimpaired, he still continued to officiate, being carried to church and placed in his accustomed seat. A few years later the loss of a son, who had been devoted to the ministry, and had shown unusual fitness of mind and heart for this holy office, brought sorrow to the infirm and enfeebled father, who, in the following year, on the 7th of May, 1770, at the age of fifty-two, entered into rest. He was a sincere Christian, a polished scholar, an eloquent and persuasive preacher, and a faithful priest.

¹The Rev. Thomas Cradock, A.M., of Maryland, 1742-1770.

The Rev. Thomas Bacon,¹ of Maryland, a native of the Isle of Man, was a pupil and protégé of the pious and celebrated Bishop Thomas Wilson, of Sodor and Man, by whom he was ordained both deacon and priest in 1744. He had been admitted to "the higher degree" within a few months after being ordered deacon, with a view to his going to the plantations; and, having secured an appointment as chaplain to Lord Baltimore, the proprietary of Maryland, he sailed for the province, where he arrived in the autumn of 1745. Here he was appointed to the curacy of the parish of Oxford, in Talbot County, of which a Huguenot, the Rev.



The signature is written in a cursive, flowing script. It begins with a large, decorative 'T' that loops around the first few letters. The name 'Tho Bacon' is written in a clear, elegant hand, with a long, sweeping underline that extends across the width of the signature.

Samuel Maynardier, was incumbent. On the death of this good old man, Mr. Bacon succeeded to the cure. So successful were his ministrations, that, within the first year of his incumbency, it was found necessary to enlarge the church. He remained here for two years, and then removed to Dover, about twelve miles higher up the country, near the head of tide-water. It was upon his entrance upon this new field of labor that he began the work of laboring for the good of the negro slaves about him, which will ever keep his name in honored remembrance. He thus addressed his people:—

Upon being appointed your minister, I began seriously and carefully to examine into the state of religion in the parish. And I found a great many poor negro slaves, belonging to Christian masters and mistresses, yet living in as profound ignorance of what Christianity really is as if they had remained in the midst of those barbarous heathen countries from whence they and their parents had been first imported. Being moved, therefore, with compassion, at seeing such numbers of poor souls wandering in the mazes of sin and error, as sheep having no shepherd,—no kind, tender-hearted Christian to set them right,—and considering them as a part of the flock which the Almighty God had placed under my care, I began seriously to consider in what manner I could best discharge my duty to them, and deliver my own soul from the guilt of their blood, lest they should perish through my own negligence.

His first attempts were by occasional conversations, mingling "short familiar exhortations" with advice, when meeting them in his own house, on the road, or when visiting them in sickness, or officiating for them at weddings or funerals. He next determined to preach to them. In carrying out this purpose he published in London two sermons which he had preached, just as they had been delivered, with a view of inducing "his brethren to attempt something in their respective parishes, towards the bringing home so great a number of wandering souls to Christ." Before the close of the third year of his ministry, a chapel was erected for the use of those who lived on the confines of his parish. In 1749 he preached and published "Four Sermons upon the great and indispensable duty of all Christian Masters and Mistresses to bring up their slaves in the Knowledge and Fear of God." He had

¹The Rev. Thomas Bacon, A.M., of Maryland, 1745-1768.

found that he required help in his philanthropic and most Christian work, and he asked it where it was specially due. These sermons found a wide circulation, and were productive of no little good. But it was not only in behalf of the colored people of his cure that his interests were excited and his labors rendered. He sought the improvement and education of the poorer members of his parish, by the founding of a charity and working school. A sermon, preached and published with a view of enlisting the support and sympathy of the public, procured for his scheme the patronage of Lord and Lady Baltimore, and his old friend and patron, the saintly Bishop of Sodor and Man. A brick building was erected, and in 1755 a master employed, and the school removed to its new quarters. The school went on successfully. The building is still standing, a monument of the philanthropy and Christian charity of its founder.

Questions had arisen as to the rights of the clergy in the province, and Bacon, who was still the chaplain of the proprietary, codified the legislation of the colony, and placed within the reach of clergy and laity alike, in a folio of a thousand pages, an accurate transcript of the body of existing laws. He was soon after, in 1757, appointed to the best living in the province, All Saints, Frederick County. But the labors he had undergone had impaired his health. He lingered but three years after the completion of the "Laws of Maryland," and died, universally lamented, on the 24th of May, 1768.

Few names are more deservedly held in high esteem in the Church than that of Jeremiah Leaming.¹ Born in Connecticut, in the year 1717, he was graduated at Yale in 1745, and shortly afterwards conformed to the Church. In 1747 he received holy orders, with an appointment as school-master, catechist, and assistant minister at Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island. After a residence of eight years at Newport, during a portion of which time he had sole charge of the parish, which had been rendered vacant by the death of the Rev. James Honyman, rector, Mr. Leaming removed to Norwalk, Connecticut, where he continued in charge for twenty-one years. At the close of this long rectorate he was for eight years a minister of the adjacent town of Stratford. During the war for independence Mr. Leaming suffered in person and property. In July, 1779, his church and home were destroyed by the British troops under the command of General Tryon. In this general ruin his furniture, books, papers, clothing, — in short, everything he possessed, — were totally destroyed. He estimates his "loss on that fatal day was not less than twelve or thirteen hundred pounds sterling."² Suffering thus from the ravages of the Tories, he was also a victim to the fury of the patriotic party, who put him in confinement as a loyalist and subjected him to such hardships that he became in consequence a cripple for life. He was universally respected for his faithful discharge of the priestly duty, for his sound learning, and for his martyr-like devotion to his principles. He published several controversial tracts, one in "Defence of the Episcopal Government of the Church in 1766," and "A Second Defence of the Episcopal Government of the

¹ The Rev. Jeremiah Leaming, D.D., Rhode Island and Connecticut, 1747-1804.

² Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Church Documents," *it.*, p. 203.

Church, in answer to Noah Welles," in 1770, and a treatise on the "Evidences of the Truth of Christianity," in 1785. A convention sermon before the Connecticut clergy assembled at Middletown, in 1785, was also published, and a thin volume of "Dissertations on Various Subjects," in 1789. These writings display unusual ability and no little intellectual grasp and strength. He was, in the language of his epitaph, "respected, revered, and beloved in life and lamented in death."

At the meeting of the ten clergymen of Connecticut, at Woodbury, on Lady-day, 1783, the name of Leaming was suggested for the episcopate, and the choice of the clergy lay between the active and energetic Seabury and this amiable, excellent, but enfeebled man. Pains have been taken to prove that the preference of the electors, if such they can be called, was for Leaming. In the absence of any records of this important meeting we cannot but believe that while the full reverence and appreciation of his brethren were then as ever accorded to the brave and devoted Leaming, the clergy of Connecticut could not have been ignorant of the greater abilities, the wider reputation, the sounder health, and the fewer years of him who was, by their choice, the first Bishop of Connecticut. That the office was tendered to Leaming we have no reason to doubt, but that it was so offered only in the event of Seabury's disinclination or refusal to accept the post we are confident. In fact, it was evidently a matter of conference between brethren, who should sacrifice himself for the church's weal, and, in accepting the appointment at the time, and under the circumstances he did, Seabury showed a daring of danger and displayed a spirit of self-forgetfulness worthy of all praise.

Another worthy of the Connecticut Church, whose praise was in all the churches, was the Rev. Richard Mansfield,¹ who was born in New Haven, in the year 1724, and was graduated at Yale in 1741. In the course of his post-graduate studies and reading he became a convert to the Church, and, after a few years spent in teaching, he was ordained in 1748, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the following year entered upon his ministry at Derby. For several years he had charge of West Haven, Waterbury, and Northbury, in connection with Derby, but about the year 1755 he relinquished the care of these congregations, confining his services to the churches of Oxford and Derby. Of the Derby parish he was rector for the well-nigh unprecedented term of seventy-two years.

During the war Mr. Mansfield was a decided loyalist. In December, 1775, he writes as follows:—

After having resided and constantly performed parochial duties in my mission, full twenty-seven years, without intermission, I have at last been forced to fly from my churches, and from my family and home, in order to escape outrage and violence, imprisonment and death, unjustly meditated of late and designed against me, and have found a temporary asylum in the loyal town of Hempstead, pretty secure, I believe, at present, from the power of those violent and infatuated people who persecute me in particular, and disturb the peace of the whole British Empire. As soon as these sparks of civil dissension appeared, which have since been blown

¹ The Rev. Richard Mansfield, D.D., of Connecticut, 1748-1820.

up into a devouring flame, I did (as I thought it my duty) inculcate upon my parishioners, both from the pulpit and in private conversation, the duty of peaceableness and quiet submission to the King and to the parent State; and I am well assured that the clergy, in general, of the Church in the colony of Connecticut, with most of whom I have the pleasure of a particular acquaintance and friendship, did the same. That my endeavors and influence have had some effect, appears from hence, that out of 130 families which attended divine service in our two churches, it is well known that 110 of them are firm steadfast friends of the government; that they detest and abhor the present unnatural rebellion, and all those measures that have led to it. . . . the worthy Mr. Scovil and the venerable Mr. Beach have had still better success; scarce a single person is to be found in any of their several congregations but what hath persevered steadfastly in their duty and loyalty; and there are but few instances to be found in the Colony of persons who are professors of the Church, who are not entitled to the same character.¹

Having communicated with Governor Tryon respecting the number and sentiment of the Tories in the western part of Connecticut, Mr. Mansfield was "forced to flee from home," leaving his wife and nine children "overwhelmed with grief, and bathed in tears, and but very slenderly provided with the means of support."² But his absence was only for a time, and even the rigor of partisan and political persecution was relaxed not a little in favor of so good a man. At the close of the war Mr. Mansfield resumed the charge of his people, but after a few years he was able to officiate only in part, as an affliction of the voice prevented his preaching. For nearly twenty years before his death he was thus silenced, but his pastoral labors were not remitted, and his influence for good was in no sense diminished. In 1792 he received the Doctorate from his Alma Mater; and in April, 1820, he entered into rest.

The first Bishop of Massachusetts³ was born at Dorchester in 1726. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1744. After leaving college he spent several years in teaching and in theological studies, and, after becoming a licentiate among the congregationalists, he conformed to the Church, and was admitted to holy orders, by Dr. Sherlock, Bishop of London, on the 24th of May, 1752. He was appointed by the society to assist the Rev. Matthias Plant, at St. Paul's, Newbury, Massachusetts. On the death of Mr. Plant, which occurred shortly after the coming of his assistant, Mr. Bass succeeded to the vacant cure. From the time of his entrance upon his work at Newbury until the breaking out of the war for independence little occurred that was noteworthy in the life or labors of this faithful missionary. The years of clerical service, in a quiet New England town, could not fail of being comparatively uneventful. He was assiduous in his work, successful in building up his church, and faithful in the discharge of all the offices of his sacred function. But with the first intimation of the coming storm and strife his position was at once complicated by the conflicting claims of duty and feeling. He appears to have been by no means unfriendly to the popular cause, but he could not in conscience, at the first at least, omit the State prayers as was done by the rector of Trinity, Boston, the excellent Parker, who succeeded him afterwards as Bishop of Massachusetts. To pray for the king and royal family was

¹ Hawks and Perry's "Conn. Church Documents," II., pp. 198, 199.

² *Ibid.*

³ The Rt. Rev. Edward Bass, D.D., Bishop of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, 1752-1803.

a grave offence in the eyes of the patriots, and consequently the officials of the church congregation finally made their formal request that these obnoxious portions of the prayer-book services should be omitted. The missionary-priest yielded, but with many misgivings, and the correspondence between him and the venerable society, which had suspended him from its service directly on learning of his compliance with the wish of the rebel sympathizers, is full of interest, and is not a little amusing.¹

Left without support by the action of the society, it was only by the aid of individual members of his congregation that he was able to continue his ministrations. The parishes of the Church in New England had been so long dependent upon the alms of the Church abroad that the loss of the stipends, afforded so patiently and so abundantly by the society, threatened for a time the utter extinction of the churches to whose support they had contributed. At the close of the strife Mr. Bass sought for the allowance of his arrearages, but in vain. Even a published plea for redress was unheard, and the missionary at Newbury found himself forever dismissed from the employment of the society in whose service he had labored for so many years.

In the measures for the reorganization of the Church in Massachusetts, Mr. Bass took a prominent part, and, by the kind offices of Mr. Parker, of Trinity, Boston, and for the purpose of bringing together in amicable union the churches of New England under Bishop Seabury, and those of the Middle and Southern States under Bishops White and Provoost, was elected to the Bishopric of Massachusetts in 1789. The union desired being effected, the matter of Mr. Bass' consecration was suffered to drop; but, after a few years, it was again brought forward, and, on the 7th of May, 1797, he was consecrated in Philadelphia, Bishop of Massachusetts. New Hampshire subsequently placed herself under his episcopal care, and the signature of "Edward, Bp. Mass. et New Hamp." is still to be found attached to documents of the time. Dr. Bass had reached the age of seventy when he received the Episcopate, and, as he continued in charge of his parish, he was able to give but little time to the duties of his new office. But he officiated at times, and as occasion required, in his episcopal capacity, confirming and ordaining, and consecrating a single church, his own, at Newburyport. He died suddenly on the 10th of September, 1803, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

Edw Bass

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE.

IT will be understood that the foregoing notices are far from exhausting the worthies of the American Colonial Church. Only those are noticed who, from their special worth or unusual work, are deemed particularly deserving of mention, and are not referred to at length in other connections.

¹ *Vide* these papers in the "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church," iii.

CHAPTER XIX.

MISSIONARY LABORS AMONG THE MOHAWKS, AND OTHER INDIAN TRIBES.

IN the year 1700 the Earl of Bellomont, Governor of New York, in a memorial addressed to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, urged, as a matter of state policy, the sending of some "members of the Church of England to instruct the Five Nations of Indians, and to prevent their being practised upon by French priests and Jesuits." A representation on this subject having been submitted to Queen Anne a plan was agreed upon soon after, by authority of the queen in council, and referred to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tenison, for the appointment of two clergymen to minister among the various tribes of Indians known as the Five Nations. Recognizing the peculiar requirements of such a mission, and aware of the difficulty of procuring missionaries familiar with the Indian dialects to undertake this work, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to whom the matter was submitted by the archbishop, first invited Dellius, who had for some years ministered to the Dutch settlers at Albany, and Freeman, a Calvinistic minister of Schenectady, to enter upon this mission. The familiarity with the language and mode of life of the Indians which these ministers had acquired during a residence in their immediate neighborhood, and the fact that Freeman had already translated portions of the Holy Scriptures in the Iroquois tongue, was deemed of sufficient importance to warrant their selection, though dissenters, for this important work. But, as they were unable to undertake the duty assigned to them, the society intrusted the Indian work to the Rev. Thoroughgood Moor, who arrived in New York in 1704, and, after a welcome from the royal governor, Lord Cornbury, repaired directly to Albany. Here he occupied himself with the study of the language, seizing at the same time every opportunity of gaining the good-will and friendship of the savages who resorted to Albany for trade and barter. As soon as the snow began to melt, Moor proceeded to "the Mohawks' Castle," whither he had been invited by one of the sachems, or chiefs. But this earnest missionary found himself thwarted in his efforts to gain permission of the Indians to reside among them, as the consent of the other four nations was represented as indispensable, and various excuses were offered from time to time as this coveted permission was delayed. The influence of the French was doubtless exerted to hinder the success of Moor's attempts to gain a foothold among the savages; but he was denied the privilege of putting his devotion to the proof through the gross misconduct of the royal governor of New York. After waiting for nearly a twelvemonth

in the vicinity of Albany, in the vain hope of ingratiating himself with the Indians, whose conversion he was seeking to effect, he returned to New York, from whence he addressed the society with a statement of the reasons which had induced him for a time to withdraw from his work. An opportunity for clerical duty offering at Burlington, in New Jersey, he entered upon work with a zeal and devotion which soon excited the indignation of the profligate Cornbury, the grandson of the celebrated Earl of Clarendon, who was Governor of New York and New Jersey. Lord Cornbury had, by his efforts in promoting the success of the "glorious revolution" of 1688, established a claim for recognition at the hands of the monarch he had aided in securing the throne. But his acknowledged profligacy, his mean abilities, and his ungovernable temper prevented any reward being bestowed upon one who was a bankrupt in fortune and in reputation at home, other than the charge of a distant province. Here the commission of a series of acts of gross misconduct caused his speedy removal from his post, but not before his tyranny had been the cause of the imprisonment and flight, and consequent death, of the first missionary of the venerable society to the Indians of New York. The governor had interfered with Moor in the discharge of his duties, ordering him to discontinue the practice of a fortnightly sacrament, which, he asserted, was too frequent. This unwarrantable dictation, for which there was no legal ground, the faithful missionary was naturally unwilling to obey; and when to his disobedience in this respect he added the boldness of reproving the representative of the crown for his scandalous practice of arraying himself in female attire, and publicly parading in this shameful guise along the ramparts of the fort, the enraged and mean-spirited governor cast the clergyman into prison. Moor soon afterwards found an opportunity to escape, and, embarking for England, was never heard of again. Thus brief and disastrous was the first effort of the venerable society to bring the savages of the Five Nations to civilization and Christianity.

During the administration of Lord Cornbury an opportunity had occurred for establishing friendly relations with the savages, which, if judiciously followed up, would have furnished an excellent base for missionary operations. At a conference held by Cornbury in 1702 with five of the Indian sachems, at Albany, the Indians expressed the hope that the Queen "would be a good mother and send them some to teach them religion;"¹ but it was long afterwards that Moor arrived on the ground, and even then without the countenance of those in authority, and, with the secret opposition of those who, for personal or political reasons, preferred to keep the Indians in ignorance of the reformed faith, or, in fact, of any Christian teaching at all, the feeble and unsupported efforts that he was able to make proved fruitless, and on his removal from the field the promise of successful labor failed.

A few years afterward, through the efforts of Governor Nicholson, seconded by those of Colonel Schuyler, the confidence and allegiance of the Indians were secured to the English government.

¹ *Vide* the Rev. John Talbot's vivid account of this conference in Hawkins's "Hist. Notices," pp. 30, 31.

Four of their sachems visited England to confirm the treaty of peace which had been made by these people with the Governor of New York, and to solicit from the queen a supply of ministers and teachers to instruct them in the truths of Christianity. These representatives of a powerful tribe of savages were most cordially received. All classes and conditions flocked to see them. They were presented to the queen, to whom they tendered their gifts of wampum, and addressed a formal speech, in which they promised "a most hearty welcome" to those sent over to instruct them. There is little doubt of their insincerity in this request; but the address, which had been submitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury by the queen's command, for the consideration of the venerable society, was followed by the appointment of a missionary, the Rev. William Andrews, who arrived at Albany in 1712. Andrews was accompanied by a school-master named Oliver, and by an interpreter, Claussen by name, who, during a prolonged captivity among the Indians, had acquired great familiarity with their language. By the queen's command a fort, with a chapel and a residence for the minister, had been provided near the Mohawks' Castle, about two hundred miles from New York. Andrews, in writing to the society, describes his reception in the following language: "When we came near the town, we saw the Indians upon the banks looking out for my coming. When I came ashore they received me with abundance of joy; every one shaking me by the hand, bidding me welcome over and over."¹ At the first the missionary seemed on the point of attaining a marked and most gratifying success. The savages thronged to hear the instructions which the missionary, by the aid of the interpreter, was ready and glad to impart. Those of the Indians who understood English were frequent attendants at the chapel provided by the queen, and to which her majesty and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tenison, had given office-books and the other appliances for a solemn and stately service. The Mohawks sent their children, with apparent willingness, to the school which had been opened by Oliver. But the fair promise of success was soon succeeded by disappointment. Objections were made by the parents to the instruction of their children in English. The missionary, undeterred by the difficulties of acquiring a rude and barbaric dialect, began at once the task. In this attempt he was greatly aided by the kindness of Freeman, whom the Earl of Bellomont had engaged to instruct the savages, and whose services the society had at the first sought in vain to secure. Freeman had translated into the Mohawk language the morning and evening prayer, together with the gospel of St. Matthew, and some other portions of Holy Scripture. These translations he freely communicated to the baffled and disappointed Andrews, who was soon able to make use of them so as to be understood by his Indian congregation. These translations, revised and corrected by the missionary, were shortly afterwards printed at New York, at the charge of the society, and were distributed among such of the Indians as cared to avail themselves of them.

¹ Hawkins's "Hist. Notices," p. 266.

This interesting volume, now among the rarest of our American bibliographical curiosities, is worthy of especial notice. We print from one of the two or three copies still extant — that in the possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia — its title in full: —

The Morning and Evening Prayer, | the Litany | Church Catechism | Family Prayers | and | Several Chapters of the Old and New Testament, | Translated into the *Mahaque* [sic] *Indian Language*, | By *Lawrence Claesse*, Interpreter to *William Andrews*, Missionary to the *Indians*, from the | Honourable and Reverend the *Society for the Propagation* [sic] of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. |

Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance | and the Utmost Parts of the Earth for thy Possession, Psalm | 2: 8. |

Printed by *William Bradford* in *New York*, 1715.

Ne | Orhoengene neoni Yogaraskhagh | Yondereanayendaghkwa, | ne | ene Niyoh Raodeweyena, | Onoghsad oye-aghtige Yondadderighwanon- | doentha, Siyagonnoghsode Enyondereanayendagh- | kwagge | Yotkade Kapitellhogough ne Karighwadaghkwe- | agh Agayea neoni Ase Testament, neoni Niya degari- | wagge, | ne | *Kanninggahage Siniyewenotag* | Tehoenwenadenyough *Lawrence Claesse*, Rowenagaradatsk | *William Andrews*, Rowanna-ugh *Ongrechoentvighne* | Rodirighhoeni Radliyadanorough neoni Ahoenwadi- | gonuyosthagge Thoderighwa-waakhogt ne Wahooni | Agarighhowanha Niyoh Raodeweyena Niyadegoghwhe- | jage |.

Eghtseraggwas Eghtjeeagh ne ongwehoonwe, neoni ne | siyodoghwhenjook-tannighhoehh etho abadyeandough.

This rendering of the service in their own tongue enabled the missionary to effect a marked improvement in the conduct of the savages. A number were received to holy baptism, both men and women; and like results attended his labors among the Oneidas, whose chief resort was about a hundred miles into the wilderness from the Mohawks' Castle.

But the successes of these first years of labor were to be succeeded by bitter disappointments, trying the patience and wearying the spirit of the missionary, and leading him to doubt whether any permanent good had been effected by his labors among them. Their disregard of the rights of property; their inhuman, savage nature leading them to commit murder with impunity; their drunkenness, and their utter indifference to the restraints of morality or religion could not be overcome. Although about three years after he arrived he was able to report the attendance of a score of children at school, — won, as he ingenuously confesses, by the promise and expectation of food, — and although nearly forty had been received to the holy communion, out of a congregation sometimes numbering one hundred and fifty, still a little later he was forced to write of the Indians in general: —

Their lives are generally such as leave little or no room for hope of ever making them any better than they are — heathens. Heathens they are, and heathens they will still be. There are a few, and but a few, perhaps about fourteen or fifteen, whose lives are more regular than the rest.

Later he adds, "that, though he had been by the death-beds of several among them, he did not remember to have seen any one of them that he could think penitent." The savage soon tired of the restraints of civilization and Christianity. As soon as the novelty had worn off, the Indians would neither receive the ordinances of religion, nor suffer their

children to continue at school, and the missionary, in despair of success, convinced that his efforts for the improvement of the Indians were ineffectual, begged the society to remove him to another field. The work in which Moor had failed proved too hard for Andrews, and again the hopes of the society were disappointed. Still there were those in their service who were active and earnest in labors for this savage and degraded race. The earnest incumbent of Rye, the Rev. George Muirson, shortly before his death, in October, 1708, wrote to the secretary:—

As to the Indians, the natives of the country, they are a decaying people. We have not now, in all this parish, twenty families, whereas not many years ago there were several hundreds. . . . I have taken some pains to teach some of them, but to no purpose, for they seem regardless of instruction. . . . They further say they will not be Christians, nor do they see the necessity for so being, because we do not live according to the precepts of our holy religion. In such ways do most of the Indians that I have conversed with, either here or elsewhere, express themselves. I am heartily sorry that we should give them such a bad example, and fill their mouths with such objections to our blessed religion.

This was the experience and testimony of others than the worthy Muirson. But foremost among the laborers for the evangelization of the savages was the Rev. Henry Barclay, appointed missionary and catechist at Albany, with a view not only to the care of the English settlers but also to the instruction and conversion of the Indians and negro slaves. During the absence of Dellijs, the minister of the Dutch congregation, many of the members of his congregation attended the services of the Church in the little chapel occupied by Barclay. Acquainted as he was with the language, he preached to these sheep without a shepherd in their own tongue, and a number of them, attracted by the beauty of the services and the faithfulness of the preacher, became intelligent and devoted members of the Church of England. The influence of this faithful missionary was such that after a residence of seven years he secured the erection of a handsome church of stone by the voluntary offerings of the people. The people of the neighboring towns contributed to this object.

At Schenectady, the remotest settlement of the English at that time, every inhabitant, save one, who was in extreme poverty, gave something for the purpose. They could hope to reap little personal advantage from their generosity, for Schenectady was twenty miles distant from Albany; but they cherished a grateful recollection of the services rendered them by the devoted missionary. From the very first Barclay had shown deep interest in the spiritual welfare of the aborigines. He had accompanied Andrews and his party on his first going to the Mohawks' Castle, and had witnessed those demonstrations of welcome which, unfortunately, were to be followed by disappointment and failure. And when Andrews had retired from his post, Barclay, by occasional visits and ministrations, sought to prevent the utter loss to the Church of the seed that had been sown. But even his efforts, although pursued with exemplary patience, and animated by an earnest love for the souls of the savages, were long in producing any results. Still he persevered, in the hope and prayer that the

Lord of the harvest would, in His own good time, give the reward for his toil. Among the negro slaves at Albany he was abundant in labors, and not without a measure of success.

The successors of Barclay at Albany continued the labors which Barclay had begun. The Rev. John Miln, who was appointed to the mission in 1729, was in the habit of meeting the Mohawks four times each year, remaining five days with them on each periodical visit. The commanding officer of the garrison wrote to the society in 1731, that Mr. Miln had been indefatigable in his labors in instructing the Indians in the principles of the Christian religion; and, in 1735, he was able to state, "that the Indians were very much civilized of late, which he imputed to the industry and power of the Rev. John Miln; that he was very diligent in baptizing both children and adults; and that the number of the communicants was daily increasing." He adds, that "many of the Indians have become very orderly, and observe the Sabbath."

The same year, on the recommendation of the devoted Miln, Henry Barclay, son of the former rector of Albany, who had just been graduated at Yale, was appointed Indian catechist at Fort Hunter, and two years later, on the removal of Miln to New Jersey, Barclay, who had given good proof of his zeal and ability, was summoned to England to receive holy orders. On his return he was received with expressions of hearty welcome by "both his congregations, but more especially by the poor Indians, who, many of them, shed tears of joy." For upwards of eight years Barclay continued his abundant labors to the English and savages with marked success. Besides his services on Sundays, he catechised and instructed the Indians in the evenings, on which occasion thirty, forty, and sometimes fifty adults would be in attendance. The value attached by the Indians to these services was evident. The evidences of improvement in manners and morals were marked and unmistakable. Intemperance, which had become almost universal, was well-nigh rooted out. The Indians became interested and regular attendants upon divine service, and were attentive listeners to instruction. In 1743 the missionary was able to report that but two or three out of the whole tribe remained unbaptized, and that, with the approval and consent of the governor, he had appointed Indian school-masters at the two towns, "Cornelius, a sachem, at the lower, and one Daniel, at the upper, who are both very diligent, and teach the young Mohawks with surprising success."¹

It was in the midst of these abundant tokens of success, and when, from the missionary's long residence among the Indians and his intimate knowledge of their habits and language, there seemed a readiness for even greater triumphs in the reduction of the whole tribe of Indians, and many of their allies, to Christianity, that the French war broke out, and the promising work of christianizing and civilizing the Indians was checked. It was of this interruption to his plans and labor that Barclay then wrote:—

About the middle of November, 1745, the French Indians came to an open rupture with us, and, with a party of French, fell upon a frontier settlement, which

¹ S. P. G. Report, for 1743.

they laid in ashes, and made most of the inhabitants, to the number of about a hundred, prisoners; ever since which time they have kept us in a continual alarm by skulking parties, who frequently murdered and carried off the poor inhabitants, treating them in the most inhuman and barbarous manner, by which means the lately populous and flourishing county of Albany is become a wilderness, and numbers of people who were possessed of good estates, are reduced to poverty.

The Mohawks preferred to hold themselves neutral during this invasion, and, as the prospects of missionary labor among them were clouded, it being impossible for the clergyman to continue his long journeys from town to town when, at every step, exposed to the danger of death or the certainty of captivity, Barclay accepted an invitation to the charge of Trinity, New York, rendered vacant at this time by the death of the aged Vesey. Thus, for a time, the Indian mission work of the venerable society was brought to a summary close.

Two years after Barclay's removal the Rev. John Ogilvie, a graduate of Yale, and "a young gentleman of an extraordinary good character," was appointed to the mission at Albany. For this appointment he possessed a special qualification in his familiarity with the Dutch language. At the outset he appears to have spent a winter with the Indians, whom he found attentive to all the observances of religion, although so long a time had elapsed without the presence of a missionary. On his departure, however, there was a relapse into habits of intemperance. He urged upon the society the establishment of "hostelries" fitted for their reception, where they might be thoroughly instructed in the Christian religion, and through this means in the principles of the Christian faith. Patiently, and not without a measure of success, did this worthy missionary pursue his labors among the English and the Indians alike. A bright and promising boy, whose education he had personally superintended till he could speak good English, and had learned to "read in the Psalter," was removed from his care, by the parents of the child, lest, as they expressed it, he should learn to despise his own nation. In 1768 Mr. Ogilvie informed the society that many of the Mohawks of both "castles" seemed to possess a serious and habitual sense of religion. When at their homes they regularly attended the services of the Church, and were frequently at the holy communion. Even when absent on a hunting expedition several of them came sixty miles to communicate on the Feast of the Nativity. The number of Indian communicants was fifty. In his report to the society, in 1759, he reports the baptism of twenty-seven Indian children in eighteen months. During an invasion of the Indians from Canada, in 1758, the Mohawks continued loyal, though many of their houses were burned and whole families were carried into captivity. In Braddock's expedition many of the Mohawks were engaged, and at the disastrous defeat of the English, twelve principal men of the tribe fell in battle. Six of the twelve were faithful communicants of the Church, and, while they were in the campaign, Abraham, their catechist, who was also one of their sachems, regularly performed for them the morning and evening service of the Church. We remember, with deep interest, the midnight burial of the unfortunate Braddock, at which the young Washington read the burial-service of the Church,

heard then for the first time, on that spot now so populous. We may also remember the matins and even-song of the Christian Indians, under the leadership of their good old catechist, as doubtless the first prayers of the Church heard or uttered in Western Pennsylvania.

A letter from Ogilvie, early the following year, is full of historical interest as recording the introduction of the services of the Church of England at Niagara. It contrasts the zeal and devotion of the French, in religious matters, with the apathy and indifference of the English, in a most severe though truthful manner. It is dated February 1, 1760:—

I attended the royal American regiment upon the expedition to Niagara; and indeed, there was no other chaplain upon that department though there were three regular regiments, and the provincial regiment of New York. The Mohawks were all upon this service, and almost all the Six Nations; they amounted in the whole to nine hundred and forty at the time of the siege. I officiated constantly to the Mohawks and Oneidas, who regularly attended divine service. I gave them exhortations suitable to the emergency, and I flatter myself my presence with them contributed, in some measure, to keep up decency and order amongst them. The Oneidas met us at the lake, near their castle, and as they were acquainted with my coming, they brought ten children to receive baptism, and, young women, who had been instructed in the principles of Christianity, came likewise to receive that holy ordinance. I baptized them in the presence of a numerous crowd of spectators, who all seemed pleased with the attention and serious behaviour of the Indians upon that solemn occasion; and indeed, bad as they are, I must do them the justice to say, that, whenever they attend the offices of religion, it is with great appearance of solemnity and decency.

During the campaign I have had an opportunity of conversing with men of every one of the Six Nation confederacy, and of every nation I find some who have been instructed by the priests of Canada, and appear zealous Roman Catholics, extremely tenacious of the ceremonies and peculiarities of that church; and, from very good authority, I am informed that there is not a nation, bordering upon the four great lakes, or the banks of the Ohio, the Mississippi, all the way to Louisiana, but what are supplied with priests and school-masters, and have very decent places of worship, with every splendid utensil of their religion. How ought we to blush at our coldness and shameful indifference in the propagation of our most excellent religion! The harvest truly is great, but the laborers are few. The Indians themselves are not wanting in making very pertinent reflections upon our inattention to these points.

The possession of the important fortifications of Niagara is of the utmost consequence to the English, as it gives us the happy opportunity of commencing and cultivating a friendship with those numerous tribes of Indians who inhabit the borders of Lakes Erie, Huron, Michigan, and even Lake Superior; and the fur trade, which is carried on by these tribes, which all centres at Niagara, is so very considerable, that I am told, by very able judges, that the French look upon Canada of very little importance without the possession of this important pass. It certainly is so, and must appear obvious to any one who understands the geography of this country. It cuts off and renders their communication with their southern settlements almost impracticable. In this fort there is a very handsome chapel; and the priest, who was of the order of St. Francis, had a commission as the King's chaplain to this garrison. He had particular instructions to use the Indians who came to trade, with great hospitality (for which he had a particular allowance), and to instruct them in the principles of the faith. The service of the Church was performed here with great ceremony and parade. I performed divine service in the church every day during my stay there, but I am afraid it has never been used for this purpose since, as there is no minister of the Gospel there. The neglect will not give the Indian the most favorable impression of us.

In marked contrast with the aid and countenance afforded to the priests and Jesuits in their missions was the lack of countenance and

utter indifference to the Indian work displayed on the part of the leading men of the colony, of which Ogilvie had reason to complain. Still the faithful missionary was not without some fruits of his ministry, and we cannot but add from his graceful pen another letter telling of missionary experience and results, which even the operations of war did not intermit. Under date of August 9, 1760, he writes as follows:—

By this I beg leave to inform the Society, that I left Albany on the 24th of June, in order to join the army, who were proceeding under General Amherst to Oswego. I tarried at Fort Hunter three days. I preached twice during that time, and administered the sacrament of baptism to several white and Indian children. The Mohawks were preparing for the field, and told me they should overtake me near the Oneida lake, at which place a considerable number of Indians joined us. General Amherst being at the Oneida lake on the preceding Sunday, went up as far as the Onedia town. Upon his arrival there he found them at their worship, and expressed a vast pleasure at the decency with which the service of our Church was performed by a grave Indian sachem. They applied to the General to leave directions to me to come to the Castle upon my arrival at the lake. Agreeably to the General's directions, I went to the Oneida town the 18th day of July. I had sent a Mohawk Indian before so that, upon my coming into the town, I found a large congregation met for Divine service which was performed with great solemnity. Six adults presented themselves to be examined for baptism who, all of them, gave a very satisfactory account of the Christian faith, and appeared to have a serious sense of religion. I baptized them, and immediately after joined them in marriage. They were three principal men, and their wives, who had lived many years together, according to the Indian custom. I baptized fourteen children; and, in all, I joined nine couples in the holy bands of marriage. I was much pleased with this day's solemnity; it would have been a noble subject for the pen of one of the Jesuits of Canada. I would to God we had labourers in this part of the vineyard, to keep alive the spark that is kindled among some of these tribes, and spread the glad tidings of the Gospel among the numerous tribes, with whom we have now a free communication. Besides my duty in the army, I attend the Indians, and give them prayers, as often, on week days, as the public service of the camp will admit; and on Sunday, the General always gives public orders for Divine service among the Indians.

I hope soon to congratulate the venerable Society upon the entire conquest of Canada; and I pray God that, by that means, there may be an effectual door opened for the propagation of the blessed Gospel amongst the heathen.

The war was brought to a happy end by the victory of Wolfe and the capture of Quebec. Ogilvie, on congratulating the society upon so satisfactory a termination of the struggle, proceeded to state that throughout the campaign he had been particularly at pains to perform all the offices of religion among the Indians, "great numbers of whom attended constantly, regularly, and decently." His communication closes with these words:—

I am unable to express the universal joy and triumph that prevail amongst us at this period of public success. How remarkably has God in His providence sustained the cause, and restored the honour of our country, by the successes of the past and the glorious conclusion of the year. The inhabitants of this northern region of America are now happy in the quiet possession of their estates. "No more leading into captivity;" a captivity big with danger and horror; "no more complaining in the streets." May all these happy events conspire to bring about a speedy, safe, and honourable peace. May the peaceable kingdom of the Redeemer universally prevail amongst mankind, and all the world know the only true God and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent.

One alone of "the leading men of the province," of whose apathy Ogilvie had complained, befriended the painstaking missionary, and both favored and furthered his work. This was the celebrated Sir William Johnson. Born in Ireland about the year 1714, he had come



SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

out at the age of twenty years, at the request of his uncle, Sir Peter Warren, to take charge of the extensive territory in the Mohawk country owned by his distinguished relative. From the moment of his entrance upon his work he displayed a genuine interest in the Indians, which ended only with his life. Though by no means a perfect character, and far from scrupulously observing the precepts of the religion to the institutions of which he always gave a ready and liberal support, he was still most useful to the ministers of church and state

among the natives of the forest, whom he inspired with profound respect, and in whose behalf he was untiring in his exertions and responsive to every call for aid. The intimate knowledge of the language and habits of the red men, which he speedily acquired, added to his natural gifts of eloquence and readiness in debate, gave him a control over the savage possessed by no other Englishman, and enabled him to render to government no inconsiderable services. For his military successes the king conferred on him the title of Baronet, and the House of Commons voted him a grant of £5,000. In the expedition against Niagara, of which we have spoken, and in the later invasion of Canada, Johnson appeared at the head of nearly a thousand of the Indian allies of Great Britain, and contributed in each case not a little to the success with which both efforts were crowned.

In the summer of 1762 Sir William Johnson communicated to the Rev. Dr. Barclay his purpose of issuing a new edition of the Indian prayer-book, under the editorship of the rector of Trinity, who had not lost his familiarity with the Indian tongue. Sir William accordingly forwarded to the doctor a rendering of the singing psalms, communion and baptismal offices, and some additional prayers for the new edition, and "as the Square Figure rendered that somewhat inconvenient," he requested that the work might be issued as "a handsome small octavo." An agreement was entered into with William Weyman, of New York, to print an edition of five hundred copies for thirty shillings, New York currency, a sheet, exclusive of the cost of paper. The work was not begun until the autumn of 1763, and ere it was well under way, the illness and subsequent death of Dr. Barclay delayed and finally put a stop to its progress. Finally, the superintendence of the printing was assigned to Mr. Ogilvie, but the death of Weyman, after the completion of only nine sheets, again interrupted the progress of the work. Hugh Gainé next undertook the completion of the volume, reprinting the earlier signatures, and issuing the work early in 1769, the first bound copy being forwarded to Sir William, on the 2d of February.¹ The title-page of the edition is as follows:—

The Order [for Morning and Evening Prayer,] and Administration of the [Sacraments] and some other [Offices of the Church] Together with [A Collection of Prayers and some sentences of] the Holy Scriptures, necessary for Knowledge [and Practise] Ne [Yagawagh Niyadewighniserage Yonderanayendagh-] kwa Orghoongene neoni Yogaraskha yoghse- [ragwewongh. Neoni Yagawagh Sakra-] menthagoon, neoni oya Addereanai [yent ne Onoghsadogeaughtige [Oni [Ne Walkeanissaghtongh Odd'yage Addereanaiyent [neoni Siniyoghthare ne Kaghya-] doghseradogeaughti,] ne Wahooni Ayagoderieandaragge neoni Ayon- [dadderi-] ghhoenie. Collected and translated into the *Mohawk* [Language under the Direc-] tion of the late Rev. [Mr. *William Andrews*, the late Rev. Dr. *Henry [Barclay*, and the Rev. Mr. *John Ogilvie* : [Formerly Missionaries from the Venerable Society] for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign [Parts, to the *Mohawk Indians*.—] Printed in the year M,DCC,LXIX, Octavo. Title 2 f. Contents 1 f. sys A.—Bb. pp. 204.²

¹ Documentary Hist. of N. York, iv., pp. 321, 331, 340, 351, 381, 386, 405.

² In the N.Y. Hist. Soc. Library. This work

was reprinted at Quebec in 1780 after the removal of the Indians to the British dominions.

At the conclusion of the war, on the recommendation of Sir William Johnson, the Rev. John Stuart, who has been styled by the first Bishop of Toronto "the father of the Church in Upper Canada," was appointed by the society as missionary to the Mohawks. Stuart arrived at Fort Hunter on the 2d of December, 1770, and was received with great joy by the Indians. The number of inhabitants at the fort was less than two hundred. On the Christmas day following his arrival he officiated at Canajohere, a village thirty miles distant, preaching and administering the holy communion to twenty Indian converts. He described them as "attending divine service constantly, and making the responses with the greatest regularity and seeming devotion." "Indeed," he proceeds, "their whole deportment is such as is but rarely seen in religious assemblies that have been better instructed." By the advice and with the encouragement of Sir William Johnson, Mr. Stuart secured the preparation of a Mohawk translation of the Gospel of St. Mark, with a compendious history of the Bible, and an exposition of the church catechism. In this important work the aid of the celebrated Joseph Brant was most valuable. In 1774 Stuart informed the society, with respect to those people, that "their morals are much improved since my residence among them." It was in that year that Sir William Johnson died, a loss to the mission and to the Indians that could not be supplied. The Rev. Charles Inglis, afterward first Bishop of Nova Scotia, devoted no little time and labor in the service of the Mohawks in connection with Stuart, finding, as long as the baronet survived, a sympathizing adviser and a most efficient helper in all his efforts for the Indians' good.

The opening scenes of the war for independence found the missionary and his converts exposed to suspicion and danger, in view of their steady loyalty to the crown. At the first the Indians combined to protect their beloved teacher and priest, and publicly declared that they would defend him as long as he continued among them. But it was not long before this means of safety was removed. The story is best told in the missionary's own graphic words:—

At the commencement of the unhappy contest betwixt Great Britain and her colonies, I acquainted the society of the firm reliance I had on the fidelity and loyalty of my congregation, which has justified my opinion; for the faithful Mohawks, rather than swerve from their allegiance, chose rather to abandon their dwellings and property; and accordingly went in a body to General Burgoyne, and afterwards were obliged to take shelter in Canada. While they remained at Fort Hunter I continued to officiate as usual, performing the public service entire, even after the Declaration of Independence, notwithstanding by so doing I incurred the penalty of high treason by the new laws. As soon as my protectors were fled I was made a prisoner, and ordered to depart the province with my family, within the space of four days or be put into close confinement, and this only upon suspicion that I was a loyal subject of the King of Great Britain. Upon this I was admitted to "paroles" and confined to the limits of the town of Schenectady, in which situation I have remained for upwards of three years. My house has been frequently broken open by mobs, my property plundered, and, indeed, every kind of indignity offered to my person by the lowest of the populace. At length my farm, and the produce of it, was formally taken from me in May last, as forfeited to the State; and, as the last resource, I proposed to open a Latin school for the support of my family. But this privilege was denied, on pretence that, as a prisoner of

war, I was not entitled to exercise any lucrative occupation in the State. I then applied for permission to remove to Canada, which, after much difficulty and expense, I obtained upon the following conditions: — to give bail in the sum of 400*l.* to send a rebel colonel in my room, or else return to Albany, and surrender myself a prisoner whenever required. In consequence of which I set out on my journey from Schenectady on the 19th of September last, with my wife and three small children; and, after suffering much fatigue and difficulty, we arrived safe at St. John's in Canada on the 9th inst. . . . I cannot omit to mention that my church was plundered by the rebels, and the pulpit-cloth taken away from the pulpit; it was afterwards employed as a tavern, and a barrel of rum placed in the reading-desk. The succeeding year it was used for a stable, and now serves as a fort.

On the arrival of Stuart in Canada he proceeded directly to the Mohawk village, where the refugees from Fort Hunter and its vicinity had found a new home. Here the priest was affectionately welcomed by his Indian flock, and here under more favorable auspices he renewed his labors among them. Thus closed the patient and not wholly fruitless efforts of the venerable society for the Indians within the limits of the United States.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE.

THE story of the church missions to the Indians fails to present the striking results attained by Eliot and the Puritan laborers in the same field; but, while the successes attained by the latter have left no abiding trace behind, there are still Christianized and civilized savages who are the fruits of the missions to the Indians of New York. The Indian Bible of Eliot is a sealed book, but the translation of the

Raodereanayent ne Royàner.

Songwaniha ne Karonghyàge tighsideron; Wafaghfeanadogeaghtine. Sayanertsera iewe, Tagferre éghniàwanea tfiniyought Karonghyàgouh, oni Oghwentfiàge. Niyadewighniferàge Takwanadaranonndaghfik nonwa: Neoni Tondakwarighwiyoughstouh tfiniyughtoni Tfiakwadaderighwiyoughsteani. Neonitoghfa rackwaghfarineght Dewaddatdenageraghtönke, nesàne fadyadakwaghs ne Kondighferoheanse; ikea Sayanertsera ne na-ah, neoni ne Kaefhatfte, neoni ne Onweseaghtak ne tfiniyehèawe neoni tfiniyehèawe.
Amen.

THE LORD'S PRAYER, FROM THE MOHAWK PRAYER-BOOK.

prayer-book, printed again and again in the last century, is of service still, and the Indians of Canada are faithful adherents of the Church which brought to their ancestors the gospel more than a century ago.

CHAPTER XX.

THE WESLEYS AND GEORGE WHITEFIELD, MISSIONARIES OF THE CHURCH IN GEORGIA.

THE colonization of Georgia received its impulse and won success largely through the sympathy and support it obtained from the clergy and the Church of the mother-land. "*Non sibi, sed aliis.*" was the motto affixed to the common seal of the trustees of this noble charity, which had for its object not only the protection of the southern border of the Carolinas against Spanish incursions from Florida, or the inroads of the French on the Mississippi, but also the provision of an asylum for the poor of England and the persecuted protestants of Germany. In furthering these unselfish and laudable objects all classes and conditions of men were united. James Oglethorpe, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, the leader in this scheme of colonization, had won renown, not alone in military affairs, but as an advocate, in the House of Commons and elsewhere, of the insolvent and imprisoned debtors, many of whom were at that time, through the operation of barbarous laws, pining and perishing for no other fault than that of poverty, in loathsome and pestilential jails throughout England. Obtaining from the king, George II., on the 9th of June, 1732, a charter for a settlement upon the lands owned by the crown, and lying south of the Savannah river, the philanthropic exertions of

"The generous band,
Who, touched with human woe, redressive searched
Into the horrors of the gloomy gaol,"¹

were at once directed towards the successful accomplishment of their plans to add to present relief permanent benefits, enabling the honest, but unfortunate debtors, who were else at the mercy of their creditors, to find in new homes, and under more genial skies, the opportunity for self-support and for securing the reward for faithful labor. Liberty of conscience was made a chartered right of the colonists, at the instance and by the voluntary action of churchmen, who were largely in the majority and had a controlling influence in the Board of Trustees; and, with a self-denial worthy of mention and remembrance, the trustees were precluded "from receiving any grant of land in the province, or any salary, fee, perquisite, or profit whatsoever, by or from the undertaking."² In the language of the historian of the State: —

¹ Thomson's "Seasons," Winter

² Stevens's "Georgia," I., p. 67.

Georgia was the first colony ever founded by charity. New England had been settled by Puritans, who fled thither for conscience' sake. — New York, by a company of merchants and adventurers in search of gain. — Maryland, by Papists retiring from Protestant intolerance. — Virginia, by ambitious cavaliers. — Carolina, by the scheming and visionary Shaftesbury, and others, for private aims and individual aggrandizement: but Georgia was planted by the hand of benevolence, and reared into being by the nurturings of a disinterested charity.¹

And this act of beneficence was an act of faith and charity of the Church of England.

Attracted by the liberal proposals of the trustees, and the bright prospects opening before them in the New World, Deptford, selected as the place of embarkation, and lying a few miles below London, was



GENERAL JAMES OGLETHORPE.

thronged with applicants, seeking a home in the freely-offered paradise across the seas. Thirty-five families were selected by the trustees, numbering in all about one hundred and twenty-five "sober, industrious and moral persons." The churchly character of the colonists is shown in the solemn services and sacrament on the twenty-third Sunday after Trinity, Nov. 12, 1732, at the parish church at Milton, on the banks of the Thames, which they attended in a body. It was to them an occasion of peculiar solemnity. Never again would they join in the

¹ Steven's "Georgia," I., p. 68.

common prayer and common praise of the mother-church on their native soil. It was not an age of sentiment, and the actors in the scene were those who, in the life-struggle for bread, had long lost the enthusiasm and enterprise of the earlier emigrants; but to these "exiles of penury," whose eyes no longer looked upon the world from behind the prison bars, and whose limbs, cramped and worn by irons in the past, were now free forever, there must have come somewhat of hope and happiness in the new life opening before them. In leaving home they were not to leave behind them their Church and her sacred ordinances. The Rev. Henry Herbert, D.D., accompanied them in their voyage, influenced neither by fee or hope of reward; but giving, as it proved, his life to them in the spirit of his Master, Christ. Reaching the coast of America about the middle of January, 1733, the colony landed at Beaufort on the 20th, while Oglethorpe proceeded to the Savannah river to select a site for the first settlement. A bold, pine-crowned bluff, near the mouth of the Savannah, attracted the explorers, and was fixed upon as the home for the colony. Returning to Beaufort on the 24th of January, the following Sunday, Sexagesima, was made a day of praise and thanksgiving for the safe voyage across the sea, and the bright presages of good luck attending their landing on the shores of the New World. On this glad day the Rev. Lewis Jones, of Beaufort, preached to the settlers, their chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Herbert, preaching in the town.¹ Leaving the ship, "The Annie," in which they had crossed the ocean, at Port Royal, the colonists embarked on a smaller craft, on Tuesday, the 30th of January, and, detained by a storm, did not reach their destination until Thursday the 1st of February (old style).² They had brought with them bibles, prayer-books, psalters, catechisms, books of devotion, and a library of religious works. The Rev. Samuel Wesley had, among the earliest gifts to the colony, presented a chalice and patin of pewter for "present use until silver ones could be had." The surplice had been furnished, and the grave and reverend priest — the Rev. Dr. Herbert — was there; so that from the start the ordinances and offices of religion were used, and the new enterprise baptized in prayer. Dr. Herbert remained with his flock but three months, dying on his return voyage to England. The vacancy thus occasioned was filled on application to the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts by the appointment of the Rev. Samuel Quincy, A.M.³ A site had been selected for a church, and a glebe had been provided for the minister. A silver chalice and patin were sent out to supersede the use of those presented by the father of John and Charles Wesley, and every provision for the orderly and reverent administration of the sacraments was carefully provided. Still this frontier post was no sinecure, and Quincy, who arrived in May, 1733, and continued at his duty till October, 1735, found himself at length un-

¹ Force's "Hist. Tracts," I., "Establishment of the Colony of Ga.," p. 9.

² The 12th inst., new style.

³ Ordained Deacon, Oct. 18, and Priest, Oct. 28, 1730, by Dr. John Waugh, Bishop of Carlisle. For notices of Mr. Quincy *vide* Anderson's "Col.

Ch.," III., pp. 501-4. Hawkins's "Hist. Notices," p. 92. Stevens's "Hist. of Ga.," I., pp. 221, 321-2. Daleho's "Ca. in S. C.," pp. 157, 169, 163, 349, 361. "Hist. Mag.," I., pp. 184, 248, 249. Gardner's "Add. on Henry Price," pp. 108, 119, etc.

able longer to brook the annoyances to which he was subjected by the "insolent and tyrannical magistrate to whom the government of the colony was committed." Finding that "Georgia, which was seemingly intended to be the asylum of the distressed, was likely, unless things greatly altered, to be itself a mere scene of distress," he sought and obtained leave from the society to return to England in the summer of 1736. That he had met with "hard usage" was the testimony of the Rev. Commissary Garden, of South Carolina, in a letter addressed to the Bishop of London,¹ while the excellent Lewis Jones, of Beaufort, bore witness to the fact that "during his residence in Georgia" he had "behaved there very commendably both with respect to his morals and the due discharge of his ministerial office."²

Prior to the return of Quincy overtures had been made to the already celebrated John Wesley to undertake the Georgia mission. His father had died on the 15th of April, 1735, and the effort the son had made, apparently at his father's instance,³ to secure the reversion of the living for himself, had failed. At this juncture Dr. Burton, president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and one of the Georgia trustees, commended the young enthusiast to Oglethorpe, as specially qualified for the spiritual care of the colony. Urged by Oglethorpe to undertake the work Wesley took counsel of his brother Samuel, sought the advice of the celebrated William Law, and other friends, and finally laid the proposition before his widowed mother. "Had I twenty sons I should rejoice that they were all so employed, though I should never see them more," was the answer of the heroic woman, who cared for nothing so much as the glory of God and the good of men. In September Wesley had decided to go. In a long letter, filled with good advice, Dr. Burton urged him, on his arrival in Georgia, to visit from house to house and preach everywhere. He tells him that "some of the colonists are ignorant, and most of them are disposed to licentiousness." He proceeds: "You will find abundant room for the exercise of patience and prudence, as well as piety. . . . You see the harvest truly is great. With regard to your behaviour and manner of address, you will keep in mind the pattern of St. Paul, who became 'all things to all men that he might gain some.' In every case distinguish between what is essential and what is merely circumstantial to Christianity; between what is indispensable and what is variable; between what is of divine and what is of human authority. I mention this, because men are apt to deceive themselves in such cases; and we see the traditions and ordinances of men frequently insisted on, with more vigor than the commandments of God, to which they are subordinate."⁴ On Tuesday, John Wesley, with his brother Charles, and Benjamin Ingham, of Queen's College, Oxford, and Charles Delanotte, the son of a London merchant, embarked at Gravesend for Georgia. "Our end in leaving our native country was not to avoid want (God having given us plenty of temporal blessings), nor to gain the dung or dross of riches or honour, but singly

¹ Georgia MS., under date of December 22, 1737.

² Georgia MS., under date of June 3, 1736.

³ Tyerman's "Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley," I., pp. 102-104.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 103, 110.

this, to save our souls; to live wholly to the glory of God."¹ The voyage began with a Sunday service and sacrament. At morning and evening, prayers were said. The holy communion was celebrated on every Sunday, and on Christmas besides. On the 6th of February, about eight o'clock in the morning, this little band of mission-laborers "first set foot on American ground. It was a small, uninhabited island, over against Tybee. Mr. Oglethorpe led us to a rising ground, where we all kneeled down to give thanks. We then took boat for Savannah. When the rest of the people were come on shore we called our little flock together to prayers."²

Quincy was still at Savannah when Wesley arrived, and was occupying "the minister's house." A vacant room served as the place of worship, and the ardent Wesley was not long in inaugurating a system of churchly rule and observance, which recalls the early days of Virginian colonization. On Quinquagesima Sunday, March 7, 1736, Wesley entered upon his ministry at Savannah, "preaching on the epistle for the day, being the 13th of the first of Corinthians."³ On the first Sunday in Lent he administered the holy communion, giving notice of his "design to do so, every Sunday and holyday, according to the rules of our Church."⁴ There were eighteen communicants. Incidentally we learn from his journal something of his Lenten austerities. At one time he lived solely upon bread. During holy week he instituted a "little society" among "the more serious" or "the little flock in Savannah." Out of this he selected a smaller number "for a more intimate union with each other," who met in the minister's house every Sunday afternoon. On the second Sunday after Easter he "began dividing the public prayers, according to the original appointment of the Church." Morning prayer began at five o'clock. The communion office, with the sermon, was at eleven. The evening prayer was said about three o'clock. From this time the prayers were in the court-house, "a large and convenient place." Baptism by immersion was now insisted upon. Ascension day was observed by a celebration. The little society grew in numbers. Complaints were made that his "sermons were satires upon particular persons," and that the people could not "tell what religion he was of." His wish to go to minister to the Indians was again and again refused. Savannah could not be left without a minister. In the meantime Charles Wesley had returned to England. He had been assigned to Frederica, and on the evening of his arrival gathered the few settlers together for prayers in the open air. Oglethorpe was present, and this enthusiastic young clergyman records in his journal the appropriateness of the lesson appointed for the occasion. The day after his arrival he insisted upon the baptism, by immersion, of all the children who had not received the sacrament, unless certified of their inability to endure it. Four times each day the drum beat to prayers, and, although even the well-disposed found this frequency of services unnecessary and annoying, the chaplain could not be induced to intermit his appointments. Even Oglethorpe lost patience at the display of this ill-timed zeal,

¹ Wesley's Journal, London, 1827, I., p. 15. ² *Ibid.*, p. 21. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 25. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

and, after a series of petty misunderstandings and provocations, Charles Wesley turned his back upon the work and returned to England, after a residence of but little more than four months. The words found at the close of the second lesson for the day of his departure from Savannah, "Arise, and let us go hence," are noted in his journal as aptly marking the close of his stay in Georgia.

John Wesley sought to make good his brother's absence by occasional visits to Frederica, walking through swamps and thickets, lying out all night, exposed to storms, and often destitute of food. "By his coming the Morning and Evening Prayers were revived;" services in German were also had for the benefit of those who could not understand the English tongue, and the more thoughtful were banded together as in Savannah for godly reading, prayer, and praise. "On one occasion, after Evening Prayer," the journal records that he read to his little auditory "one of the exhortations of Ephraim Syrus, the most awakening writer (I think) of all the ancients."¹ On Tuesday, February 1, 1737, "being the anniversary feast, on account of the first convoy's landing in Georgia," the journal notes that they "had a sermon and the Holy Communion." Ingham returned this month to England "to bring over, if it should please God, some of our friends to strengthen our hands in His work." Delamotte busied himself in instructing "between thirty and forty children to read, write, and cast accounts." The children were catechised before and after school, again on Saturday, and on Sunday in church, before the evening service, and the best of them still again before the congregation after the second lesson. An hour was spent at the minister's house after evening service on Sundays and Wednesdays "in prayer, singing and mutual exhortations." A communicants' meeting was held on Saturday evening, and a few were found to come on the other evenings of the week for an half-hour's prayer and praise. On Palm Sunday, April 3, 1737, "and every day in this great and holy week," there was "a sermon and the Holy Communion." To his studies in German and French, in both which languages he ministered from time to time, he added the acquisition of Spanish, "in order," as he tells us, "to converse with my Jewish parishioners, some of whom seem nearer the mind that was in Christ than many of those who call Him Lord." He met with the commissary, Alexander Garden, and the clergy in the neighboring province of South Carolina, at the appointed "Visitation," and found great satisfaction in a conversation with them for several hours on "Christ our Righteousness." On Whitsunday "four of our scholars, after having been instructed daily for several weeks, were, at their earnest and their repeated desire, admitted to the Lord's Table."

Nothing more could be asked to prove the zeal of this young churchman than the extracts we have given from his private journal. That his course was prudent or likely to effect the ends he certainly had in view few would be willing to assert. Not content with rubrical exactness in his own ministrations and the unbending enforcement of the acknowledged requirements and usages of the Church, he sought

¹ Journal, I., p. 29.

to promote a deeper piety and a more earnest spiritual life by practices and precepts, drawn up as he believed from the models of the primitive age, and suited to the most strict and holy walk with God. It is not to be wondered at that the people at Savannah were as impatient of these multiplied services and pungent sermons as those at Frederica had been of the similar ministrations of his brother Charles. He was accused of fanaticism, hypocrisy, of papistry, and, finally, of resorting to the use of ecclesiastical censures and discipline to avenge a personal disappointment and slight.

The ardent and devoted priest had fallen in love. Sophia Christiana Hopkey, a niece of Thomas Causton, the "chief magistrate" of the few hundreds of settlers, had, by her personal charms and devotion to the cause of religion, won the heart of the priest and preacher of Savannah. She had sought his company, had studied with him, had nursed him in illness, had attended his numerous services and sacraments, had conformed to his will and wish in matters of dress, in her diet and in her spiritual life. Wesley, who was at this time thirty-three years of age, was deeply in earnest in his devotion to "poor Miss Sophy," as he styles her, and there is little doubt but that if she had accepted his proffer of marriage the subsequent career of the founder of Methodism would have been far different from what it was. If we may take Miss Hopkey's testimony, he even offered to settle at Savannah, and to modify his ascetic mode of life agreeably to her will. Wesley himself, in his private journal, under date of March 7, 1737, writes as follows:—

I walked with Mr. Causton to his country lot, and plainly felt that, had God given me such a retirement with the companion I desired, I should have forgot the work for which I was born, and have set up my rest in this world.¹

The following day the record reads:—

Miss Sophy engaged herself to Mr. Williamson, a person not remarkable for handsomeness, neither for greatness, neither for wit, or knowledge, or sense, and least of all for religion.

Four days later the tale is completed:—

They were married at Purrysburg, — this being the day which completed the year from my first speaking to her. What Thou doest, O God, I know not now, but I shall know hereafter.²

Wesley, who had urged his suit anew but a few days before the marriage, still maintained his pastoral relations with his lost love. The suspicious husband took umbrage at this renewal of the intimacy between the rejected suitor and his wife, and soon forbade her attendance upon Wesley's ministrations. He went so far as to interdict her speaking to him. Notwithstanding this prohibition she was present at a sacrament on the fourth Sunday after Trinity, July 3, at the close of which Wesley reproved her for some things in her con-

¹ Tyerman's "Wesley," i. p. 118.

² *Ibid.*, p. 119.

duct to which he had taken exceptions. Annoyed and angered by this criticism upon the conduct of his niece, the "chief magistrate," accompanied by the bailiff and the recorder, called upon Wesley for an explanation or apology. It was not to be expected that Wesley would confess that he was wrong, and at the first sacrament in the following month he repelled Mrs. Williamson from the holy table. The following day the recorder issued a warrant for the apprehension of "John Wesley, clerk," to answer the complaint of William Williamson for defaming his wife, and refusing to administer to her the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in a public congregation without cause, "by which the said William Williamson was damaged one thousand pounds sterling."

Brought before the bailiff and recorder, creatures of Causton and dependent upon him for their very livelihood, the outraged priest made answer, "that the giving or refusing the Lord's Supper being a matter purely ecclesiastical, he could not acknowledge their power to interrogate him concerning it." But this answer did not suffice. A true bill having been found by the grand jury the case was placed upon the docket for the Savannah Court. The controversy from this time engrossed the attention of the whole community, and the great body of the colonists was arrayed on the one side or the other.

The list of grievances on which the grand jury found its bill professed to show that the accused deviated "from the principles and regulations of the Established Church in many particulars inconsistent with the happiness and prosperity of this colony." These deviations were as follows: —

1. By inverting the order and method of the liturgy.
2. By altering such passages as he thinks proper in the version of the psalms, publicly authorized to be sung in the church.
3. By introducing into the church, and service at the altar, compositions of psalms and hymns not inspected or authorized by any proper judicature.
4. By introducing novelties, such as dipping infants, etc., in the sacrament of baptism, and refusing to baptize the children of such as will not submit to his innovations.
5. By restricting the benefits of the Lord's Supper to a small number of persons, and refusing it to all others who will not conform to a grievous set of penances, confessions, mortifications, and constant attendance on early and late hours of prayer, very inconsistent with the labors and employment of this colony.
6. By administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to boys ignorant and unqualified; and that notwithstanding of their parents and nearest friends remonstrating against it, and accusing them of disobedience and other crimes.
7. By refusing to administer the holy sacrament to well-disposed and well-living persons, unless they should submit to confessions and penances for crimes, which they utterly refuse, and whereof no evidence is offered.
8. By venting sundry uncharitable expressions of all who differ from him; and not pronouncing the benediction in church until all the hearers, except his own communicants, are withdrawn.
9. By teaching wives and servants that they ought absolutely to follow the course of mortifications, fastings, and diets, and two sets of prayers prescribed by him, without any regard to the interests of their private families, or the commands of their respective husbands and masters.
10. By refusing the office of the dead to such as did not communicate with him, or by leaving out such parts of the service as he thought proper.
11. By searching into and meddling with the affairs of private families, by means of servants and spies employed by him for the purpose, whereby the peace, both of public and private life, is much endangered.

12. By calling himself "ordinary," and thereby claiming a jurisdiction which is not due to him, and whereby we should be precluded from access to redress by any superior jurisdiction.¹

The majority of the jury, on the 1st of September, agreed to the following indictments:—

1. That after the 12th of March last, the said John Wesley did several times privately force his conversation to Sophia Christiana Williamson, contrary to the express desire and command of her husband, and did likewise write and privately convey papers to her, thereby occasioning much uneasiness between her and her husband.

2. That on the 7th of August last, he refused the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to Sophia Christiana Williamson, without any apparent cause, much to the disquiet of her mind, and to the great disgrace and hurt of her character.

3. That he hath not, since his arrival in Savannah, emitted any public declaration of his adherence to the principles and regulations of the Church of England.

4. That for many months past, he has divided on the Lord's day the order of morning prayer, appointed to be used in the Church of England, by only reading the said morning prayer and the litany at five or six o'clock, and wholly omitting the same between the hours of nine and eleven o'clock, the customary time of public morning prayer.

5. That, about the month of April, 1736, he refused to baptize otherwise than by dipping, the child of Henry Parker, unless the said Henry Parker and his wife would certify that the child was weak and not able to bear dipping; and added to his refusal, that, unless the said parents would consent to have it dipped, it might die a heathen.

6. That, notwithstanding he administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to William Gough, about the month of March, 1736, he did, within a month after, refuse the sacrament to the said William Gough, saying that he had heard that William Gough was a Dissenter.

7. That in June, 1736, he refused reading the Office of the Dead over the body of Nathaniel Polhill, only because Nathaniel Polhill was not of his opinion; by means of which refusal the said Nathaniel Polhill was interred without the appointed Office for the Burial of the Dead.

8. That, on or about the 10th of August, 1737, he, in the presence of Thomas Causton, presumptuously called himself "Ordinary of Savannah," assuming thereby an authority which did not belong to him.

9. That in Whitsun-week last he refused William Aglionby to stand godfather to the child of Henry Marley, giving no other reason than that the said William Aglionby had not been at the communion table with him.

10. That, about the month of July last, he baptized the child of Thomas Jones, having only one godfather and godmother, notwithstanding that Jacob Matthews did offer to stand godfather.²

Such were the findings of the major part of the jury. Twelve of the whole number of forty-four, including three constables and six tithingmen, drew up and transmitted to the trustees for Georgia a minority report, which, as it is doubtless Wesley's own vindication of his cause, is subjoined, as follows:—

1. That they were thoroughly persuaded that the charges against Mr. Wesley were an artifice of Mr. Causton's, designed rather to blacken the character of Mr. Wesley than to free the colony from religious tyranny, as he had alleged.

2. That it did not appear that Mr. Wesley had either spoken in private or written to Mrs. Williamson since the day of her marriage, except one letter, which he wrote on the 5th of July, at the request of her uncle, as a pastor, to exhort and

¹ Tyerman's "Wesley," i. pp. 155, 156.

² Wesley's Unpublished Journal, quoted in Tyerman, i. pp. 156, 157.

reprove her. Further, that though he did refuse the sacrament to Mrs. Williamson on the 7th of August last, he did not assume to himself any authority contrary to law, for every person intending to communicate was bound to signify his name to the curate, at least some time the day before, which Mrs. Williamson did not do; although Mr. Wesley had, often, in full congregation, declared he did insist on a compliance with that rubric, and had before repelled divers persons for non-compliance therewith.

3. That, though he had not in Savannah emitted any public declaration of his adherence to the principles and regulations of the Church of England, he had done this, in a stronger manner than by a formal declaration, by explaining and defending the three creeds, the thirty-nine articles, the whole Book of Common Prayer, and the homilies; besides, a formal declaration is not required but from those who have received institution and induction.

4. That though he had divided, on the Lord's day, the order of Morning Prayer, this was not contrary to any law in being.

5. That his refusal to baptize Henry Parker's child, otherwise than by dipping, was justified by the rubric.

6. That though he had refused the sacrament to William Gough, the said William Gough¹ publicly declared that the refusal was no grievance to him, because Mr. Wesley had given him reasons with which he was satisfied.

7. That in reference to the alleged refusal to read the burial service over the body of Nathaniel Polhill, they had good reason to believe that Mr. Wesley was at Frederica, or on his return from thence, when Polhill was buried; besides Polhill was an Anabaptist, and had expressed his desire that he might not be buried with the church service.

8. That they were in doubt about the charge against Wesley for his use of the word Ordinary, "not well knowing the meaning of the word."

9, 10. That they deemed Mr. Wesley justified in his refusal to allow William Aglionby² and Jacob Matthews to be godfathers by the canons of the Church which forbid "any person to be admitted Godfather or Godmother to any child before the said person had received the Holy Communion," since neither Matthews nor Aglionby had certified Mr. Wesley that they had ever communed.³

There is but little discrepancy between the findings of friends or foes. In the main the facts were admitted, but the answer of Wesley was conclusive:—

As to nine of the ten indictments against me, I know this court can take no cognizance of them, they being matters of an ecclesiastical nature. But that concerning my speaking and writing to Mrs. Williamson is of a secular nature; and this, therefore, I desire may be tried here where the facts complained of were committed.⁴

He was met by evasions, postponements, delays. In the three months following the finding of a bill against him he seems to have attended several different sessions of the court, asking for trial. It is evident that the whole prosecution was the outgrowth of Causton's petty spite, and designed to drive from the colony one who dared to oppose his will, and was, besides, an obstacle to the exercise of his tyranny.

After a futile attempt on the part of Causton and his friends to supersede him by the intrusion of a chaplain from Frederica named

¹ Gough was one of the twelve who signed the minority report of the jury.

² Stephens, in his *Journal of the Proceedings* (I., pp. 268-270), characterizes Aglionby as one whose "character were better forgot, than remember'd to his infamy." He was "a great devotee to rum," and at the last "denied any Mediator, and

died a confirmed Deist." Whitefield refused to read the burial office over his body.

³ *Vide* Tyerman's "Wesley," I., pp. 157, 158; *Journal*, I., pp. 54-56.

⁴ Unpublished *Journal*, quoted in Tyerman's "Wesley," I., p. 159.

Dixon, or Dyson,¹ in his cure, Wesley, on the 14th of September, resumed his duties, preaching from the text, "It must needs be that offences come," and then proceeding to read a paper which he had first read to the congregation on the day of his entrance upon his cure, and in which he had announced his purpose of obedience to the rubrics and canons of the Church, in the very particulars for which he had been faulted by the court. The services were now multiplied. Prayers were read in French, on Saturdays, in the little settlement of that people at Highgate, five miles from Savannah, and similar services were rendered on Sundays to the French immediately within his charge. German services were held, once each week, at the village of Hampstead. Prayers were read in Italian at nine on Sunday mornings; and all this was done in connection with three services, including the weekly Eucharist, in English, together with a public catechising, and an informal gathering on Sunday evenings for reading, prayer, and praise. It was, however, but for a brief period that these "labors more abundant" were to be performed for the benefit of the colonists. The congregation dwindled. But few presented themselves to receive the weekly sacrament. Discord reigned, and scandal abounded on every side. An attempt at reconciliation failed. Stephens, the secretary of the trustees, who arrived the last of October, was present at this interview, and notes in his journal, "that though the Parson appeared more temperate in the Debate, yet he showed a greater Aversion to a coalition than the other." The return of Williamson from Charlestown precipitated a step which Wesley and his friends had again and again debated. On the 23d of November Wesley "set up an advertisement in the Great Square." to this effect:—

Whereas, John Wesley designs shortly to set out for England, this is to desire those who have borrowed any books of him, to return them as soon as they conveniently can to John Wesley.²

On the following Sunday, November 27, the first Sunday in Advent, he preached from Acts xx. 26, 27. Stephens, who was present, records that he "took occasion to explain what was meant by the counsel of God; and enforced the practice of all Christian duties very practically; which he was well qualified to do always. Some people imagined from the choice of his text that he meant it as a sort of Farewell Sermon, but it did not appear so to me from any particular Expressions that could shew it."³ It was, however, the farewell discourse. At the close of the week, in spite of a show of opposition to his departure on the part of both Williamson and the chief magistrate, Wesley, after evening prayer, left by boat for Purrysburg, twenty miles from Savannah, and after various vicissitudes set sail for England from Charleston, on the 22d of December, having resided in Georgia for one year and nearly nine months. Mr. Wesley's journal while in Georgia was published with the following title:—

¹ "Infamous by reason of a scandalous life,"
— *Stephens's Journal of Proceedings in Georgia*,
I, p. 304.

² Stephens's "Hist. of Ga." I, pp. 336, 337.
— Stephens's "Journal of Proceedings in
Ga.," I, p. 41.

A N
E X T R A C T
O F T H E
Rev. Mr. JOHN WESLEY'S
JOURNAL

From his Embarking for GEORGIA.

To his Return to LONDON.

*What shall we say then? — That Israel which follow'd
after the Law of Righteousness, hath not attained to
the Law of Righteousness. — Wherefore? Because
they sought it not by FAITH, but as it were by the
Works of the Law.*

The SECOND Edition.

Bristol: Printed by Felix Farley,

And sold by the Bookfellers of *Bristol, Bath, London,*
Newcastle upon Tyne, and Exeter; — as also by An-
drew Bradford, in Philadelphia.

M. DCC. XLIII.

The ship which brought Wesley into the Downs passed one outward-bound, bearing to the mission field just abandoned the already celebrated George Whitefield. Drawn by the appeals of Wesley for help, this young clergyman, but just admitted to the diaconate, had resolved to throw in his lot with the infant colony. It was at no little sacrifice that he had taken this step. Of humble origin, he had made his way through the University of Oxford as a servitor at Pembroke College. While prosecuting his studies he had been drawn into acquaintance with the Oxford

Methodists, and on taking holy orders he began at once to produce by his marvellous eloquence that effect upon his hearers which continued to his latest breath. Crowds followed him from church to church wherever it was known that he was to preach, and all classes were moved by his commanding oratory. Preferment was pressed upon him; but, refusing all offers, he accepted the post of a mission in Georgia from the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Never before had so young a preacher produced such an impression in England. His youth, his style of preaching, his boldness in reproving sin, his surpassing eloquence, won every heart. It cannot but surprise us that one so successful, and before whom there opened the prospect of the highest honors and offices of the Church, should turn aside from the plain path to preferment to minister to the spiritual wants of a few disappointed and dispirited colonists in a distant land.

Whitefield left London on Innocents' day, December 28, 1737. After receiving the sacrament at St. Dunstan's, Whitefield set out for Deptford, and on the 30th went on board the "Whitaker," a transport chartered to carry soldiers to Georgia. It was several weeks, however, before the ship got fairly to sea, being detained by head-winds at Margate and Deal, and it was not until May that Georgia was reached.

On the evening of Rogation Sunday, May 7, 1738, Whitefield reached the parsonage-house at Savannah. The services of the Church had been suspended for some time, the unworthy chaplain, Dyson, having removed to Carolina, and the coming of a clergyman was welcomed by all. On Monday, at five o'clock in the morning, he "began to read Publick Prayers, and expound the second lesson."¹ Prostrated by an attack of ague almost immediately on his arrival, it was not until the Sunday after Ascension, May 14, that he was able to resume the services he had so vigorously inaugurated. Stephens, the careful chronicler of the daily life of the colony, records under this date a notice of this service, as follows:—

Mr. Whitefield being a little recovered, attempted to officiate at Church; but by Reason of his Weakness was obliged to stop at the Communion Service.²

The Secretary, a week later, makes the following note:—

Whitsunday, Mr. Whitefield officiated this day at Church, and made a Sermon in the forenoon and After, very engaging, to the most thronged Congregation I had ever seen here.³

On Trinity Sunday we are told that "Mr. Whitefield daily manifested his great abilities in the Ministry, and as his Sermons were very moving, it was hoped they would make due impression on his numerous Hearers."⁴ A week later, and the "Place of Worship" had "become far too small to contain the numbers of such as sought his Doctrine."⁵

¹ The Two First Parts of His Life, with his Journals, revised, corrected and abridged; by Rev. George Whitefield, A.B., London, 1756, p. 85.

² Journal, I., p. 201.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

Early in June, after five weeks' residence in Savannah, Whitefield, in a letter to a friend in England, thus describes his Georgia life : —

Blessed be God, I visit from house to house, catechize, read prayers twice, and expound the two second lessons every day ; read to a houseful of people three times a week ; expound the two lessons at five in the morning, read prayers and preach twice, and expound the catechism to servants, &c., at seven in the evening every Sunday. What I have most at heart is the building an Orphan-house, which I trust will be effected at my return to England. In the meanwhile, I am settling little schools in and about Savannah ; that the rising generation may be bred up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. The Lord prosper my weak endeavours for promoting His Glory and His people's good.¹

The Indians, for the conversion of whom the Wesleys had again and again sought an opportunity in vain, were at once sought out by this tireless evangelist and instructed so far as it was within his power. The sick were visited every day, and schools for children were established at Highgate and Hampstead, and for the girls at Savannah. He had brought with him £300 he had collected for the poor in Georgia ; and the need of the benefactions he distributed, and the gratitude of the recipients of his charity, prompted his generous heart to further efforts for the relief of the misery about him. Impressed with "the great necessity and utility of a future Orphan-house," he determined at once to supply this need. "When I came to Georgia," writes Whitefield : —

I found many poor orphans, who though taken notice of by the honourable trustees, yet through the neglect of persons that acted under them, were in miserable circumstances. For want of a house to breed them up in, the poor little ones were tumbled out here and there, and besides the hurt they received by bad examples, forgot at home what they learned at school. Others were at hard services, and likely to have no education at all. Upon seeing this, and finding that his majesty and parliament had the interest of this colony much at heart, I thought I could not better shew my regard to God, and my country, than by getting a house and land for these children, where they might learn to labour, read, and write, and at the same time be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.²

Whitefield remained in Georgia until August, continuing, as Stephens tells us, in "captivating the people with his moving discourses."³ Relaxing somewhat the rubrical exactness of his predecessor, he baptized children by sprinkling or affusion, "which gave a great content to many people."⁴ His faithfulness and devotion produced happy results, and we have the testimony of a keen observer that he "gained more and more on the affections of the people by his labours and assiduity in the performance of divine Offices ; to which an open and easy deportment, without shew of austerity or singularity of behaviour in conversation, contributed not a little, and opened the way for him to inculcate good precepts with greater success among his willing hearers."⁵ Refusing to read the burial-service over a professed deist, he seized the opportunity ere the people had left the place of interment to warn them against infidelity, and explain the reasons for his course.

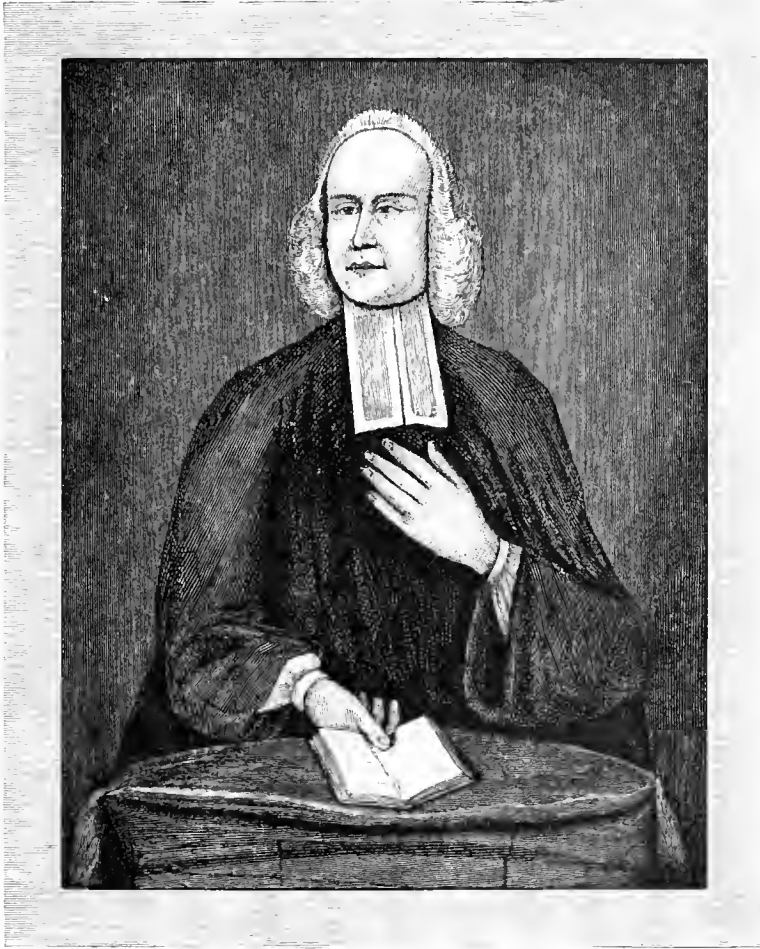
¹ The Works of the Rev. George Whitefield, London, 1771, I., p. 41. ² *Ibid.*, III., p. 464.

³ Journal, I., p. 222.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

On the thirteenth Sunday after Trinity, August 27, "Mr. Whitefield preached his farewell sermon this afternoon to a congre-



*Whitefield*¹

gation so crowded, that a great many stood without doors, and under the windows to hear him, pleased with nothing more than the assurances he gave, of his intention (by the will of God) to return to them as soon as possible."² The following day he took his departure for

¹ From the portrait now hanging in Memorial Hall, Cambridge.

² Journal, t., p. 272.

Charleston, the magistrates and people accompanying him to the place of embarkation, and prayers and good wishes for his "good voyage and speedy return" being heard on every side. In his journal he adds:—

My heart was full, and I took the first Opportunity of venting it by Prayer and tears. O these Partings! Hasten, O LORD, that time when we shall part no more.¹

Whitefield reached England, after a rough passage, early in December, having been absent nearly a twelvemonth. On the second Sunday after the Epiphany, the 14th of January, 1739, at Christ Church Cathedral, he received priest's orders from the hands of Dr. Benson, Bishop of Gloucester; the trustees of Georgia, in anticipation of his admission to the priesthood, having given him the appointment to Christ Church Parish, Savannah. The Rev. Mr. Norris, who had previously been appointed to succeed Mr. Wesley, was transferred to Frederica. Five hundred acres of land were granted to Whitefield for the proposed Orphan-house. A stipend of £50 was attached to this appointment; but this was declined, as well as any remuneration for the management of the Orphan-house. By his unwearied efforts he collected upwards of a thousand pounds for this purpose, and secured suitable assistants for carrying on the charity. The interval prior to his return to Georgia was one of intense excitement. The preaching of "the doctrine of the new birth," as explained and enforced by the eloquent evangelist, produced the wildest enthusiasm. Crowds thronged upon the preacher's words. The "spirit of the clergy began to be much embittered."² Churches were now denied him. Remonstrances and prohibitions produced no other effect than to stimulate him to fresh efforts to reach the masses, if not from pulpits, by taking the fields "for a pulpit and the heavens for a sounding-board." The rude colliers of Kingswood crowded to listen to his matchless oratory. Thousands gathered again and again at Moorfields, Kensington-Common, and Blackheath, early in the morning or late at night, to listen to his appeals to all men to be born again. By his zeal and power he turned the hearts of his hearers as the heart of one man. Still he was constant at prayers and sacraments. It was only when the churches were closed to him that he sought the church-yards or commons to "preach the word." It was amidst these tokens of increasing influence and power that he sailed the second time for America, August 14, 1739, with a party of eight men, a boy, and two children, besides his friend and future companion, Mr. William Seward.

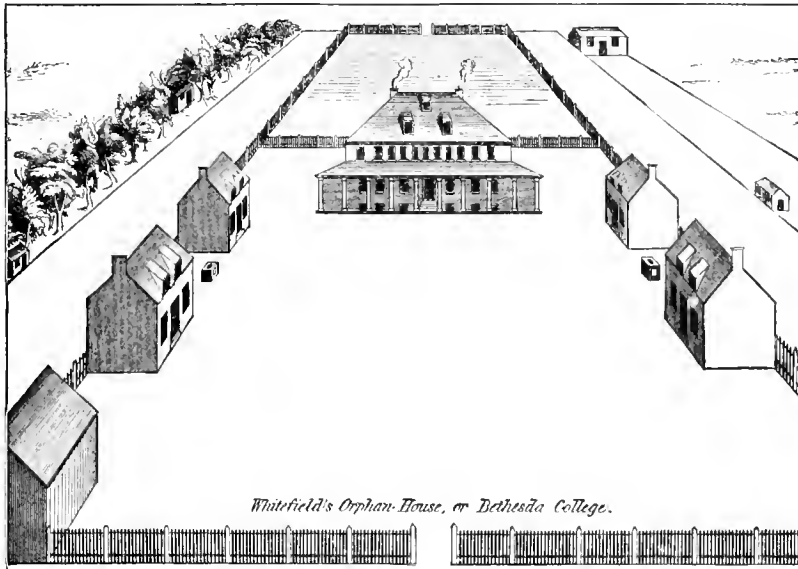
After a voyage of nine weeks he reached Philadelphia early in November, and on the twentieth Sunday after Trinity read prayers and assisted at the holy communion at Christ Church in the morning, preaching in the afternoon to a large congregation. A week of services and sermons followed, the church being daily thronged to its utmost capacity. Journeying to New York, Commissary Vesey refused him the use of Trinity Church; but the undeterred evangelist

¹ The two First Parts of his Life, etc., p. 95.

² Works, III., p. 464.

preached to thousands in the fields and in other places of worship freely offered for his use. On his journeyings he neglected no opportunity, in churches or elsewhere, to proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ, and, although his field preaching cost him the countenance and support of many of his brethren of the cloth, still others welcomed him to their pulpits and their homes, and so great were the demands made upon him for sermons that it was not until the 11th of January, 1739/40, that he reached Savannah, and found that his companions, who had come by sea, had arrived three weeks before him.

Before his coming, Mr. Habersham, who, as school-master and lay-reader, had done much to keep alive both church and school during



Whitefield's absence, had selected the site for the Orphan-house about nine miles from Savannah, and had begun to collect material for the future orphanage. In the meantime temporary shelter was provided for the orphans found in the colony, and in connection with these instructions an opportunity was offered for the free education of children of the colonists. An infirmary was also established, and the sick were cared for by an experienced surgeon, without charge. On Lady-day, Tuesday, March 25, the first brick of "great-house" was laid, as Whitefield tells it,¹ "with full assurances of faith." It was called "Bethesda," in the hope that it might be "a house of mercy to many souls." He was not, he tells us, "disappointed in his hope."

Stephens, whose journal gives us so many glimpses of the inner life of the colony, records, under date of March 11, a notice of a

¹ Journal, p. 335.

burial, which affords an interesting exhibition of some of the peculiarities of the great "missioner:" —

An old woman of Mr. Whitefield's Household, who came hither among others when he did, dying last night, was buried this evening with a solemn Funeral; thirty or forty little Boys and Girls, walking in pairs, partly orphans, and others, whom, with their parents' request or consent, he had taken under his care, sung Psalms as they went to the Church; then followed Mr. Whitefield, and after him the corpse, half-a-dozen distinguished, chosen men, holding up the pall, and a number of mixed people, to close the procession, joined them as they came by. Many people were gathered together at the Church, waiting, where, after the usual prayers, Mr. Whitefield gave them a Sermon, *à propos*, on the words, Watch and Pray. After church the corpse was carried to the common place of burial, and interred in the ordinary manner.¹

Little by little during these days, and weeks, and months, Whitefield had begun that affiliation with dissenters which, in the end, arrayed against him, and in opposition to his modes of operation, the leading clergy of the Church at home and abroad. Churches had been closed against him in England while he was there in quest of priest's orders. Churches were, now and henceforth, to be barred against him throughout the American settlements. Welcomed by the dissenters, and receiving from them that sympathy and support he failed to obtain in his own communion, Whitefield still clung to the prayer-book, and to his latest day of life continued in the communion of the Church of his birth and baptism. The service of the Church was read at Bethesda twice every Sunday from its institution, as long as Mr. Whitefield lived. Nearly eighty thousand dollars were collected by Whitefield for Bethesda, of which upward of sixteen thousand dollars were given by the evangelist himself.

In June Mr. Whitefield returned from a journey to the northward with a body of lay assistants, of various mechanical trades, and a large supply of provisions and clothing for his Bethesda household, together with £500 sterling for the use of the Orphan-house. Resuming his ministerial work at Savannah, it was noticed by Stephens, to whose keen observation we owe so many particulars of the church life in Georgia at this time, that "the surplice for some time past seemed to be laid aside as useless."² Still the building of a church at Savannah, which had hitherto been neglected, was now set on foot. But dissenting preachers occupied the pulpit at the temporary place of worship from time to time. The prayers were curtailed. The inhibition of Commissary Garden was unheeded. The bishops were publicly derided, and their theology held up to scorn. In August Mr. Whitefield again set out on his journey, leaving his cure in the hands of such Anabaptist or enthusiastic preachers, or laymen, as he found ready at hand for his purpose. The more sober-minded of the people were now impatient for the appointment of "a regular Divine of the Church of England." "All true lovers of the Church here," writes Stephens, —

Have been at a great straight for a long while, not well knowing how to behave under such a torrent of enthusiasm and strange doctrine, brought in among

¹Journal, 1., p. 312.

²Journal, 11., p. 413.

us by sectaries of divers sorts, whilst the Liturgy in most parts of the several offices has been either curtailed, mangled, or omitted; the Psalms and ordinary Lessons appointed, have been disregarded, to make room for extemporary expostitions, on any part of Holy Scripture which the Expositor liked better for his purpose. Surplice, gown, cassock, and all such innocent decencies have been thrown aside as useless, or worse; whilst the orthodox clergy of the Church have been vilely treated with ribaldry, as slothful shepherds, dumb dogs, etc., and some of our learned and pious Divines, once the ornament of the age they lived in, now in their graves, vilified to that degree (from the pulpit) by name as to attempt persuading all those who followed them, that it was the sure way to hell.¹

On Whitefield's return, in December, the use of the surplice was restored, but the Christmas service was read by a layman, and no sacrament was administered, as "Mr. Whitefield staid with his family at Bethesda — the better to avoid (as some thought) making any distinction of days."²

The following Sunday, Innocents' day, was spent in the same manner. Before the holydays were over he had arranged the affairs of the Orphan-house, and, on Monday, the 29th, as we learn from the observing Stephens, —

In the afternoon Mr. Whitefield came to town from Bethesda; in the evening he began the Common Service of the Church, then read the second Lesson, and proceeded to give the congregation a lecture, off-hand, on those topics which he was always so fond of, concerning Election, Reprobation, etc., asserting it against all gainsayers, that unless we attain to such a portion of the Holy Spirit within us, and so sensibly feel it moving as to assure us of our being justified, we were all in a state of damnation; which he did so pathetically, that he not only dropt tears himself, but drew many tears and groans from great part of his audience; after which, he laid aside the Common Prayer Book; and instead of those Prayers that remained to be read, he fell into a long extemporary prayer of his own, full of flatus and enthusiasm, and uttered with a Stentor's voice, bewailing the little number of converts he had been able to make during the time of his ministry; lamenting the forlorn state of the colony through the hardness of their hearts, which he plainly saw could never prosper till this generation was all worn out, like the Israelites in the wilderness; and intimating that his Orphan-house was a work of God, from which future blessings might be derived to this place: then cautioning all to beware of such as preached soft things he dismissed his audience taking a formal leave of them.³

The following day he left for Charleston. Here he was bound over to appear at the next quarter session of the court for having "composed a false, malicious, scandalous, and infamous libel against the clergy." This charge was made in consequence of the appearance, in print, of a letter written by one of Whitefield's converts, which had been corrected and prepared for the press by Whitefield himself, in which it was asserted that the clergy in the province were guilty of breaking the canons daily.⁴ The commissary, whose authority Whitefield had openly ridiculed, laid the erratic evangelist under suspension for omitting the use of the "Book of Common Prayer," when officiating to dissenters. Whitefield, who rejoiced in persecution, gave security for his appearance to answer to the charges against him, and appealed to the authorities at home.

¹ Journal, III., p. 67.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-84.

⁴ *Vide Works*, I., p. 231.

Whitefield's attacks on the "Whole Duty of Man," and Archbishop Tillotson, "England's Two great Favorites,"¹ though possibly, as he claimed, "well-meant," were, as he confessed, "injudicious." He had fallen out with Wesley. His own converts now deserted him. On his return to England he tells us² that, instead of having thousands to attend him, scarce one of his spiritual children came to see him from morning to night. The crowds that were wont to throng to his marvellous oratory dwindled to hundreds. He had incurred heavy obligation for the support of his Orphan-house, while "a family of a hundred" were "to be daily maintained four thousand miles off, in the dearest place of the King's dominions." But nothing could long restrain the ardor or dampen the enthusiasm of this extraordinary man. On the Good Friday after his return from Georgia he began preaching in Moorfield. Soon a rough "Tabernacle" was erected for his use, and ere long his indomitable zeal and tireless activity had regained his former popularity and influence. The debts contracted for the Orphan-house were discharged. Abundant offerings poured in from every side, and the loving heart of the great "Missioner" was filled with praise and thanksgiving to God.

In the meantime the "great house" at Bethesda was rapidly approaching completion, and the other buildings, for dormitories, workshops, and storehouses, were already in use. Before leaving for England Whitefield had not only secured the services of a Latin master, but, in his own words, had "laid a foundation in the name of our dear JESUS for an University in Georgia."³ At the beginning of the year 1742 there were thirty-nine boys and fifteen girls supported at Bethesda, several of the larger boys who had been instructed at the house having been already apprenticed to trades. A visitor from Boston gives us in detail the daily routine of the house at this time:—

The bell rings in the morning at sunrise, to wake the family. When the children arise, they sing a short hymn, and pray by themselves; then they go down and wash; and by the time they have done that, the bell calls to public worship, when a portion of scripture is read and expounded, a psalm sung, and the exercise begun and ended with prayer. Then they breakfast, and afterward go some to their trades, and the rest to their prayers and schools. At noon they all dine in the same room, and have comfortable and wholesome diet provided. A hymn is sung before and after dinner; then in about half an hour to school again; and between whiles find time enough for recreation. A little after sunset the bell calls to public duty again, which is performed in the same manner as in the morning. After that they sup, and are attended to bed by one of their teachers, who then pray with them, as they often do privately. On the sabbath day, they all dine on cold meat provided the day before, that none may be kept from public worship, which is attended four times a day in summer and three in winter. The children are kept reading between whiles.⁴

The itinerant life of Whitefield made it necessary that he should be relieved of the charge of the church at Savannah, and, after the return of the Rev. William Norris, who had met with much discouragement at Frederica, and whose ministrations at Savannah were the less acceptable in view of calumnies that had been raised against his character,

¹ Gillies's Memoirs, p. 68.

² Works, I., p. 256.

³ Letters, Works, I., p. 185.

⁴ Works, III., pp. 417, 418.

the trustees appointed the Rev. William Metcalf, of Lincolnshire,¹ as incumbent of the church at Savannah. Metcalf, though impatiently expected at Savannah,² died before entering upon his duties. On the 25th of July, 1741, the Rev. Christopher Orton received the appointment; but his labors were shortly terminated by his decease at Savannah, in August, 1742. On the 4th of July, 1743, the Rev. Thomas Bosomworth was licensed to perform all religious and ecclesiastical offices in the colony. He reached Georgia in November, and proceeded to Frederica, "there being at that place and parts adjacent near a thousand souls (the regiment included), destitute of all manner of helps to Christian knowledge."³ Here the congregation was larger than the place of worship "could well contain." The children were catechised by the new missionary, and the fundamental articles of the faith "explained in the most easy and intelligible manner." But the missionary zeal of the chaplain was of short duration. The better "to carry on the great work of promoting Christian knowledge amongst the natives of America," as Bosomworth professed in his letter to the venerable society on the 8th of July, 1744, he "married a woman of unexceptionable character, born in the Creek Indian nation, but brought up in Carolina, baptized, and well instructed in the principles of Christianity." In this alliance with an Indian "princess," who had been twice married before, and in both cases to Englishmen, Bosomworth could have had no other end in view than personal aggrandizement. Dismissed from the society's service for leaving his cure without permission, on his return to Georgia he instigated an outbreak on the part of the Indians, with a view of enforcing a claim on behalf of his wife against the colony, for a large sum due for unquestioned services. No little ingenuity and boldness was shown in the prosecution of these schemes by the chaplain, who, in full canonicals and accompanied by his wife, in all the insignia of her native dignity, together with their savage allies, sought, by a display of their strength, to terrify the people of Savannah into compliance with their demands. Nothing but the prompt and daring arrest and imprisonment of the doughty priest and his Indian bride averted a calamity which would have left Savannah in ashes, and put back the settlement of Georgia for years.

Bosomworth was succeeded by the Rev. Bartholomew Zouberbuhler, a native of the canton of St. Gall, in Switzerland, who had emigrated while a youth to South Carolina, where his father was pastor of the Swiss settlers at Purrysburg. Receiving a good English and classical education at Charleston, and being desirous of ministering to his countrymen, he was recommended to the Bishop of London for orders by Commissary Garden. Licensed to Georgia, on the 2d of November, 1745, he set sail two days later, and reached Frederica on the 22d of January, 1746. The ministry of this excellent man was not without success. Many who had wandered from the Church returned. The number of communicants, which at the coming of Zouberbuhler was but thirty, within the first year of his ministration increased to upward of fifty. After three years of labor

¹ *Fide* Georgia MS., p. 8.

² Stephens's Journal, III., p. 160.

³ Georgia MS., p. 2.

he returned to England, "with ample testimonials of his good behavior," and, in his petition to the society for additional laborers, he stated, "there are now about three thousand persons in Georgia, and no other minister of the Church of England in the province." Returning to Georgia at the close of the year 1749, he resumed his abundant labors, visiting the neighboring towns, and extending his ministrations on every hand. At Augusta the settlers themselves built a church under cover of the guns of the fort, and promised to provide both a parsonage-house and a glebe, as well as £20 sterling per annum for a minister. The Rev. Jonathan Copp, A.M., was appointed to this mission, in 1751. It was under the ministry of the faithful Zouberbuhler that the church at Savannah, begun on the 11th of June, 1740, "a few load of stones being brought and laid down in the place where it is intended to stand,"¹ was finally completed. Means in abundance were supplied by the trustees and others; but the absorbing interest felt in Bethesda by Whitefield and the want of faithful clergymen subsequently, hindered the progress of the building, and one year after the beginning of the work Stephens, in a letter to the trustees, reported that it was yet unfinished: "The roof of it is covered with shingles, but as to the sides and ends of it, it remains a skeleton."² The trustees ordered the work to be proceeded with at once; but, notwithstanding their bidding, it was not completed until 1750. On Saturday, July 7, the "new church" was set apart for God's solemn worship and the offices of religion, the day being observed as the anniversary of the establishment of the first court of judicature, seventeen years before, and also as the anniversary of the defeat of the Spanish invaders by Oglethorpe. "The building," writes Zouberbuhler, "is large, beautiful, and commodious. My parishioners are constant in their attendance, and I have the pleasure to see many negroes decently join our service." "There is now among us an increase of religion," proceeds the excellent missionary. Upward of forty negroes were under Christian instructions. Religious books were sought after, and the *notitia parochialis* transmitted to the society reported the baptism of twenty-five infants and one adult, — a negro woman. The number of communicants had reached sixty-five, while the whole number of inhabitants was eight hundred. After more than twenty years of faithful labor the good Zouberbuhler found his church insufficient for the constantly increasing congregation. £300 sterling was appropriated towards repairs and the erection of a gallery. An organ was provided by the gift of a gentleman of Augusta, and £800 raised and put out at interest towards a fund for building a new church, ninety by sixty feet. But, in the midst of this prosperity, the excellent missionary was called to his rest. The Rev. Samuel Frink, who had served acceptably at Augusta, was collated by the governor to Christ Church, Savannah, and the Rev. Edward Ellington was appointed to the vacant cure of Augusta.

From time to time the Rev. Mr. Whitefield had visited America, and, in the course of his progresses, spent more or less time at

¹ Stephens's Journal, II., p. 403.

² Journal of Trustees, III., p. 27, quoted in Stephens's "Georgia," I., p. 360.

Bethesda. After twenty-five years of varied fortune the founder of this excellent charity determined to enlarge its scope, and put into execution the purpose he had avowed, almost from the first, of founding a university in Georgia. At the close of the year 1764 he memorialized the governor and council of Georgia, reciting his expenditure of upwards of twelve thousand pounds sterling in the erection of the buildings and in the support of the inmates of the Orphan-house, and asking for a grant of two thousand acres of land, on the river Altamaha, for the purpose of making "provision for the education of persons of superior rank, who thereby might be qualified to serve their king, their country and their God, either in Church or state."¹ The assembly of the upper House, of which Whitfield's former school-master, James Habersham, was president, warmly concurred in this scheme for the endowment of a college. The action of the assembly was referred, with the governor's indorsement, to the authorities at home, and a lengthy correspondence followed. Although the prayer of the petitioner was not immediately granted, the intentions of Whitfield were not frustrated. On Sunday, January 28, 1770, the governor's council and assembly attended services "at the chapel of the Orphan-house Academy," where prayers were read by the Rev. Mr. Ellington, and Mr. Whitfield preached from the text, Zech. iv. 10: *For who hath despised the day of small things?* "After divine services," proceeds the "Georgia Gazette," "the company were very politely entertained with a handsome and plentiful dinner; and were greatly pleased to see the useful improvements made in the house, the two additional wings for apartments for students, and the lesser buildings in so much forwardness, and the whole executed with taste and in a masterly manner; and being sensible of the truly generous and disinterested benefactions derived to the province through Mr. Whitfield's means, they expressed their gratitude in the most respectful terms."² Ellington had accepted the headship of the proposed college and academy, in consequence, as he writes to the society, of "Mr. Whitfield's intention to have the stated worship of the seminary agreeable to the liturgy of the Church of England."³ In the removal of Mr. Ellington from Augusta to the Bethesda Orphan-house, it was intended, as he acquainted the venerable society, that its "original institution will be continued, with the additional advantages of academical learning, by which the poor youth, of a promising genius, as well as others whose circumstances permit, may have an opportunity of obtaining an education, to qualify them to move in a more superior station of life."⁴ He had baptized upwards of four hundred at Augusta, and left behind him nearly forty communicants. His academic duties were so arranged as to permit his occasional ministrations, both in Savannah and at his former post of labor. In the hands of Mr. Ellington the work at Bethesda prospered; but ere the year of his appointment had closed the great-hearted Whitfield had rested from his labors, and in his death the prospects for the development of the college and the charity received a fatal blow. The chaplain soon

¹ Works, III., p. 470.² Gillies's Memoirs, p. 265.³ Georgia MS., 1770.⁴ *Ibid.*

severed his connection with the institution, and removed to South Carolina. On Lady-day, 1771, "the anniversary of laying the foundation of the Orphan-house Academy, in Georgia," the late chaplain preached a sermon, which, as published the same year, by James Johnston, of Savannah, is one of the rarest issues of the Georgia press.

Christ's Promise to be present where two or three meet together in his Name:

CONSIDERED IN A

S E R M O N,

Preached the 25th MARCH, 1771, the ANNIVERSARY of LAYING the FOUNDATION of the ORPHAN-HOUSE ACADEMY in GEORGIA,

Before his Excellency JAMES WRIGHT, Esquire, Captain-General and Governor in Chief, and a great Number of the principal Inhabitants of the said Province, at the OPENING of the NEW CHAPEL lately erected there,

By EDWARD ELLINGTON, late Chaplain at the said House.

With an APPENDIX, giving a short Account of the Proceedings on that Occasion.

BUT the Hour cometh, and now is, when the true Worshipers shall worship the Father in Spirit and in Truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him. John iv. 23.

SAVANNAH: Printed by JAMES JOHNSTON.

On this anniversary occasion the new chapel was formally opened, and set apart for the worship of Almighty God, in the presence of the governor, the president, and many members of the council, and a large number of the principal inhabitants of the provinces. An address was delivered by one of the orphans, prayers were read, and the sermon preached. Following divine service there were literary exercises, in which the students participated. Music was furnished by the orphan children, and "a plain and plentiful dinner in the great hall concluded the celebration." The will of Whitefield, written when last at Bethesda, conveyed the Orphan-house, together with "all other buildings, lands, negroes, books, furniture, and every other thing whatsoever he was possessed of in the province of Georgia," "to that elect lady, that mother in Israel, that mirror of true and undefiled religion, the Right Honorable Selina, Countess Dowager of Huntingdon."¹

The desire was expressed that, as soon as possible after the decease of the testator, "the plan of the intended Orphan-house, Bethesda College, may be prosecuted," or if this were not practicable, or desirable, that the "present plan of the Orphan-house Academy on its old foundation and usual channel" should be pursued. The Hon. James Habersham, president of the Council of Georgia, was named as the legatee in the event of Lady Huntingdon's decease before Whitefield's, and the executor of the will so far as the Georgia property was concerned.

There is little more to be said to complete the story of the Church in Georgia prior to the Revolution. The incumbent at Savannah, the Rev. James Seymour, who succeeded the Rev. Samuel Frink, writes to the secretary, in 1774, as follows:—

Lady Huntingdon has likewise sent out to the Orphan-house Academy in this Province four young men, itinerant lay-preachers, who ride about in the different Parishes, endeavouring by their preaching to insinuate themselves into the good opinion of the country people, for the purpose of obtaining letters recommendatory to my Lord of London. One of these in particular, by the name of Cook, has already obtained some instruments of writing to that purpose, from an ignorant frontier settlement, not yet established into a parish, and I am told, that he intends to go to England in a few weeks. The names of the other three are Richards, Roberts and Hale.²

The Rev. William Percy, who had been sent out by Lady Huntingdon to take charge of the Orphan-house, in 1772, was in holy orders, and officiated for a time in various parts of Georgia. Removing to Charleston in 1773 he took the popular side at the breaking out of the war, and at its close, having separated from his patroness, in consequence of her separation from the Church, he became a useful and honored clergyman of the Church in South Carolina till his death, in 1819.

The war broke up the Orphan-house Academy, scattering its inmates, and depriving it of revenue and support. Its buildings were destroyed during the struggle, and hardly a trace remains to-day of the proposed university in Georgia, for the establishment of which its devoted founder gave so liberally of his thoughts, his labors, his means, and his prayers.

¹ Appendix to Ellington's sermon, p. 32.

² Georgia MS., p. 1774.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

THE religious character of the Georgia colonization scheme cannot be better shown than by the following interesting extracts from a rare folio preserved among the *Americana*, in the library of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., entitled:—

THE | GENERAL ACCOMPT | OF ALL | MONIES and EF-
FECTS | Received and Expended by the TRUSTEES | For Estab-
lishing the Colony of | GEORGLA in AMERICA; | For the carry-
ing on the good Purposes of their Trust for | one whole Year, from
the Ninth Day of *June*, in the | Year of our Lord, 1735. to the Ninth
Day of *June*, in | the Year of our Lord, 1736. | And also of all
MONIES and EFFECTS received and expended in *America* | for the carry-
ing on the said good Purposes between the 10th Day of | *January*,
1734 and the 2d Day of *April*, 1736. taken from the several | Ac-
compts thereof received by the said TRUSTEES within the | Time
of this ACCOMPT. | WHICH ACCOUNT is exhibited by them, pursuant
to the Directious | of their CHARTER, to the Right Honourable
Charles Lord Talbot, | Baron of *Hensol*, Lord High Chancellor of
Great Britain, and | *Sir Joseph Jekyll* Knight, Master of the Rolls.

(10)

For the following Religious Uses of the Colony, *viz.*

The Building of Churches,

		<i>viz.</i> From			
			<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1735.					
2	<i>August</i> ,	Mr. <i>Jos. Burton</i>	5	5	
4	Ditto	Mr. <i>Richard Phelps</i> of <i>White Chapel</i>	1	1	
12	Ditto	An unknown Benefactor, by the Hands of Mr. <i>Adam Anderson</i>	1	1	
4	<i>Septem.</i>	A Gentlewoman whose Name is desired to be concealed, by the Hands of the Reverend Dr. <i>Hales</i>	30		
11	Ditto	An unknown Gentleman, by the Hands of <i>James Oglethorpe</i> Esq;	5	5	
23	Ditto	An unknown Gentlewoman, by the Hands of the Reverend Dr. <i>Hales</i>	5	5	
6	<i>October</i> ,	A Gentleman who desires to be unknown, by the Hands of the Reverend Mr. <i>Smith</i>	20		
17	Ditto	An unknown Person sent in a Letter to Mr. <i>Madocks</i> at the Bank <i>L.20</i> : : for the GEORGIA Trust: whereupon the Trustees agreed to this Appropriation thereof	20		
31	Ditto	A Gentleman who desired his Name to be concealed, by the Hands of the Reverend Mr. <i>Smith</i>	2	2	
15	<i>Novem.</i>	The Reverend Mr. <i>Charles Hawtrey</i> , Sub-Dean of <i>Exeter</i> , by the Hands of Mr. <i>Robert Bishop</i>	4	4	
26	<i>Decem.</i>	A Lady who desires to be unknown, by the Hands of the Reverend Dr. <i>Bundy</i>	5	5	
3	<i>Febr.</i>	A Gentlewoman who desires to be unknown, by the Hands of the Reverend Dr. <i>Hales</i>	1	1	
		The Reverend Mr. <i>Metcalfe</i> of <i>Sunbury</i> , in <i>Middlesex</i> , by the same Hands	5	5	
		A Gentlewoman who desires to be unknown, by the same Hands	5	5	
		A Gentlewoman who desires to be unknown, by the same Hands	4	4	
Carried forward <i>L.</i>			115	3	

(11)

		l. s. d.
	Brought forward L.	115 3
3 Febr.	A Gentlewoman who desires to be unknown, by the Hands of the Reverend Dr. Hales	10 10

(12)

The Use of the Missionaries for converting to Christianity the Native *Indians*,

	<i>viz.</i> From	l. s. d.
19 June. 1735.	A Gentlewoman whose Name is desired to be concealed, by the Hands of the Reverend Dr. Hales	50
3 July.	Mrs. <i>Dionysia Long</i> , by the same Hands	4 4
	Mrs. <i>Gibbs</i> , by the same Hands	1 1
1 October.	His Grace <i>William</i> Lord Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> , by the Hands of the Reverend Dr. <i>Lynch</i> , to be laid out in proper Books	10 10
3 Ditto	An unknown Gentlewoman, by the Hands of the Reverend Dr. <i>Hales</i>	100
	An unknown Gentlewoman, by the same Hands	5 5
	<i>William Belitha</i> Esq; by the same Hands	10 10
12 Novem.	A Gentlewoman who desires to be unknown, by the Hands of <i>William Belitha</i> Esq;	10 10
	A Gentlewoman who desires to be unknown, by the Hands of the Reverend Mr. <i>Thorold</i> , Minister of <i>Ludgate</i> Church	3 3
4 Decem.	Mrs. <i>Edy Hody</i> , by the Hands of the Reverend Mr. Archdeacon <i>Stubbs</i>	5
3 Febr.	A Gentlewoman who desires to be unknown, by the Hands of the Reverend Dr. <i>Hales</i>	10 10
	A Gentlewoman who desires to be unknown, by the same Hands, to be thus applied, or towards the Support of the Minister of any particular Congregation already established in GEORGIA	20
4 May. 1736.	A Gentlewoman who desires to be unknown, by the same Hands	100
4 June.	An unknown person, a Bank Note for L. 20 : : sent in a letter to the Reverend Dr. <i>Hales</i>	20
	L.	350 13

(13)

The use of the Missionaries and School-master for the *Saltzburghers*,

	<i>viz.</i> From	l. s. d.
4 June. 1736	The Honourable Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, by the Hands of <i>William Tillard</i> Esq; to be applied for the Payment of half a Year's Salaries from the said Society, to the Missionaries and Schoolmaster for the <i>Saltzburghers</i> in GEORGIA, to the first of <i>November</i> , 1736	50
	And for the Religious Uses of the Colony in General, such as the buying of Books, the cultivating Lands to raise a Provision for the Maintenance of a Minister, and the Appropriation towards the Maintenance of a Catechist, <i>viz.</i> From	---
13 Novem. 1735.	<i>Richard Chandler</i> , Esq;	10 10
23 Decem.	Mr. <i>Benjamin Sprint</i>	1 1

16 Febr.	A Gentleman who desires to be unknown, by the Hands of <i>Rogers Holland Esq</i> ;	} 2 2
1736. 6 April,	The Honourable Mrs. <i>Katharine Southwell</i> , by the Hands of the Right Honourable the Earl of <i>Egmont</i> , being part of the Money left by the Viscountess <i>Soudes</i> , deceased, to be disposed of in Charity as the said Mrs. <i>Southwell</i> should think fit, to be applied in cultivating Lands, for the abovementioned Use .	} 100
22 Ditto	The same Person by the same Hands, being another Benefaction out of the Money left by the said Viscountess <i>Soudes</i> , to be disposed of as aforesaid, to be applied in cultivating Lands, toward the Maintenance of a Catechist at <i>Savannah</i> , out of the net Proceed of such Land	} 100
18 May,	Sir <i>Philip Parker Long</i> Baronet, by the Hands of the Right Honourable the Earl of <i>Egmont</i> , to be applied in cultivating Lands to raise a Provision for the Maintenance of a Minister .	} 25
18 May,	The Reverend Mr. <i>Herbert Randolph of Deal</i> , by the Hands of the Reverend Mr. <i>Burton</i> .	} 5
Carried over L.		243 13

(14)

		<i>l. s. d.</i>
Brought over L.		243 13
18 May,	A Clergyman who desires his Name to be concealed, by the Hands of the Reverend Mr. <i>Burton</i> .	} 5
	A Benefactor whose Name is desired to be concealed, by the same Hands, being the third annual Payment, to be continued for the Term of the Benefactor's Life, but given for Five Years certain for the Endowment of a Catechist in GEORGIA .	} 10
L.		258 13

(19)

Expended for the Missionaries sent to convert to Christianity the *Indians* in GEORGIA, *viz.*:

		<i>l. s. d.</i>
For Books, Surplices, Hoods, and Necessaries supplied the said Missionaries, and for their Freight to GEORGIA, on Board the Ship <i>Simond</i> .	}	107 3 10½

(21)

Monies remaining in the Bank of *England* at the end of the Year's Account whereof

Appropriated to Answer Sola Bills of Exchange issued in <i>Georgia</i> for the Service of the Colony			Balance remaining to be applied.		
<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
4.000			646	1	5¼
			155	6	

NOTE, That L. 171 : 5 : 7 of the above Sum of L. 646 : 1 : 5¼ is appropriated towards building a Church in GEORGIA.

(22)

EFFECTS applied by the Trustees, since the determination of the last Account out of the Effects then remaining unapplied, which were received at the Times and from the several Persons hereafter mentioned.

	Names of Contributors.	Effects contributed, which remained unapplied.
1732. 21 March,	Mr. <i>Verelst</i> . . .	A Bible. A Book of Homilies. Sent on Board the <i>Simond</i> in <i>October</i> , 1735.
1733. 18 April,	An unknown Benefactress, by the Hands of the Reverend Dr. <i>Hales</i>	Eighty eight of the One hundred and eighty six Bibles, Minion 12mo. Whereof two sent on Board the <i>Georgia</i> Pink the 7th of <i>August</i> , 1735.
30 May,	An unknown Hand, by the same Hands	One hundred and seven of the Two hundred Common Prayer Books, Minion 12mo. Whereof two sent on Board the <i>Georgia</i> Pink the 7th of <i>August</i> , 1735.
1734. 11 Novem.	The Reverend Mr. <i>Philip Stubbs</i>	Two dozen of Practical Tracts, for promoting Christian Knowledge among the <i>Saltburghers</i> . Sent on Board the <i>Simond</i> in <i>October</i> , 1735.
<i>June</i> ,	Sir <i>John Austin</i> Bart, by the Hands of <i>Robert Hucks</i> Esq;	A Bible in the <i>New England Indian</i> Language. Sent on Board the <i>Simond</i> in <i>October</i> , 1735.

(23)

EFFECTS received in *England* within the Time of this Account, from the several Persons hereafter mentioned, and applied by the Trustees.

	Names of Contributors.	Effects contributed.
1735. <i>July</i> , 16 Ditto	A Person who desires to be unknown, by the Hands of the Reverend Dr. <i>Hales</i> , for the Use of the New Settlement which is going to be made at the Southward Part of <i>GEORGIA</i>	One Bible, 4to. One Common Prayer Book, 4to. Twenty Bibles, Minion 12mo. Twenty five Testaments, Long Primer 8vo. Fifty Common Prayer Books, Minion 12mo. Twenty five Bishop of Man, on the Lord's Supper. Fifty Christian Monitor, and Companion to the Altar. Fifty Christian Monitor, and Answer to Excuses. One hundred Horn-Books. One hundred Primers. One hundred A, B, C. with the Church Catechism.

		Two hundred Friendly Admonition to the Drinkers of Brandy. All Sent on Board the <i>Simond</i> in <i>October</i> , 1735.
27 August	Mr. <i>Edward Cave</i> .	A Bible and Common Prayer Book of the largest and best Sort, for the new Church to be built at <i>Savannah</i> . Sent on Board the <i>Simond</i> in <i>October</i> , 1735.
3 Sept.	Mr. <i>John Baskett</i> .	One large Bible, and one Folio Common Prayer Book, for the Church in <i>GEORGIA</i> . And One hundred Common Prayer Books, for the Use of the People. Whereof Thirty of the said One hundred Common Prayer Books sent on Board the <i>Simond</i> in <i>October</i> , 1735.
2 Octob.	A Person who desires to be unknown, by the Hands of Mr. <i>Adam Anderson</i> . . . }	One hundred Books, called A Short and Plain Instruction, for the better understanding of the Lord's Supper. And one hundred Books of the Principles and Duties of Christianity. Sent on Board the <i>Two Brothers</i> in <i>November</i> , 1735.
		Three

(24)

7 October,	Three Ladies, who desire to be unknown, by the Hands of the Reverend Mr. <i>Wilson</i> . . . }	Three hundred Books, called The Principles and Duties of Christianity. And Fifty Books, called Plain Instructions for the better understanding of the Lord's Supper. Sent on Board the <i>Two Brothers</i> in <i>November</i> , 1735.
10 Ditto	Mr. <i>Thomas Lediard</i> ,	Ten <i>German</i> Grammars, for the Use of the Colony, Sent on Board the <i>Simond</i> in <i>October</i> , 1735.
24 Decem.	The Right Honourable } <i>John Earl of Egmont</i> , }	A Bible in the <i>German</i> Language by Dr. <i>Martin Luther</i> , printed in the Year, 1605. Sent on Board the <i>Samuel</i> in <i>January</i> , 1735.

EFFECTS received in *England* from the several Persons, and at the Times hereafter mentioned, and which remain to be applied by the Trustees, at the determination of this Accompt.

	Names of Contributors.	Effects contributed.
1732. 7 Decem.	An unknown Benefactor by the Hands of Captain <i>Coram</i> . . . }	Eleven of the hundred Books, of the Great Importance of a Religious Life considered.
31 Ditto	Mr. <i>James Leake</i> .	One thousand Spelling Books.
		Forty

(25)

28 Febr.	The Reverend Mr. Stanley, Rector of Hadham in Hertfordshire, by the Hands of the Reverend Dr. Hales . . .	Forty eight Faith and Practice of a Church of England Man, in Sheets. Eight Christian Monitors Nine Lewis's Catechism.
1733. 18 April,	An unknown Benefactress, by the Hands of the Reverend Dr. Hales	Eighty six of the One hundred and eighty six Bibles, Minion 12mo. One hundred and one of the One hundred and eighty seven Duty of Man, small 12mo.
10 May,	Mr. Ray, by the Hands of the Reverend Mr. Smith	Fifty Books, called Companion for the Sick.
30 Ditto	An unknown Hand, by the Hands of the Reverend Dr. Hales }	Two hundred Dr. Thomas Gouch's shewing how to walk with God. Two hundred Help and Guide to Christian Families, by Mr. Burkitt. Two hundred Gibson's Family Devotion. One hundred and five of the Two hundred Common Prayer Books, Minion 12mo. Two hundred Horn Books. Two hundred Primers. One hundred Testaments. One hundred Psalters. Two hundred A, B, C, with the Church Catechism. One hundred Lewis's Catechism. One hundred The Young Christian instructed. One hundred of the Two hundred Friendly Admonition to the Drinkers of Brandy.
17 October	The Reverend Mr. Philip Stubbs, Rector of St. James Garlick Hyth, London . . .	Twelve sermons, called the Divine Mission of Gospel Ministers, by the said Mr. Stubbs.
1734. 10 April,	Mr. John Worthington, for the Promotion of Religion in GEORGIA }	Two Copies of Select Discourses, by Dr. Worthington, in Sheets. Eighty Copies of a Treatise, intituled, A System of Christian Doctrine, in Sheets. Thirty of the said Treatise bound.
7 June.	The Reverend Mr. Fox of Reading, by the Hands of the Reverend Mr. Smith . . .	Three Sets of the New Testament, with References, &c. in Two Volumes. Fifty

(26)

27 Novem.	An unknown Benefactor, by the Hands of Mr. Benjamin Barker	Fifty Books of The great Importance of a Religious Life considered; and Forms of Prayer for the Holy Sacrament, bound together.
12 Febr.	An unknown Person sent to the Office }	Twenty Books in Sheets, called The Church Catechism explained.

1735. 16 March,	Mr. <i>John Tuckwell</i> .	A large Church Clock, and Dial Plate, packed in two strong Cases, and two Clock Weights loose, for <i>Savannah</i> in GEORGIA; Value Twenty one Pounds.
3 Sept.	Mr. <i>John Baskett</i> .	One large Bible, and one Folio Common Prayer Book, for the Church in GEORGIA. And Seventy of the One hundred Common Prayer Books, for the Use of the People.
2 October,	Mr. <i>John Williams</i>	A Cambridge Concordance, and Six Books called Sacred and Moral Poems.
7 Ditto	Mr. <i>Joseph Marshall</i> , for the pulick Libraries in GEORGIA. }	Two Books of Dr. <i>Owen's</i> and Mr. <i>James Janeway's</i> Works, and Two Books of <i>Josephus's</i> History.
17 Novem.	Mr. <i>John Skinner</i> .	A Branch for the first Church in GEORGIA.
10 Decem.	A Gentleman who desires to have his Name concealed, by the Hands of <i>Thomas Tower</i> Esq; for a Parochial Library belonging to one of the Churches to be built in the Colony of GEORGIA . . }	A large Church Bible. And three Volumes in Folio of Archbishop <i>Tillotson's</i> Works.
12 Jan.	Mr. <i>Edward Cave</i> .	Five hundred of the lesser Duty of Man, for the Use of the poor Inhabitants of GEORGIA.
1736. 2 June,	Dr. <i>Robert Thomlinson</i> of <i>Wickham</i> , near <i>Newcastle upon Tyne</i> , in the Bishoprick of <i>Durham</i> , by the Hands of Mr. <i>William Thomlinson</i> } <i>Henry Archer</i> Esq; The Associates of the } late Dr. <i>Bray</i> . }	A Quantity of Iron Ware, to the Value of Fifty Pounds, for building a Church, and House for the Minister, in GEORGIA.
	The Right Honourable } <i>John Earl of Egmont</i> }	A Parcel of Books in divers Faculties for the Library in GEORGIA.

We append the titles of Whitefield's "Georgia Journals" ¹(the first in fac-simile), tracing, in his own inimitable way, and with a freedom afterwards restrained, the progress of this remarkable man.

¹The preface to the Journal from London to Savannah is signed "James Hutton, Temple-Bar, Aug. 18, 1738." The following extracts from it are important:—

THE following Journal would never have been published had not a surreptitious Copy of Part

of it been printed without the author's knowledge or consent: He knows himself too well to obtrude his little private concerns upon the World; especially when intermixed with such Passages relating to others, as none but an unthinking person could judge proper to divulge.

It appears from this preface that the "sur-

A
 JOURNAL
 OF A
 VOYAGE
 FROM
 LONDON
 TO
Savannah in GEORGIA.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I. From *London* to *Gibraltar*.

PART II. From *Gibraltar* to *Savannah*.

By GEORGE WHITEFIELD, A. B.
 of *Pembroke-College, Oxford*.

With a short PREFACE, shewing the Reason of its Publication.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

LONDON,

Printed for JAMES HUTTON, at the *Eible and Sun* next the
Rose Tavern without *Temple-Bar*. MDCCLXXXIX.

(Price Six Pence.)

repetitious Copy" referred to was published by a Mr. Cooper "by Stealth, without any just War-rant or Authority."

The Journal (55 pp. 89) extends from Wednesday, December 28, 1737 (*vide* p. 3), to Sunday, May 7, 1738 (p. 54).

A | CONTINUATION | of the Reverend | Mr. WHITEFIELD'S |
 | JOURNAL | from his Arrival at | Savannah, | to his Return to
 | LONDON. | The Second Edition.

LONDON: | Printed by *W. Strahan*, and Sold by *James Hutton*,
 at the Bible and Sun, without Temple-Bar. MDCCLXXXIX.

8vo., pp. [4] 38

A | CONTINUATION | of the Reverend | Mr. WHITEFIELD'S |
 | JOURNAL | FROM | His Arrival at London | TO | His Departure
 from thence | on his Way to Georgia.

LONDON: | Printed for *James Hutton*, at the Bible and Sun,
 without Temple-Bar. 1739.

8vo., pp. iv 115

A | CONTINUATION | of the Reverend | Mr. WHITEFIELD'S |
 JOURNAL, | During the Time he was detained in | England by
 the Embargo | The Third Edition.

LONDON: | Printed by *W. Strahan*, and sold by *James Hutton*,
 at the Bible and Sun, without Temple-Bar. 1739.

8vo., pp. iv 40

A | CONTINUATION | of the Reverend | Mr. WHITEFIELD'S |
 JOURNAL, | From his Embarking after the | EMBARGO, | To his
 Arrival at Savannah in Georgia. | The Second Edition.

LONDON: | Printed by *W. Strahan* for *James Hutton*, at the
 Bible and Sun, without Temple-Bar. 1740.

8vo., pp. 88

A | CONTINUATION | of the Reverend | Mr. WHITEFIELD'S |
 JOURNAL, | After his Arrival at | Georgia, | To a few Days after
 his second Return thither from | Philadelphia.

LONDON: | Printed by *W. Strahan* for *James Hutton*, at the
 Bible and Sun, without Temple-Bar. 1741.

8vo., pp. 58

A | CONTINUATION | of the Reverend | Mr. WHITEFIELD'S |
 JOURNAL, | From a few Days after his Return to | Georgia | To
 his Arrival at | Falmouth, | on the 11th of March, 1741. | Containing
 | An ACCOUNT of the Work of GOD at Georgia, Rhode-Island, New-
 England, New-York, Pennsylvania and South-Carolina. | The Seventh
 Journal.

LONDON: | Printed by *W. Strahan* for *R. Hett* at the Bible and
 Crown in the Poultry, and Sold by *T. Cooper* at the Globe in Pater-
 Noster-Row. 1741 | [Price One Shilling.]

8vo., pp. Title, 85

A further proof of the Christian and churchly character of the
 colonization of this province is found in the "Georgia Sermons," a list
 of which, so far as they have come under our notice, we append:—

A | SERMON | Preach'd before the | TRUSTEES for *Establishing*
the Colony of GEORGIA in America, | And before the | ASSOCIATES
 of the late Rev. Dr. THOMAS BRAY, | for *Converting the Negroes*
in the British Plantations, and for other good purposes. | AT THEIR
 | First Yearly-Meeting, | IN THE | Parish Church of *St. Augustin*,

| On *Tuesday*, February 23, 17 $\frac{3}{4}$, | BY SAMUEL SMITH, LL.B.
Lecturer | of St. Alban's, Wood-Street. | *Publish'd at the Desire of the*
TRUSTEES and ASSOCIATES. | To which is annexed | Some
Account of the Designs both of the *TRUSTEES* | and *ASSOCI-*
ATES. |

LONDON: Printed by *F. March*, and sold by Messieurs *Mount*
and *Page*, on | *Tower-Hill.* M.DCC.XXXIII. |

4^o. pp. 42. Map.

Text, Isaiah xi. 9. Latter Part. Pp. 41 and 42 contain | To the
King's Most Excellent MAJESTY, | The Humble PETITION of | Thomas
Bray, D.D., | being the Petition to King William III. for the Incorpor-
ation of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in
Foreign Parts.

Rich (Bib. Am. Nova., p. 49) copies this title from the Catalogue
of Harvard College Library.

The Duty and Reward of Propagating Principles of Religion |
and *Virtue exemplified in the History of Abraham.* |

A | SERMON | Preach'd before the | TRUSTEES for *Establishing*
the Colony of | GEORGIA in America. | And before the ASSOCIATES of
the late Rev. Dr. THOMAS BRAY, | for *Converting the Negroes in*
the British Plantations, | and for other | good Purposes. | AT THEIR |
ANNIVERSARY MEETING, | IN THE Parish Church of St. *Mary-Le-Bow.*
| On *Thursday, March 15, 1732.* | By JOHN BURTON, B.D.,
Fellow of Corpus | Christi College in Oxford. | *Published at the*
Desire of the TRUSTEES and ASSOCIATES. | To which is annexed, |
The General Account exhibited by the TRUSTEES | to the Right Hon-
ourable the Lord High Chancellor, and the | Lord Chief Justice of
His Majesty's Court of *Common-Pleas,* Pur- | suant to the Directions
of their Charter. |

LONDON: Printed by *F. March*, and sold by Messieurs *Mount*
and *Page*, on | *Tower-Hill.* M.DCC.XXXIII. | 4^o. 1p. 50.

Text, *Genesis* xviii. 19.

The General Account includes pp. 33-50.

A | SERMON | Preached at | St. GEORGE'S CHURCH | HANO-
VER SQUARE, | On Sunday, February 17, 173 $\frac{3}{4}$. | To recommend
the Charity for establishing the | New Colony of *Georgia.* | By T.
RUNDLE, LL. D., Prebendary of | *Durham.* | Published at the request
of the Right Honourable the | Lord Viscount *Tyrconnel*, the Honour-
able | Col. *Whitworth*, Churchwardens, | and Several of the Parish-
ioners.

LONDON: | Printed for *T. Woodward*, at the Half-Moon, between
| the two Temple Gates, Fleet-street; and *J. Brindley*, | in New
Bond-street. MDCCXXXIV. 4^o. pp. 24

Text, Deut. Chap. xv. Ver. 11.

Rich (Bib. Am. Nova.), calls this 8^o

A | SERMON | Preached before the | TRUSTEES | For Establishing the | Colony of *Georgia* in *America*; | And before the Associates of the late Rev. Dr. THOMAS BRAY, for | Converting the Negroes in the British Plantations, and for other good Purposes; | at their Anniversary Meeting | In the Parish CHURCH of St. Brides, Fleet-street, | On Thursday, March 21, 1734. | By STEPHEN HALES, D.D., Rector of *Farringdon* in *Hampshire*, and Minister of *Feddington*, *Middlesex*. | Published at the Desire of the TRUSTEES and ASSOCIATES. | To which is annex'd | The GENERAL ACCOUNT for one whole Year, from the ninth day of | *June*, in the Year of our Lord 1733, to the ninth Day of *June* 1734, exhibited | by the said Trustees, pursuant to the Directions of their Charter, to the Right | Honourable *Charles* Lord *Talbot*, Baron of *Henfol*. Lord High Chancellor of | *Great Britain*. and Sir Joseph Jekyll, Knight, Master of the Rolls.

LONDON: | Printed for *T. Woodward*, at the Half-Moon, between the Two | Temple-Gates in Fleet-Street. MDCCLXXXIV.

4°. Pp. 62.

Text, Galat. vi. 2.

A | SERMON | Preached before the | TRUSTEES | for Establishing the | Colony of *Georgia* in *America*; | At their | ANNIVERSARY MEETING | in the Parish-Church of St. BRIDGET, *alias* | St. Bride, in *Fleet street*, LONDON: | On Thursday, *March* 18, 1735. | Published at the *Particular Request of the Trustees*. | By the Rev. GEORGE WATTS, M.A. | Preacher to the Honourable Society of *Lincoln's Inn*.

LONDON: | Printed by *M. Downing*, in Bartholemew-Close, near | West-Smithfield. M.DCC.LXXXVI.

4°. Pp. 27.

Text, PSAL. CVII. 35, 36, 37.

WARREN, ROBERT | Industry and Diligence in our callings earnestly recommended in a Sermon preached before the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America. *March* 17, 1736-7. By ROBERT WARREN, D.D., &c.

Meadows. LONDON. 1737.

4°. pp. 16.

Rich. Bib. Am. Nova. p. 432 (suppl.)

A | SERMON | Preached before the HONORABLE TRUSTEES | For Establishing the | Colony of *Georgia* in *America*, | And the ASSOCIATES | of the | late Reverend Dr. BRAY; | at their ANNIVERSARY Meeting | *March* 16, 1737-8, | In the | Parish-Church of St. BRIDGET, *alias* St. Bride, | in *Fleet-Street*, LONDON. | By PHILIP BEARCROFT, D.D. | Preacher at *Charter-House*. | Published at the *particular Request of the TRUSTEES and ASSOCIATES*.

LONDON: | M.DCC.LXXXVIII.

4°. Pp. 22.

A | SERMON | Preach'd before the | HONORABLE TRUSTEES | For Establishing the Colony of *Georgia* in *America*, | And the Associates of the late Reverend Dr. BRAY, | At their | Anniversary MEETING, *March* 15, 1738-9. | In the | Parish Church of St. *Bridget*, *alias*

St. *Bride*, in *Fleet-street*, | LONDON. | By WILLIAM BERRIMAN, D.D.
 | *Rector of St. Andrew's Undershaft*, | and *Fellow of* | Eton College.
 | *Published at the Desire of* the Trustees and Associates.

LONDON: | Printed for *John Carter*, at the Blackamore's Head,
 opposite to | the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. M.DCC.XXXIX. | *Price*
 Six Pence. 4°. Pp. 24.

Text, DEUT. xxvi. 9, 10.

The sermons for 1740-41 and 1741-42, if published, have failed to attract our notice.

The duty of public spirit; | Recommended in a | SERMON |
 Preached before the | HONOURABLE TRUSTEES | For establishing the
 | Colony of *Georgia* in *America*, And the | Associates of the late
 Reverend Dr. BRAY, | At their | ANNIVERSARY MEETING, *March* 20,
 1739-40; | By WILLIAM CROWE. | *Published at the Desire of the*
 TRUSTEES and ASSOCIATES.

LONDON: | 1740.

4°

Advertised in Trübner & Co.'s Catalogue (1837).

The Sermon delivered in 1742-3 was by Rev. Dr. King, and is advertised in Lasbury's Catalogue, Bristol, May, 1859.

The Happiness of Man the Glory of God. | A SERMON |
 Preached before the | HONOURABLE TRUSTEES | For Establishing the
 | Colony of *Georgia* in *America*, | And the | Associates of the late
 Rev. Dr. BRAY; | At their | ANNIVERSARY MEETING *March* 15, 1743,
 | In the | Parish Church of *St. Margaret, Westminster*. | By LEWIS
 BRUCE, A.M. | Preacher of his Majesty's Chapel, *Somerset-House*.

LONDON: | Printed by *Daniel Browne*, in Crane-Court, Fleet-
 Street. | MDCCLIV. 4°. Pp. 53.

Text, I COR. X. xxxi.

No copy of the Georgia sermon for 1744 has fallen under our notice.

A | SERMON | Preached before the | HONORABLE TRUSTEES |
 For Establishing the | Colony of *Georgia* in *America*, | And the
 | Associates of the late Reverend Dr. BRAY; | At their | ANNIVERSARY
 MEETING, *March* 20, 1745-6, | In the | Parish Church of *St. Mar-*
garet, Westminster. | By GLOCESTER RIDLEY, LL. B. | *Published at*
the Desire of the TRUSTEES and ASSOCIATES.

LONDON: | MDCCXLVI.

4°. Pp. 21.

CHAPTER XXI.

COMMISSARY GARDEN AND THE CHURCH IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE first settlement of South Carolina by the English was attempted at Beaufort. Two ships, bearing colonists from Virginia, set sail on Passion Sunday, April 8, 1660, and arrived at the mouth of the commodious harbor of Port Royal on Maundy Thursday, April the 19th. Accompanying the expedition was the Rev. Morgan Jones, who had been, as he claims, "Chaplain to Major-General Bennet, of Nanseman (Nansemond) County,"¹ and was sent out by Major Bennet, and Sir William Berkeley, the governor, who were the chief promoters of the projected settlement, to be the minister. There can be little doubt but that the Good-Friday prayers, and the solemn services and sacrament of the Easter feast, marked this first occupancy of the soil of South Carolina by the English race. The enterprise was shortly after abandoned, though Jones professes to have continued at Oyster Point, the site of the present city of Charleston, for eight months, "all of which time being almost starved for want of provisions."² Driven by hunger to the wilderness, Jones, with a party of five, endeavored to reach Roanoke, but all were captured by the Tuscaroras, and condemned to death. The use of Welsh words by the captive minister, if we may credit his romantic narrative, procured his release, and established him and his companion in the favor of the savages, with whom he remained four months, "conversing with them familiarly in the British language; and did preach to them three times a week in the same language."³ Jones subsequently became minister of Newtown, L.I., where he was officiating in 1678, and at Westchester in 1680.⁴ In 1682 he was at Great Neck, L.I.⁵ The communication referring to the short-lived settlement at Port Royal, to which we have already referred, is dated at New York, March 10, 1685-86.

In 1662 certain noblemen applied to Charles II. for a grant of territory in North America. They alleged, as the motives of their request, a desire to enlarge the dominions of the king and a "zest for the propagation of the Christian faith in a country not yet cultivated or planted, and only inhabited by some barbarous people, who had no knowledge of God."⁶ On the 24th of March, 1662-3, the king, by royal charter, created Edward, Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor,

¹ *Fide* a letter copied from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for March, 1740, in the "Am. Hist. Church of Hempstead," p. 2. Record," l. pp. 230-232. ² *Ibid.* ³ *Ibid.* ⁴ Daleho's "Hist. Acc. of the Ch. in So. Car.," p. 1. ⁵ Bolton's "Westchester Church," pp. 259, 230.

the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, Lord Berkeley, Lord Ashley, afterwards the Earl of Shaftsbury, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir John Colleton, lords proprietors of the province of Carolina. The charter established the Church, but permitted and enjoined toleration. A settlement was made at Port Royal, in 1670, by colonists from England, under the leadership of Col. William Sayle. The settlers remained at Port Royal but a few months, when they removed to the western bank of the Ashley river, "for the convenience of pasturage and tillage," and "on the first high land" they laid the foundation of the present city of Charleston. On the death of Governor Sayle, which took place shortly after the removal of the settlement, Col. Joseph West succeeded to the command of the colony. Under the administration of this active, brave, and prudent leader the colony increased in numbers and strength. West had been elected by the council on the death of Sayle; but the lords proprietors, on being informed of the vacancy, appointed Sir John Yeamans, during whose term of office Charleston was rapidly built up. The first church was erected about 1681 or 1682. It was built of black cypress, upon a brick foundation, on the site originally designed for it in the model of the town sent out by the lords proprietors. It is described as "large and stately," and was surrounded by a neat white palisade. The land on which it was built, comprising four acres, was the gift of Originall Jackson and Melisent, his wife, who executed the deed on the 14th of January, 1680-81, "being excited with a pious zeal for the propagation of the true Christian religion which we profess."¹ In this church "Divine service, according to the form and liturgy of the Church of England now established," was "to be duly and solemnly done and performed by Atkin Williamson, Cleric, his heirs and assigns forever."² It is evident from this deed of gift that the clergyman named therein was already on the ground. Of the time of his coming we have no knowledge, but he was in the province in 1680, and died at an advanced age, early in the following century. He was living in 1710-11, as the records show that there was money due to him from the church. In April, 1709, he had petitioned the General Assembly "to be considered for his services as officiating as minister of Charles-Town," and the assembly ordered the payment of his claim. Later, on the 1st of March, 1710-11, the same legislative body appropriated £30 per annum for his support during his life, the act reciting that "he had grown so disabled with age, sickness, and other infirmities, that he could not any longer attend to the duties of his ministerial functions, and was so very poor that he could not maintain himself."³ The "Fundamental Constitutions" of the

¹Dalcho's "Hist. Acc. of the Ch. in So. Car.," p. 26.

²*Ibid.*

³Hawks and Perry's "Doc. Hist. of the Ch. in So. Car.," p. 3. Commissary Johnson, in a letter to the ven. soc. in 1710, thus refers to Mr. Williamson: "Mr. Atkins Williamson has lived here under the notion and character of a Minister 29 years, but the inhabitants have not thought fit to take up with him as a settled Minister in any part of the province during that time. He has no Letters or Orders of any kind to produce,

and the account he gives of their loss is so weak and slender that it can't be relied on. Besides he might in 8 years time, for it is so long he says since he lost them, I believe, have had fresh ones from the Registers of those Dioceses wherein he was ordained, and therefore his not getting them makes me suspect his mission. He says Primate Margetson of Ireland ordained him Deacon when Archbishop of Dublin and Bishop Barlow of Lincoln ordained him Priest. You will easily know this by consulting the Register

lords proprietors, drawn up by the celebrated John Locke, had provided for the maintenance of the clergy of "the Church of England, which being the only true and orthodox, and the national religion of all the king's dominions, is so also of Carolina."¹ In view of these "Constitutions" there was every propriety in the provision of a support for the declining years of the first settled clergyman of the Church in the province.

The church, which from the first bore the name of St. Philip, having begun to decay after thirty years' use and occupancy and



ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH.

being, besides, too small for the increasing congregation, an act of the assembly was passed, on the 1st of March, 1710-11, for the erection of a church of brick. New St. Philip's was erected on Church street, its present site, and in 1827 the old cypress church was taken down. Subsequently, at the division of the town into two parishes, in 1751, all south of Broad street became St. Michael's, and its church was built, and is still standing, on the site originally occupied by the old wooden church.

The active ministry of Mr. Williamson appears to have ceased in 1696, at which time the Rev. Samuel Marshall was appointed to the

of Lincoln, and when you have received his answer, be pleased to communicate it to me with the first opportunity."—*So. Car. MSS.*, I., p. 250

¹Hawks and Perry's "Doc. Hist. of the Ch. in So. Car.," p. 4.

cure. Mr. Marshall was induced to leave "a considerable benetic and honourable way of living in England for the propagation of the Christian Religion, and particularly that of the Church of England," at the instance and by the encouragement of the celebrated Rev. William Burkett, Vicar of Dedham, well known as the author of a popular commentary on the New Testament. Such was the satisfaction given by the exemplary conduct and the unusual ability of the new incumbent of St. Philip's that the General Assembly, on the 8th of October, 1798, passed "an Act to settle the maintenance on a minister of the Church of England at Charles-Town," which, after referring to the recommendations of Mr. Marshall as "a sober, pious, worthy, able and learned Divine, of all which, by his devout and exemplary life and good doctrine he hath approved himself worthy," proceeded to enact "that the said Samuel Marshall be, and he is hereby nominated minister of Charles-Town, during his life, or so long as he shall think fit to continue in this colony, and serve in the said ministry, and shall have and enjoy all the land, houses, negroes, cattle and money appointed for the use, benefit and behoof of the minister of Charles-Town."¹ This act further appropriated a stipend of £150 per annum to the minister and his successor forever, and directed that a negro man and woman, and four cows and calves, be purchased at the public charge for his use. The same year the Church received, through the pious gift of Mrs. Afra Coming, widow of John Coming, Esq., one of the early settlers, seventeen acres, constituting the present glebe of the two churches of St. Philip and St. Michael. It is evident that the Church in the province was being built upon sure foundations, and was commended to the love and support of its members by the exemplary life and faithful ministry of the incumbent of St. Philip's.

Afra Coming

Mr. Marshall died, towards the close of the year 1699, of a malignant epidemic disease, doubtless what is now known as the yellow-fever, which carried off in its progress the chief justice of the province, together with other public officers, and upwards of one hundred and fifty of the people. So great was the mortality that the people fled in numbers into the country, leaving but few behind. The legislature made provision for the widow of Mr. Marshall, while under date of January 17, 1699-1700, the governor and council addressed a request for a clergyman to the Bishop of London, Dr. Henry Compton, of which the following is an extract:—

That fatherly care which your Lordship hath taken to fill all the Churches in His Majesty's plantations in America with pious, learned, and orthodox ministers, as well as your Lordship's application to us of that care, in a more especial manner, by sending to us so eminently good a man as our late Minister, the Rev. Mr. Marshall, deceased, encourages us to address your Lordship for such another. He, by his regular, sober, and devout life, gave no advantage to the enemies of our Church to speak ill of its ministers: by his sound doctrine the weak sons of our

¹ Hawks and Perry's "Doc. Hist. of the Ch. in So. Car.," p. 33.

Church he confirmed; by his easy, and, as it were, natural use of the ceremonies of our Church, he took away all occasions of scandal at them; by his prudent and obliging way of living, and manner of practice, he had gained the esteem of all persons. For these reasons, it is that we address your Lordship for such another.¹

The Rev. Edward Marston, A.M., received the appointment to the vacant cure. He arrived in Charleston in the year 1700. Prior to his leaving England he had attracted notice by the publication in London of a sermon on simony. In the same year, but whether as a companion of the Rev. Mr. Marston, or not, we are not informed, there came to South Carolina the Rev. William Corbin, who officiated for the settlers upon Goose Creek. Mr. Corbin had been preacher at the Chapel of Bromley St. Leonard, Middlesex, and in 1695 published a Thanksgiving sermon of some merit. He left the country in 1703. Mr. Marston continued in charge of St. Philip's until 1705, when he was removed from office by a board of law commissioners appointed by the legislature, in November, 1704. He had been a notorious Jacobite ere his coming to the Province, and was for a time imprisoned in England for "railing against the government." There can be little doubt but that he was imprudent and litigious, of violent passions and contentious disposition, and involved himself in difficulties by reflecting on the measures, and abusing the members, of the assembly. The public records abound in proofs of these charges, and the church, which in the time of Mr. Marshall was well frequented and prosperous, was "almost wholly deserted." Summoned before the legislative body, to answer for his conduct, his demeanor and answers were such as to provoke the assembly to draw up a formal act of censure, and to send "an address to the Governor and Council for a suspension of the said Marston *from his salary* during the pleasure" of the house. Mr. Marston was summoned before the assembly to hear the "act of censure;" but although he appeared in response to the summons, he refused to hear the act, and while he continued to officiate the assembly refused to pay the stipend previously voted to the incumbent of Charles-Town.

Failing to rid themselves of this obnoxious parson by withholding his salary, the legislature, on the 4th of November, 1704, passed "An act for the establishment of religious worship in this province, according to the Church of England, and for the erecting of churches for the public worship of God, and also for the maintenance of Ministers, and the building convenient houses for them." This law "established" the Church in South Carolina, and contained some exceedingly arbitrary and extraordinary provisions. Among them was a clause appointing a board of laymen, to try and to remove, if they saw fit, any minister against whom complaint should be made by the major part of the vestry, together with any nine aggrieved parishioners. It was by this commission that Mr. Marston was removed, in 1705. The act of 1704 gave little satisfaction. Those who dissented from the Church of England regarded their exclusion from the rights en-

¹ Hawks and Perry's "Documents Relating to the Hist. of the Ch. in So. Car.," p. 7.

joyed by the members of the establishment as an infringement of the toleration secured to them by the royal charter. The sincere churchmen justly complained of the appointment of a lay commission for the trial and punishment of ecclesiastical offences. Feuds and animosities were the result of this arbitrary and irritating legislation. Though Mr. Marston was removed from his living by the lay commissioners, of whom he complained that "eleven of the twenty were never known to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper,"¹ it was impossible to silence or suppress one so turbulent and determined. An agent was sent to England to memorialize the House of Lords against this act of the assembly. The lords spiritual and temporal addressed the queen in opposition to the act, and the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, to whom the subject was referred, reported that the General Assembly of Carolina had abused the power granted to the lord proprietors, and had forfeited their charter. Shortly after the queen declared the law to be null and void. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which had recently been chartered, but which had already sent a most worthy and deserving missionary to South Carolina, the Rev. Samuel Thomas, voted to send no more missionaries to the province until the section of the act relating to lay commissioners was repealed. This was done November 30, 1706.

Marston applied again and again to the General Assembly for the stipend which had been withheld. Failing to secure a support at St. Philip's, he went to Christ Church parish, which was established in 1706, and after the completion of the church, in 1708, he was offered and refused the cure. The vestry, the following year, addressed the venerable society, expressing their convictions "that it was happy for us that he was not chosen, as he had not given over his litigious, contentious temper."² The assembly voted £150 to the wife of this unhappy man; but even this act of clemency failed to change his course. In October, 1709, the assembly ordered his prosecution "as a common disturber to the governor and government." From time to time the assembly granted relief to his suffering family, till, in 1712, he with them finally left the province.³

The troubles of the Church in South Carolina were by no means ended when the litigious and erratic Marston was dispossessed of his cure. A fugitive clergyman, Marsden by name, from Maryland, who claimed that his letters had been blown overboard by the wind when he was drying them after a storm, "thrust himself" into the vacant cure. Of pleasing address and insinuating in manner, he ingratiated himself with a party in the church, and secured by misrepresentations

¹ Daleho's "Hist. Acc. of the Ch. in So. Car.," p. 63.

² Hawks and Perry's "Ch. in So. Car.," p. 10. Commissary Johnson refers to his "tattered habit and miserable condition."—*So. Car. MS.*, 1., pp. 294, 295.

³ Dr. White Kennett, in his "Bibliothecæ Americane Primordia" (p. 213), gives the following title, which was, doubtless, Marston's statement of his case. As no printer's name is given,

it may have been among the MSS. of the "American Library":—

The Case of Mr. Edward Marston, late Minister of the Church of St. Philip in Charles-Town in the Province of SOUTH CAROLINA, as represented by himself in a Letter to the Duke of Beaufort, Palatine of the Province, and other Honourable Gentlemen. Dat. from his Study against Trinity Church in the *Minorities*, November 15, 1712. 4°. pp. 12. [1712.

an election to St. Philip's, and had held his position for a year with general acceptance. The arrival of the Rev. Gideon Johnson, A.M., who had been appointed commissary of the Bishop of London, and who brought with him the highest testimonials for character and ability from the most distinguished prelates of the Church at home, revealed the deception practised by the intruder, and excited afresh the opposing factions in the parish and town. The new commissary entered upon his work under circumstances of peculiar trial and personal danger. After a tedious passage across the Atlantic, to quote his own words, addressed to the celebrated Dr. Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury:—

It happened that I was put ashore at a great distance from this Town upon a sandy Island, with a merchant and a sailor, where we continued twelve ¹ days and as many nights, without any manner of meat and drink or shelter from the scorching heat of the sun. Miserable and almost incredible was the shift we made to subsist in that unhappy place for so long a time; and the sailor being unable to bear the want of shelter and provision any longer did, on the third day after our being landed, swim over to another marshy island in hopes to make his way to the continent, but he perished in the attempt. At last it pleased God to relieve us, for upon the arrival of the ship (in which we were) at this Town, and that upon being missed, it was presently suspected what became of us. Sloops and boats, Perigoes and Canoes, were despatched to all such places as it was thought we might be in, and on the twelfth day in the evening a Canoe got to us when we were at the last gasp and just upon the point of expiring. The next morning we were conveyed to the opposite point of the Continent, where I lay a fortnight before I could recover strength enough to reach the Town.²

Disheartened and discouraged by this untoward entrance upon his work, and finding as soon as he was able to exert himself that a party had been raised by the unscrupulous Marsden to keep him out of his promised benefice, denied an entrance to his "parsonage-house," and seeing that no respect was paid to his official character, nor to the pledges and promises made to him by the authorities, both of the Church and state at home, it is not to be wondered at that he should write to the "Great Bishop," with whom he corresponded in words such as these: "I never repented so much of any thing, my sins only excepted, as my coming to this place, nor has ever man been treated with less humanity and compassion, considering how much I had suffered in my passage, than I have since my arrival in it."³ The worthy commissary could endure the "misfortunes" that attended his entrance upon his new field of duty. It was of "ill usage" that he complained, and in and through it all, it was at the hands of a brother clergyman that his sorest trials arose. His family numbered eleven. He was enfeebled by disease. The cost of living was far greater in the province than in England or Ireland. His stipend was insufficient, and, in view of the hindrances to his usefulness, occasioned by the factious opposition he experienced at the start, and the annoyances that beset him in consequence of his straitened means, there is little wonder that he depicted in such strong language as the following his

¹ Dr. Daleho, by an evident clerical error, states the period as *two* days.—*Hist. Act.*, p. 77.

² So. Car. MSS., t., pp. 139, 140.

³ *Ibid.*

first impressions of the people to whom he had been sent to minister in holy things : —

The people here, generally speaking, are the vilest race of men upon the earth. They have neither honor, nor honesty, nor religion enough to entitle them to any tolerable character, being a perfect medley or hotch-potch, made up of bankrupt pirates, decayed libertines, sectaries, and enthusiasts of all sorts who have transported themselves hither from Bermudas, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Montserat, Antego, Nevis, New England, Pennsylvania, etc., and are the most factions and seditious people in the whole world. Many of those that pretend to be Churchmen are strangely crippled in their goings between the Church and Presbytery, and as they are of large and loose principles, so they live and act accordingly, sometimes going openly with the Dissenters, as they now do against the Church, and giving incredible trouble to the Governor and Clergy.

The MSS. authorities of the time go far to bear out the indignant words of the commissary, and it is not a little to his credit that, with all the drawbacks to success which we have detailed, and all the opposition both from within as well as from without the Church, to the existence and venom of which even the secular histories bear witness, the ministry of Johnson was singularly successful. Before he came the Church of England had been established by law by the passage of the "Church Act" of November 30, 1706. This legislation gave great satisfaction to the lords proprietors who, in their formal assent to its adoption, referred to it as a "great and pious work," accomplished "with unwearied and steady zeal for the honor and worship of Almighty God."¹ But, although the exertions of the governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, had contributed largely to this result, and the Church was legally the "establishment," we have the testimony of the observing commissary that the dissenters, while possessing "liberty and prosperity to the full," and enjoying "the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion in all respects," "are never to be satisfied till they can compass the downfall of the infant Church."² Coming thus to a divided Church, and an estranged and embittered community, it is greatly to the credit of Johnson that, by his humility and prudence, his devotion to duty and his simple, unaffected piety, he succeeded in softening the asperities of the conflicting parties, and, while he built up the Church on strong foundations, he secured for himself the veneration and regard of all. His letters are even pathetic in their full and free unbosoming of the trials and petty annoyances of his ministerial life. Poverty and debt stared him in the face. At first his wife, by her skill in painting, added to his scanty means. Soon this slight help was withdrawn, as illness laid the devoted woman on her bed. Himself a martyr to gout, and burdened by the care of an overgrown and ever-increasing cure, he was unremitting in his devotion to duty, and unflagging in his watchful care over the interests of the church committed to his trust. As a mark of the high regard entertained for his character and labors, the assembly, from time to time, added to his slender resources and provided for the repair and care of his house. Ill-health drove him at length to England; but after an absence of a year and a half he returned, unwilling to desert a work confessedly uncongenial and unremuner-

¹ Dalcho, p. 75.

² So. Car. MSS., I., pp. 112, 113.

ative for the richer benefices of his old home. Pressed with ailments, and bowed down with cares, the worthy commissary failed not to seek the growth in grace of his people. In a letter to the society, under date of the 5th of July, 1710, he thus writes : —

There is nothing that I more earnestly and frequently strive for than to bring people to a just sense of their duty concerning the Lord's Supper; for I certainly conclude, if I can once persuade them to receive frequently I can easily persuade them to anything else that is holy and good. Many of our Church folks have been prevailed upon to receive which perhaps were never known to receive before; and to promote a spirit of religion among them, and to engage them by all the honest arts I can think of, I made a set discourse concerning the benefit and advantage of setting up and forming religious societies, by which means all such as were lovers of God and goodness would save themselves from this untoward generation and keep themselves unspotted from the world by supporting and inflaming one another's hearts with proper arguments in the course of a holy life, and by prayer and psalmody on select days. I cannot say much as yet to the success of this project, but I trust in God. He will bless my honest endeavors this way to some degree, and that I shall not altogether lose my labor. . . . I must own myself greatly improved since I came hither. I scarce knew what it was to be a minister before. But the strangeness and singularity of the people's humour here, with respect to religion, and the difficulties that have occurred to me on this account, have awakened my care and diligence to an uncommon degree, and God has inspired me with greater measures of zeal and spirit than I could formerly feel in myself for carrying on the common cause.¹

In sending missionaries to South Carolina the venerable society proposed, as a chief object in view, the conversion of the aborigines and the instruction of the negro slaves. Efforts from time to time were made to bring to the Indians the knowledge of the Christian faith; but the lives of the traders were such as to frustrate all hopes of alluring the savages to a faith so poorly exemplified by the Christians whom they knew and had dealings with; and when the patient efforts of the missionaries had begun to promise results, a frontier war effectually precluded any further attempts at evangelization. The negroes were more readily reached by instruction, and the "Notitia" of nearly every clergyman attests his pains to bring the slaves to instruction and baptism. Notably the Rev. Dr. Francis Le Jan, of St. James's, Goose Creek, who succeeded the worthy Thomas, exerted himself for the good of the slaves of his cure. To remove a latent suspicion, in the minds of both masters and servants, that admission to holy baptism was equivalent to manumission, the worthy missionary disarmed the opposition of the owners, and removed the misconception of the slaves on this point by requiring his converts to consent to the following declaration : —

You declare, in the presence of God and before this congregation, that you do not ask for the Holy Baptism out of any design to free yourself from the duty and obedience you owe to your Master while you live; but merely for the good of your soul, and to partake of the Graces and blessings promised to the members of the Church of Jesus Christ.²

Well might this worthy missionary write: "I see with an incredible joy the fervour of these poor slaves."³ With him there was not

¹ So. Car. MSS., 1., pp. 242, 243.

² *Ibid.*, p. 166.

³ *Ibid.*

merely the glad reception of these unfortunates to the Christian sacrament, but there was the willing toil, often of years, preceding this act of baptism, and the continuance of a loving, watchful care when once the covenant had been thus publicly entered into. Labor so wisely directed and so Christianly conceived could not fail of success, and among the philanthropists of the early part of the eighteenth century this excellent missionary of the Church at South Carolina deserves remembrance and praise. "Our free Indians," writes Dr. Le Jau to the society, "our neighbours, come to see me. I admire the sense they have of justice, and their patience. They have no ambition. As for their desire of God, their notions are obscure indeed, but when we take pains to converse with them, in a jargon they are able to understand, we perceive their souls are fit material, which may be easily polished. They agree with me about the duty of praying and doing the good and eschewing the evil."¹ It was, says the Christian teacher, "the manner how our Indian trade is carried on that hindered the publishing of the gospel among the Indians, chiefly the fomenting of war among them for our people to get slaves."² This miserable policy produced its natural result. The Indians cheated, but not Christianized, rose at length in arms and avenged their wrongs with indiscriminate slaughter and destruction. With "great sorrow" Le Jau saw no other remedy for the injustice and wrong with which the savages whom he sought to benefit and instruct were treated "but to be patient and pray and labor as much as he was able."³ It would have been well for the province if the policy of the priest and preacher had prevailed over that of the avaricious and unscrupulous trader.

In the midst of much sickness and great mortality the worthy commissary sought in every way the deepening of the spiritual life among his people. "There is no article," he reports to the society:—

I have oftener, or with greater vehemence pressed in my sermons than the necessity of communicating frequently; and finding that my addresses this way did not altogether produce the desired effect, I did by private application when I visited the sick, especially press home this point, and I thank God, with a great deal of success. Many of those that were prevailed upon to resolve on receiving, died before they could do it, and others died after they had received it. Many are still sick that have received, and have promised solemnly to be constant communicants for the future, and though, as I have said, the number of my parishioners has been considerably lessened by death, yet, were they all well that were alive the number of communicants would be greater than formerly. I look upon the visitation of the sick to be a duty of the last consequence to the souls of men, and it is upon the bed of sickness, if ever, that a minister has the greatest opportunity of doing good. I thank God, the pains I take this way is not ineffectual, and the readiness I express in going to the sick, though not sent for, when I myself am often very weak and sickly, gives no small reputation to my addresses.⁴

Thus laboring, and all the while a martyr to disease, with an infirmity rendering the use of both hands requisite in writing, and a feebleness of frame making his parochial visits laborious and painful, the commissary found it necessary to visit England again and again for medical advice and treatment. The neighboring clergy supplied his

¹ So. Car. MSS., i., pp. 167, 168.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 278, 279.

place during an absence protracted by necessity for eighteen months. To his care and keeping was committed an important paper containing the grievances of the clergy under the late legislation of the assembly of the province. These grievances recited the tendency of this action to diminish the authority and jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, in depriving him of the power to suspend or deprive a clergyman of evil life from his benefice. Neither could the bishop protect an injured or oppressed clergyman, because the church commissioners, under pretence that the original election was illegal, could declare it null and void, and no power could overthrow their decisions. Practically the episcopal power, save that of ordination, was usurped by the Church commissioners and the people. Even the sending of a bishop to America would be useless, unless the episcopal authority was established on a better footing. The opposition of the masters to the conversion and baptism of their slaves was so great and so general that the work was rendered well-nigh impossible. The exertions of Dr. Le Jau were referred to as an exception to the almost universal rule. But no time for instruction was allowed, save the Lord's day, when other duties occupied the clergyman's time and exhausted his strength. The slaves could not be brought together for instruction, because "they would thereby have an opportunity of knowing their own strength and superiority in point of numbers," and might "be tempted to recover their liberty." The masters were "generally of opinion that a slave grows worse by being a Christian." The legislature did not encourage the attempt, since the conversion of the slaves was deemed inconsistent with the planter's secular interest and advantage. Even the Lord's day was not allowed to these poor heathen in all cases, and the attempt to redress their wrongs and teach them the way of life was met with scoffs and every possible hindrance placed in the way. The manner of institution was a matter of complaint, so many formalities had to be observed; and so many obstacles attended the entrance of a duly qualified and properly recommended clergyman into a living that it was made practically impossible. The appointment of parish clerk and sexton was also taken from the clergyman. The church and church-yard were vested by law in the clerk and not in the minister. Even anabaptist mechanics received licenses to marry those who cared to avail themselves of their authority, whereby polygamy and incestuous marriages were performed through carelessness or want of knowledge. The salaries were depreciated in value, being paid in currency, which was at a great discount. The negative of the incumbent, in vestry meeting, was taken away. Clergymen, compelled by sickness or other causes to remove within two years after their arrival, were required to refund advances made to them at the first. Dilapidations were required to be made good out of the estate, or at the hands of the family in the event of the death of an incumbent. The legislation in matters ecclesiastical was passed without consultation with the commissary, or any representative or representatives of the clergy. These grievances were presented in full to the authorities at home.¹ This statement of their complaints was considered and adopted by the

¹ *Ibid* So. Carolina MSS., I., pp. 355-381.

clergy, at Charleston, on the 4th of March, 1712-13. Relief in some of these points was, after a time, secured. An act was passed by the assembly¹ "for the better ordering and governing of Negroes and Slaves," which contained the following provision:—

Since charity and the Christian Religion, which we profess, obliges us to wish well to the souls of all men, and that religion may not be made a pretence, to alter any man's property and rights, and that no person may neglect to baptize their negroes or slaves, or suffer them to be baptized, for fear that thereby they should be manumitted and set free: *Be it therefore Enacted*, That it shall be, and is hereby declared lawful for any negro or Indian slave, or any other slave or slaves whatsoever, to receive and profess the Christian faith, and be thereunto baptized. But that notwithstanding such slave or slaves shall receive and profess the Christian religion, and be baptized, he or they shall not thereby be manumitted or set free, or his or their owner, master or mistress, lose his or their civil right, property and authority over such slave or slaves, but that the slave or slaves, with respect to his or their servitude, shall remain and continue in the same state and condition that he or they was in before the making of this act.²

While these matters were engrossing the attention of the clergy, the Church in Charleston had increased under the quiet but efficient management of Commissary Johnson to that extent that the old building of cypress wood had become insufficient for the numbers who formed the congregation, and was so far decayed as to be unfit for repair. An act of the assembly was passed³ for the erection of a church of brick, with a "tower or steeple, and a ring of bells therein, together with a cemetery or church-yard, to be enclosed with a brick wall, for the burial of Christian people." The work was prosecuted with such little alacrity that in 1720 another act was adopted, the preamble of which recites that "Whereas by storms and tempests part of the Brick Church in Charles Town has been blown down, which was in a fair way of being built and completed," and "Whereas, the present parish Church in the said town must inevitably in a very little time fall to the ground, the timber being rotten, and the whole fabrick entirely decayed, so that the whole town will be left without a fit and convenient place for public divine worship:" therefore an additional duty was laid for the purpose of completing the church on rum, brandy, and other spirits, and on negroes imported for sale. Thus the long-delayed work was brought to an end. A school had been established at Charleston under the auspices of the venerable society, in 1711, and a year later the assembly enlarged and incorporated "A Free School for the use of the Inhabitants of the Province of South Carolina." A building of brick was erected and a stipend provided by law for the master, who was required to be "of the religion of the Church of England, and conform to the same, and be capable to teach the learned languages (that is to say), Latin and Greek tongues, and to catechise and instruct the youth in the principles of the Christian Religion as professed in the Church of England."⁴

The Yamassee Indians occupied that portion of the province lying between Port Royal island and the Savannah river. In 1715 they broke out in war against the settlers, and were joined by all the tribes from

¹ June 7, 1712. ² Dalcho, pp. 94, 95. ³ March, 1710, II. The act is printed at length in Dalcho, pp. 453, 454. ⁴ Dalcho, pp. 95, 96.

Florida to Cape Fear river. On the 15th of April they attacked the settlements, and with their treachery and ferocity devastated the plantations and massacred the inhabitants. The missionaries suffered in common with the people of their charge. Fleeing from their parsonages and worldly possessions they were driven to Charleston, leaving all they had at the mercy of a pitiless foe. The society sought by gratuities to make good their losses. It was long, however, ere order and confidence were restored, and the people and their pastors were again in possession of their former homes. At length the danger was passed, and by degrees the province regained its wonted security. The commissary meanwhile had returned from England, and had resumed his abundant labors. Welcomed by the clergy, over whom he had been appointed, acceptable to the people to whom he ministered, and devoted to his work, which, with renewed health and strength he entered upon with added zeal and faithfulness, a lamentable accident deprived the Church and the province of this most useful and pious man. In the month of April, 1716, the Hon. Charles Craven, governor of the province, embarked for England, and the commissary, in company with a number of the leading people of Charleston, went over the bar to take leave of him. On their return from the ship a sudden squall overset the vessel, and the commissary, crippled with the gout, being below, was drowned. By a strange coincidence the vessel drifted on the same sand-bank on which Mr. Johnson had nearly perished on his arrival in Carolina. His body was brought to town, and interred with every mark of respect and sorrow.

In the interim following the sad decease of Commissary Johnson, an unworthy clergyman, by the name of Wye, foisted himself into the vacant benefice; but in 1719 the Rev. Alexander Garden, A.M., arrived from England, and was duly elected to the charge of St. Philip's.

The proprietary government having been abandoned, and the province having passed under the protection of the crown, Francis Nicholson was appointed provisional governor in the year 1720, until a final arrangement could be made with the lords proprietors. Among the "Instructions" which he received from the king he was bidden to "take especial care that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served throughout the government, the Book of Common Prayer, as by law established, read each Sunday and Holy-day, and the blessed Sacrament administered according to the Rites of the Church of England."¹ By these "Instructions" the governor was required to see that the churches were "well and orderly kept," and more built; that a "competent maintenance" be assigned to the minister, and a "convenient house" and glebe provided for him; that proper discipline should be maintained; that the minister be a member of the vestry, and no vestry be held without him; that the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London be maintained, "excepting only the collating to Benefices, granting licenses for marriages, and probates of wills," which were reserved for the governor himself; that school-masters should be licensed; that a table of affinity be "hung up in every

¹ Dalcho, p. 99.

Orthodox Church and duly observed;" and that vice be discountenanced and punished, and virtue and good living encouraged.

The vacancy in the office of commissary, occasioned by the death of the excellent Johnson, was filled by the appointment of the Rev. William Tredwell Bull, A.M., incumbent of St. Paul's, Colleton. Courteous in manner, prudent in his behavior, zealous in the performance of duty, and unremitting in his devotion to the spiritual wants of his people, the Church at Colleton had flourished under his ministrations, and in his official relations to the clergy and the Church at large he was no less successful in maintaining discipline and in advancing the material and spiritual interests committed to his charge. The clergy were convened year by year, and, although cases of discipline were so infrequent as almost to escape notice, there were always matters of interest in the action of the legislature respecting the Church, and in the address to the royal governor, sufficient to warrant the meeting from time to time of these earnest and excellent men of God. After several years of successful ministration Commissary Bull returned to England, in 1723, where, for his valuable services while in South Carolina, he was promoted to a valuable benefice. The Bishop of London, Dr. Robinson, died in the year of Mr. Bull's return, and it was not until several years had elapsed that Dr. Edmund Gibson, who had been translated from the see of Lincoln to that of London, filled the place of commissary, by the appointment of the Rev. Alexander Garden, A.M., incumbent of St. Philip's, Charleston. This appointment was made in 1726, and previous to that time the clergy relied on the continued kind offices of Mr. Bull to represent their case in England before their diocesan and the venerable society.



Commissary Garden entered upon his office at a period of prosperity, both in church and state. He had been in the province since 1719, when he was elected to the rectorship of St. Philip's, and both in view of his virtues and ability was possessed of all the qualifications requisite for his work. Beloved by the people to whom he ministered, respected by the clergy who were committed to his charge, and watchful over the interests of the Church, his long term of service was comparatively uneventful, and his controversy with the celebrated Whitefield is almost the sole noticeable occurrence of the period.

The commissary had shown no little interest in the affairs of John Wesley, who records in his journal¹ his indebtedness to him "for many kind and generous offices;" and on Whitefield's first visit to Charleston he received him "very courteously"² and offered him hospitable entertainment at "the Parsonage-house." Whitefield notes that "the Church is very beautiful." On his preaching at St. Philip's the commissary "thanked him most cordially, and apprized him of the ill-treatment John Wesley had met with in Georgia, and assured him that were the same arbitrary proceedings to commence against him he would

¹ Journal, i., p. 43.

² The two first parts of Whitefield's Life, with his journal, p. 95.

defend him with his life and fortune."¹ On his second visit the commissary was absent, and as "the Curate had not a Commission to lend the pulpit," Whitefield preached first "in one of the Dissenting meeting-houses," and the following day "in the French Church," delaying his journey for another sermon in the former place of meeting. On revisiting Charleston, some weeks later, Whitefield "waited on the Commissary," "but met with a cool reception." Still the evangelist went to "Public prayers," the day being Friday, and then preached in the "Independent Meeting-House," and the following day in the "Baptist Meeting-House." On Sunday, after preaching at an early hour "at the Scots' Meeting-House," Whitefield "went to Church, and heard the Commissary represent" him "under the character of the Pharisee, who came to the Temple, saying, *God, I thank Thee that I am not as other men are.* But whether I do what I do, out of a principle of pride, or duty, the Searcher of Hearts will discover ere long to Men and Angels. Found myself very sick and weak at Dinner, but went to Church again in the Afternoon, and preached about five in the Independent Meeting-House Yard, the House itself, tho' large, being not near capacious enough to hold the Auditory."² The two days following, the great evangelist preached twice each day in the "Independent Meeting-House," collecting £70 sterling for the orphans at Bethesda. Some weeks later the diary records as follows:—

SUNDAY, July 6. Preached twice yesterday and twice today, and had great reason to believe our Lord got Himself the victory in some hearts: for the Word was with power. Went to Church in the Morning and Afternoon, and heard as virulent, unorthodox, and inconsistent a discourse as perhaps was ever delivered. The Preacher's heart seemed full of choler and resentment. Out of the abundance thereof he poured forth so many bitter words against the Methodists (as he called them), in general, and me in particular, that several who intended to receive the Sacrament at his hands withdrew. Never, I believe, was such a preparation-sermon preached before. After sermon, came the Clerk to desire me not to come to the Sacrament till his Master had spoke with me. I immediately retired to my lodgings, rejoicing that I was accounted worthy to suffer this further degree of contempt for my dear Lord's sake. Blessed Jesus, lay it not to the Minister's charge. Amen and Amen.³

Returning to Charleston a few days later, Whitefield "read prayers and preached at the request of the Church-wardens at Christ's Church."⁴ During the week following, though his journal records no allusion to it, occurred the arraignment of the evangelist before the ecclesiastical court held in St. Philip's Church, on Tuesday, July 15, 1740, in response to the formal citation from the commissary, accusing him of certain "excesses, and chiefly for omitting to use the forms of prayer prescribed in the communion book."⁵ Whitefield appeared in court on the day appointed, but protested against the admission of articles against him, as he doubted the authority of the court to proceed in the case. He further prayed for time to prepare and produce his objections. This request was granted. At the next meeting

¹ Gillies's "Life of Whitefield," p. 29.

² Two first parts of Whitefield's Life, p. 333.

³ Two first parts, etc., pp. 369, 370.

⁴ Two first parts, etc., p. 381.

⁵ Dr. Ramsay, in a note to pp. 12-14 of vol. II. of his "History of So. Carolina," gives a detailed account of this interesting ecclesiastical trial, from which we have drawn our account.

of the court he tendered exceptions in writing, "in recusation of the judge." At the same time he proposed to refer "the causes of his recusation against the judge" to six indifferent arbitrators, three of whom were to be chosen by the commissary. A replication to these exceptions was made by William Smith, and the relevancy of the exceptions was argued before the court by Andrew Rutledge, in behalf of Whitefield, and the contrary view by James Graeme. The court, consisting of the commissary and the Rev. Messrs. William Gay, Timothy Mellichamp, Stephen Roe, and William Orr, clerical assistants, unanimously decreed "that the exceptions be repelled."

From this decision the accused appealed to the lords commissioners appointed by the king for receiving and hearing appeals in spiritual causes from the American plantations. This was granted, and a year and a day allowed for the prosecution of the appeal and for hearing the result. It was ordered by the court that in the interim all further proceedings should be stayed. It is very evident that Whitefield thought or cared very little for the commissary or his court. During the hearing of his cause there was no interruption in the evangelistic labors he had undertaken, since twice daily he preached to admiring crowds, thronging the "meeting-houses" and other places which were opened to him, till, at length, worn out with his efforts, he left his bed to take his "last farewell of the dear people of Charleston."¹ On his next visit to Charleston he resumed his labors among the dissenters, and, "being denied the sacrament at church," he "administered it thrice in a private house." "Baptists, Church-Folks, and Presbyterians, all joined together, and received according to the Church of England, excepting two, who desired to have it sitting."² When again in Charleston no opposition was made to his movements until early in the following January, when he was arrested for having "made and composed a false, malicious, scandalous, and infamous libel against the clergy" of South Carolina, by editing and publishing a letter written by one of his converts, Mr. Hugh Bryan, in which "it was hinted that the clergy break their canons."³ On his arrest Whitefield immediately went before the chief justice, acknowledged that he had revised and corrected Mr. Bryan's letter for the press, and gave security for his appearance at the next general quarter sessions, under penalty of £100 "Proclamation money." This done, he writes in his journal, and shortly publishes to the world, these words: "Blessed be God for *this* further honour! I think *this* may be called PERSECUTION. I think it is for Righteousness' sake."⁴

The time for the prosecution of Whitefield's appeal expired, and "it was certified by the register of the court that no prohibition whatever from further proceedings in the said cause, nor any decree or determination of any superior court had been interposed, and therefore, on motion, the business was resumed as if no appeal had been made." The case, which had been adjourned from time to time, till there could be no doubt of the failure on Whitefield's part to prosecute the appeal, was at length resumed, and the final decree, after a full recital of all the facts in the case, was pronounced in these words:—

¹ Two first parts, etc., p. 374.² *Ibid.*, p. 381.*Ibid.*, p. 442.⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 443.

Therefore, We Alexander Garden, the judge aforesaid, having first invoked the name of Christ, and setting and having God Himself alone before our eyes, and by and with the advice of the Reverend persons, William Guy, Timothy Melli-champ, Stephen Roe, and William Orr, with whom in that part we have advised and maturely deliberated, do pronounce, decree, and declare the aforesaid George Whitefield, clerk, to have been at the times articted, and now to be a priest of the Church of England, and at the times and days in that part articted, to have officiated at divers Meeting-houses in Charleston, in the province of South Carolina, by praying and preaching to public congregations: and at such times to have omitted to use the form of prayer prescribed in the Communion Book or Book of Common Prayer, or at least according to the laws, canons, and constitutions ecclesiastical in that part made, provided and promulged, not to have used the same according to the lawful proof before us in that part judicially had and made. We therefore pronounce, decree, and declare, that the said George Whitefield, for his excesses and faults ought duly and canonically, and according to the exigence of the law in that part in the premises, to be corrected and punished, and also to be suspended from his office: accordingly by these presents, we do suspend him, the said George Whitefield, and so suspended, we also pronounce, decree, and declare him to be denounced, declared, and published openly and publicly in the face of the Church.¹

The proceedings in this celebrated case were duly transmitted to the Bishop of London,² who had been advised from time to time of the measures taken by the commissary, and had concurred in the same. To the legal mind of Garden, Whitefield's failure to prosecute his appeal was equivalent to a grievous sin. In the commissary's letter to the venerable society, under date of April 9, 1742, he thus states the case:—

I have now finished my proceedings against Whitefield (as far as I can go on this side of the water), and suspended him from his office, pursuant to the 38th Canon of the Church. He is certainly a very wicked man, for notwithstanding his solemn oath in open Court on the 19th July, 1740, that within one year next ensuing that day he would, bona fide, prosecute the appeal, then by him interposed, and cause the prosecution of the same to be authentically certified into this court,—notwithstanding this his solemn oath, I say (and of which at his request he had a copy given him by the Advocate in writing), he has not prosecuted his said appeal, and therefore stands guilty of a breach of oath on record.³

In connection with this attempt to restrain the fervor of Whitefield's enthusiasm by the force of rubrics and canons, the commissary reviewed, in print, two pamphlets published by Whitefield at Savannah: the first, in which he sought to vindicate his assertion that "Abp. Tillotson knew no more of Christianity than Mahomet;" and the second, in which he attempted to show the fundamental error of "The Whole Duty of Man." Mr. Garden's reply was in the form of "Six Letters to the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield." The first three were on the subject of justification. In the others the two pamphlets we have already referred to were criticised, together with other pieces of Mr. Whitefield. These letters passed through several editions, and prove the commissary to have been as keen and logical a disputant as he was exact and conscientious in his obedience to the church's law. In the judgment of fair-minded men the commissary's theology would be approved, rather than the enthusiastic and emotional tenets of the great evangelist. Certainly no one can defend the utter disregard of

¹ Ramsay's "So. Carolina," II., pp. 14, 15. London, in So. Carolina MSS., II., pp. 339, 340;

² *Idle* Letters from Garden to the Bishop of *vide also* p. 350. ³ So. Car. MSS., II., p. 350.

the ecclesiastical law to which he had promised conformity at his ordination. by one who, in place of throwing off the shackles which

SIX LETTERS

TO

The Rev. Mr. *George Whitefield*.

The First, Second and Third, on the Subject of Justification. The Fourth containing Remarks on a Pamphlet, entitled, The Case between Mr. Whitefield and Dr. Stebbing stated, &c. The Fifth containing Remarks on Mr. Whitefield's two Letters concerning Archbishop Tillotson, and the Book entitled, The Whole Duty of Man. The Sixth, containing Remarks on Mr. Whitefield's second Letter, concerning Archbishop Tillotson, and on his Letter concerning the Negroes.

By *Alexander Garden, M. A.*

Rector of *St. Philip's, Charlestown,*
And Commissary in *SOUTH-CAROLINA,*

Together with,

Mr. Whitefield's Answer to the first Letter.

The Second Edition.

B O S T O N :

Re-printed, and sold by *T. Fleet,* at the *Heart and Crown* in *Cornhill,* 1740.

bound him and avowing himself a dissenter, professed again and again his adherence to the Church, while setting at defiance her rules and her constituted authorities.

Commissary Garden continued to hold his commissarial office until 1749, when, after a term of service extending for nearly a quarter of a century, he resigned the charge he had filled with such distinguished reputation and usefulness. A few years later, in October, 1753, he resigned his cure of souls, and on Sunday, March 31, 1754, he preached his farewell sermon, after a rectorate of thirty-four years' duration. Returning to England with a view of spending his last days in his childhood's home, he found the climate too severe for a constitution accustomed to the warmth of the South. He therefore returned to Charleston, and, on the 27th of September, 1756, worn out with the infirmities of age, fell asleep, in the seventy-first year of his age. Strict and impartial in the exercise of his official duties, exemplary and consistent in private life, careful in his observance of the church's rules, devoted to the work of the ministry, he was fearless in reproving sin, painstaking in his preparation of his people for the holy communion, careful in providing for the poor, interested and successful in mission work among the negroes, and alive to all measures tending to promote sound education, pure morals, and Christian believing and living. The negro school he began and personally superintended had seventy pupils in it when he resigned. The free school, to which he gave no little time and pains, flourished long after its friend and benefactor had passed away. Among his successors none exceeded him in his hold upon the hearts of his people, and none left a more lasting or useful influence upon the Church and the community at large.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

IN connection with the consideration of the services of Commissary Garden, it may be well to give, from an authoritative document prepared by the clergy assembled agreeably to the requisition of the commissary, a minute account of the Church in South Carolina at the period of Commissary Bull's departure:—

LONDON, August 10, 1723.

A Short Memorial of the present State of the Church and Clergy in His Majesty's Province of South Carolina in America, by Wm. Tredwell Bull:—

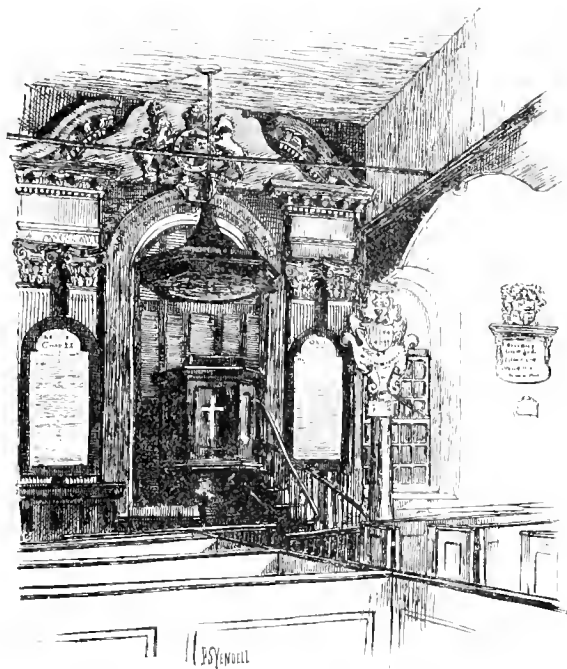
The Province of So. Carolina is divided into thirteen Parishes.

In Berkeley County there are eight, viz^t.

1. St. Philip's, Charles County, the only town of note and Port of Trade in the said Province which Parish extends throughout the said city, and a neck or Point of Land between the two Navigable Rivers of Ashley and Cooper, about six miles in length and two in breadth, and may contain between 300 and 400 Christian Families. In the said city there is a new erected church not yet entirely finished, a large, regular and beautiful Building exceeding any that are in His Majesty's Dominions in America. The present Minister of the said Church is the Rev. Mr. Alexander Garden (who hath enjoyed that Living somewhat more than 3 years) a learned and pious Divine, but of a sickly and weak constitution—the stated Salary of the said Church is £150 Proclamation Money i. e. £120 Sterling paid out of the public Treasury of the Province besides the perquisites, which in that Parish are considerable. There is likewise in the s^d City a Grammar School now setting up by the Rev^d. Mr. Thomas Marrit, very lately arrived a Missionary from the Hon^{ble} Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts, with the annual allow-

ance from the said society of £30 Sterling. The Salary allowed out of the Public Treasury to the said School Master is £100 per ann^m Proclamation Money i. e. £60 Sterling, besides the benefit of Scholars which is settled by law at £3 per ann^m a scholar in the said Proclamation Money, or the value thereof in the currency of Carolina. There are also in this city a small congregation of French Refugees who retain the Liturgy and Discipline of the Reformed Churches of France: one of Presbyterians, another of Anabaptists, and a few Quakers, who have each a Meeting House, but at present neither one of them have a settled Minister or Preacher.

2. St. James, at Goose Creek, a rich and populous Parish, the church which



INTERIOR OF THE GOOSE CREEK CHURCH.

is about sixteen miles from Charles City, is a neat and regular, but not a large, Brick Building. To this church is lately gone over a Missionary from the Hon^{ble} Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts, the Rev^d. Mr. Ludlam, who was not arrived there the latter end of May last. The stated Salary allowed out of the public Treasury of the Province to this and each County Parish is £100 per ann^m of the said Proclamation money or the value thereof in the currency of Carolina. There is also a very handsome Parsonage House of Brick and a Glebe of about 100 acres of Land.

3. St. Andrew's the church is 12 miles from Charles City, the Minister the Rev^d. Mr. Gray, a worthy divine and well esteemed of in the Parish, one of the Hon^{ble} Society's Missionarys and hath been so 14 years. There is a decent Parsonage House and a Glebe of 25 acres of Land. The Inhabitants are now enlarging and beautifying the Parish Church which is built of Brick, having for that end obtained out of the Public Treasury £100, and by subscriptions among themselves £500 of the Currency of Carolina.

4. St. George, the church is 20 miles from Charles City, a large and populous Parish, wherein is an handsome Brick Church, a Parsonage built with Timber and

a Glebe of £250 acres of Land. To this Church is now going over the Rev^d. Mr. Varnod, Missionary from the Hon^{ble} the Society.

5. St. John's, a large, populous and nice Parish, in which is a decent Brick Church 25 miles from Charles City, lately adorned and beautified at the charge of the Parishioners, and a very convenient Brick Parsonage House, pleasantly situated upon a Glebe of 300 acres of Land. The Reverend Mr. Brian Hunt, Minister and Missionary from the Hon^{ble} the Society, arrived there about March or April last, and was kindly received by the people.

6. St. Thomas's, a large and populous Parish, in which are two Churches and two Glebes, but no Parsonage House as yet built. The Rev^d. Mr. Hasell, who hath



ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH.

been Minister of the Parish and Missionary from the Hon^{ble} Society 14 years, and well esteemed by his people, residing upon an Estate, and in an House of his own, whilst the Money appropriated from the Public for the building of an house is daily increasing, being put out upon good Security at the legal interest of the County.

7. St. Denis, a Congregation of French Refugees conforming to the Church of England, and within the bounds of St. Thomas Parish, and made a district Parish for a time, until the present inhabitants or their children attain the English Tongue. The Minister, the Rev^d. Mr. John La Pierre, who hath enjoyed the living about 12 years, receiving an equal salary from the Treasury with the other County Parishes, but is no Missionary.

8. Christ Church, a large Parish, but poor, where is a Timber Church 13 miles from Charles City, a Parsonage House, a Glebe of 100 acres of land: the present Minister, the Rev^d. Mr. Pownal, one of the Society's Missionaries, came over to that Parish in the month of October last.

In Craven County are two Parishes.

9. St. James, Santee, a Parish consisting chiefly of French Refugees conforming to the Church of England in which is a Church about 60 miles from Charles

City, a Parsonage House and a Glebe of near 1000 acres of land, the present Minister the Rev^d. Mr. Albert Powderous a learned Divine and convert from the Church of Rome hath been resident there about two years.

10. King George's Parish which being a new settlement about 90 miles from Charles City was made a Parish by his Excellency General Nicholson, His Majesty's present Governor, about 15 Months ago. The General Assembly allowed £1000 of the Currency of Carolina and his Excellency has given £100 towards the building of a Church there w^{ch} is not yet begun.

In Colleton County are two Parishes, viz.

11. St. Paul's now vacant and the Parishioners humble supplicants for another Minister: they are a sober well inclined people kind and obliging to their late Minister, diligent in attending the word of God and desirous of all good instruction. The Church which is built of Brick and stands 20 miles from Charles City being too small for the present congregation is at this time enlarging and beautifying: the inhabitants having raised by subscriptions among themselves upwards of £1000 and obtained from the General Assembly £500 of the Currency of Carolina, besides a Legacy of £100 bequeathed to that use by Mr. John Whitmarsh of the said Parish lately deceased and some few other presents. Near the Church is a Glebe of 70



RUINS OF ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, DORCHESTER.

acres of land whereon was a very convenient brick House and some other outbuildings which were burnt down by the Indians in the year 1715 and not yet rebuilt. The sum of £456 Carolina money was allowed out of the Treasury there for to repair the same which having been let out to interest is now about £600.

12. St. Bartholomew's: this parish hath been vacant since the year 1715 by the death of the late Incumbent Mr. Osborne, one of the Hon^{ble} Society's Missionarys. It was then intirely depopulated by the Indian War and very few of the Inhabitants have since returned, who live remote from one another and have neither Church nor Parsonage House. There's a Glebe of 300 acres of land and some preparations were formerly making towards a Church and house. But the war breaking out the Inhabitants dispersed and the Minister died, and nothing of late hath been done in it.

In Granville County there's but one Parish.

13. St. Helen's in which is neither Church nor Parsonage House, the General Assembly hath lately allowed £1000 of the Currency of Carolina and the Governor £100 towards the Building of the Church. This Parish was also depopulated in the Indian War but many of the Inhabitants since returned, the Rev^d. Mr. Brayfield,

Thomas Hagell
 John Lapierre
 Benjamin Pannell
 William Dawson
 Brian Hunt
 Alb^t Souderoy
 Richard Judcam
 T. Varnod
 David Saadish

SIGNATURES OF SOUTH CAROLINA CLERGYMEN, 1724.

Chaplain to His Majesty's Forces in Carolina Officiates some times there, There's also a Presbyterian Teacher who lives meanly and chiefly upon his own private interest.

N. B. That near Charles City is a large handsome brick House and a Glebe of 17 acres of Land for the Parsonage, which at present with the consent of the Minister is made use of for the School that is setting up there by Mr. Morritt and an house within the City hired by the Public, for the use of a Minister.

N. B. That towards the repairs of Parsonage Houses the Ministers, Church Wardens and Vestry of each Parish are empowered to draw upon the Public Treasurer any sum not exceeding £25 of the aforesaid Proclamation Money per ann^m and a certain sum for the repairs of the Churches and to pay the Clerk, Sextons, Registers their Salaries.

N. B. There are within the several Parishes Dissenters of different denominations but there are no public Teachers at present except among the Presbyterians or Independents who have four or five tho' not above two or three of them that are settled Teachers.

WM TREDWELL BULL,
 Late Minister of St Paul's, Colleton County,
 and Commissary to Right Reverend
 the Lord Bishop of London in
 S^c. Carolina.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE EPISCOPATE.

ALTHOUGH two centuries were permitted to elapse between the introduction of the reformed, yet catholic, Church of England upon the American shores and the provision of the episcopate to complete the church's orders and perfect her discipline, still the minds of those in authority in the mother-land were not without a sense of this lack, and a desire for its remedy, almost from the earliest days of discovery and settlement. As far back as the year 1638 the sagacious and far-seeing Laud, who had earlier despatched a commissary to Plymouth, the Rev. William Morrell, to superintend the ecclesiastical affairs of New England, set on foot a scheme to remedy the evils already imminent among the separatist settlers of the Massachusetts Bay by sending a bishop to New England. This plan, which, if carried into effect, might have changed not only the ecclesiastical, but also the civil, history of a continent, was thwarted by the outbreak of troubles in Scotland; and it was shortly a question if the Church would survive at home, rather than that she should be extended and made complete abroad. Still, the idea was by no means lost sight of, and in a pamphlet entitled "Virginia's Cure," published shortly after the Restoration, and dedicated to Sheldon, then Bishop of London, and Morley, Bishop of Winchester, the demand was earnestly made for the presence of a bishop in the province, to redress evils which were rife in church and state, and awaken a more healthy and vigorous spiritual life. Specially was the need of a bishop urged, with a view of restoring the primitive diaconate, for the purpose of filling the vacant parishes, else but imperfectly cared for by lay-readers. There were "divers persons already in the colony fit to serve the Church in the office of Deacon," and, "after due probation and examination," they might receive authority to minister, according to these degrees, in the congregation. This appeal was urged in behalf of a people "which generally bear a great love to the stated constitutions of the Church of England, in her government and publick worship, which gave us," continues the writer, "who went thither under the late persecutions of it, the advantage to use it constantly among them, after the naval power had reduced the colony under the power (but never to the obedience) of the usurper;¹ which liberty we could not have enjoyed had not the people generally expressed great love for it." It is deeply to be regretted that this earnest prayer received no answer. An attempt, indeed, was made to provide a bishop for Virginia. The nomination of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Murray, who had been

¹ Cromwell.

a companion of the king in his exile, to this office was approved by the monarch during the administration of Clarendon, and a patent was actually made out constituting this divine Bishop of Virginia with a general charge over the other provinces; but the matter failed of accomplishment. Objections were urged against the fitness of Dr. Murray for the office and work of a bishop; and when these charges, upon investigation, were found to be groundless, other difficulties were raised, which delayed and finally defeated the execution of the plan proposed. The fall of Clarendon, and the accession of the "Cabal" ministry to power, are supposed by some to have occasioned this failure. Such, at least, was Dr. Murray's explanation of the matter. At a later day Archbishop Secker states, from an examination of Bishop Gibson's papers, that the failure was owing to the fact that the endowment for the Virginia episcopate was made payable out of the customs. The unexecuted letters-patent were long on file among the archives of the see of London.¹ If we may credit the assertion of a letter sent from England to the Massachusetts-Bay Colony, bearing date of 1662, the question of an American episcopate had been under consideration at least ten years before the failure to send Dr. Murray to Virginia. Hutchinson, in his "History of Massachusetts," gives, in a foot-note to his narrative, the following extract from this communication:—

There was a General Governor and a Mayor-General chosen, and a *Bishop with a suffragan*, but Mr. Norton writes that they are not yet out of hope to prevent it; the Governor's name is Sir Robert Carr, a rank Papist.²

There is no other evidence with respect to this appointment, if it ever was made, and it is not improbable that in transcription a clerical error may have substituted the year 1662 for 1672, at which time, as we have seen, the subject was actually in a fair way of accomplishment.

The labors of Dr. Thomas Bray, in the exercise of his commissarial office in Maryland, inspired him with strong convictions of the immediate necessity of episcopal oversight for the American clergy. With a view, doubtless, of meeting the objection which was possibly the cause of the failure of the scheme proposed in the reign of King Charles II., Bray projected a plan of raising, by private contributions, a sum sufficient for the purchase of a plantation in Maryland, upon which the bishop might reside, and from which he might receive his support. Offerings at once flowed in for the furtherance of this scheme; but opposition from both sides of the Atlantic was speedily directed against the plan, which consequently fell to the ground. The minds of the members of the venerable society at the very outset of their missionary operations were occupied in this direction, and the suggestion that a Scotch bishop might be sent to America as a suffragan to the Bishop of London seems to have failed of adoption on the part of the society, as its solution of the acknowledged difficulty of supplying the colonies with episcopal supervision, only in consequence of the

¹ Printed in the author's notes to "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch.," I., pp. 536-542.

² Hutchinson's "History of Massachusetts," I., p. 225, note.

age and fewness of the Scotch bishops. The need of a bishop for America was continually urged by the missionaries sent out under the auspices of the society from the very start, and the first report of the society published from a letter of the Rev. John Talbot, the companion and fellow-missioner of Keith, written from New York in 1702, an emphatic utterance of this universally felt and confessed desire :—

There are earnest addresses from divers parts of the Continent and Islands adjacent, for a SUFFRAGAN TO VISIT THE SEVERAL CHURCHES; ORDAIN SOME, CONFIRM OTHERS, AND BLESS ALL.

The following year the same devoted missionary refers in his correspondence with the society to the loss of many to dissent for want of a lawful ministry, while those who were willing and qualified to serve were deterred from seeking holy orders by the hazard and expense of a voyage to England. With honest plainness he continues :—

Did our gracious Queen Anne but know the necessities of her many good subjects in these parts of the world, she would allow 1000*l.* per annum rather than so many souls should suffer. Meanwhile, I don't doubt but some learned and good man would go further, and do the church more service with 100*l.* per annum than with a coach and six one hundred years hence.

Writing, in 1704, to his former fellow-traveller, the Rev. George Keith, who was again in England, he proceeds to speak of a fit person to be appointed, and to suggest the manner of his support :—

Mr. John Lillingston designs, it seems, to go to England next year; he seems to be the fittest person that America affords for the office of a suffragan, and several persons, both of the laity and clergy, have wished he were the man; and if my Lord of London thought fit to authorize him, several of the clergy, both of this province and of Maryland, have said they would pay their tenths unto him, as my Lord of London's vicegerent, whereby the Bishop of America might have as honourable provision as some in Europe.

The other missionaries of the society concurred in pressing this important matter upon the attention of the authorities at home. "Excuse me to the society," writes the Rev. Thoroughgood Moor, in 1704, "if I am earnest with them for a suffragan, and that they would have a particular regard to the unanimous request of the clergy in all parts of America upon this account."

If further confirmation of the need and wish for a bishop were desired, to warrant the action of the Church at home, it was supplied, in 1705, by a memorial addressed to the archbishops and bishops from a convocation of fourteen clergymen assembled at Burlington, N. J., praying for the "presence and assistance of a suffragan bishop, to ordain such persons as are fit to be called to serve in the sacred ministry of the Church," and stating that they had already been "deprived of the advantages which might have been received of some presbyterian and independent ministers that formerly were, and others that still are, willing to conform and receive the holy character, for want of a bishop to give it." They add that "the baptized want to be confirmed," and

their plea for the presence of a bishop was supported and reiterated by the royal governors and leading laity as well.

Thus urgently appealed to, both in formal petitions and in private correspondence, the society submitted a memorial to the queen, in 1709, in which the pressing need of the American Church was strongly stated, and measures urged for its relief. Their words were as follows :—

We cannot but take this opportunity further to represent to your Majesty, with the greatest humility, the earnest and repeated desires, not only of the Missionaries, but of divers other considerable persons that are in communion with our excellent Church, to have a Bishop settled in your American plantations (which we humbly conceive to be very useful and necessary for establishing the Gospel in those parts), that they may be the better united among themselves than at present they are, and more able to withstand the designs of their enemies: that there may be confirmations, which in their present state they cannot have the benefit of; and that an easy and speedy care may be taken of all the other affairs of the Church, which is much increased in those parts, and to which, through your Majesty's gracious protection and encouragement, we trust that yet a greater addition will daily be made. We humbly beg leave to add that we are informed that the French have received several great advantages from their establishing a Bishop at Quebec.

The following year Colonel Nicholson, the Governor of Virginia, whose interest in the Church was undoubted, expressed in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury his conviction, "that unless a bishop be sent, in a short time the Church of England will rather diminish than increase in North America."

It was about this time that the attention of the scheming and ambitious Dean Swift was directed towards the Virginia Episcopate. His friend, Colonel Hunter, had been appointed lieutenant-governor of this province; but he failed to reach his seat of government, having been captured by the French on his voyage across the Atlantic. While a prisoner at Paris, Swift wrote to him, January 12, 1708-9 :—

Vouz savez que Monsieur Addison, notre bon ami, est fait secrétaire d'état d'Irlande; and unless you make haste over and get my Virginia bishoprick he will persuade me to go with him, for the Virginia project is off, which is a great disappointment to the design I had of displaying my politics at the Emperor's Court.¹

Two months later he again refers to this subject in a letter to the same :—

I shall go from Ireland sometime in summer, being not able to make my friends in the ministry consider my merits or their promises enough to keep me here, so that all my hopes now terminate in my bishoprick of Virginia.²

Four years later, when Hunter had, after his failure to enter upon his appointment to Virginia, received the post of Governor of New York, he writes to the dean as follows :—

I have purchased a seat for a bishop, and by orders from the society have given orders to prepare it for his reception. You once upon a day gave me hopes of seeing you there. It would be no small relief to have so good a friend to complain to.³

¹ Swift's Works, Scott's ed., xv., p. 295.

² *Ibid.*, p. 308.

³ *Ibid.*, xvi., p. 43.

These extracts, however, fail to prove that there was ever the serious purpose on the part of those in power of sending Swift to a post for which he was in every way unfitted, and in which he could not have failed to do more injury than good. It is probable that the appointment of his friend to an American government aroused the restless and intriguing spirit of Swift to seek for himself any temporal advantage that might thus be opened to him, and doubtless the matter never went beyond the conversation or the correspondence of the two friends. It was certainly well for the Church in America that even the thought of such an appointment perished ere it came to the light. It was inevitable that a plan so important in itself, and so constantly urged in the letters and memorials received from the churchmen and clergy in America, should commend itself to the attention and interest of the authorities of the Church at home. It is a matter of record that the Archbishop of York, Dr. Sharpe, whose unwearied interest in all matters of church extension led him to favor and further the scheme for the introduction of the episcopate among the protestant communions upon the continent of Europe, convened and presided at a meeting on the 20th of January, 1711, at which the bishop of Bristol, Dr. Robinson, the bishop of St. David's, Dr. Bisse, and the celebrated Atterbury, prolocutor of the lower House of Convocation, and Drs. Smalridge and Stanhope, were present, on which occasion the archbishop offered a "proposal concerning bishops being provided for the plantations;" but "as the Bishop of London, who from his recognized relation to the colonial churches had a right to be first consulted on such a project, was not present, the matter was dropped."¹

But the subject was still pressed upon the attention of the officers of state. A second memorial, respecting an American episcopate, was presented to the queen by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, on the 24th of March, 1713, and received so favorable a reception from Her Majesty that there seemed an immediate prospect of success. Unhappily, the death of the queen, shortly after, put an end to the design. The importunity of the society in thus renewing the application for the appointment of an American episcopate was justified by the statement that it acted upon the repeated requests and representations of "governors of provinces, ministers, vestries, and private persons in the plantation;" and, "after a loud call for fifteen years," so nearly was the end attained that by royal command "a draught of a bill was ordered, proper to be offered to the parliament for establishing Bishops and Bishopricks in America." Alas! that on the very eve of accomplishment the hopes of the friends of this measure were doomed to disappointment.

The society, disappointed, but not in despair, renewed its application to George I. in a memorial dated June 3, 1715, and, after reciting the events described above, submitted to the king's consideration a plan for the creation of four bishoprics, two for the islands and two for the continent. Of the former it was proposed that one bishop should be "settled at Barbadoes, for itself and the Leeward Islands." The

¹ Newcome's "Life of Abp. Sharpe," i., p. 532.

other was to be placed "at Jamaica for itself with the Bahama and Bermuda Islands." Of the latter, one was to have his seat at Burlington, N. J., with jurisdiction "from the east side of Delaware river to the utmost bounds of the king's dominions eastward, including Newfoundland." The other see was that of Williamsburg, in Virginia, with jurisdiction "from the west side of Delaware river to the utmost bounds of the British dominions westward." The income of the bishops of Barbadoes and Jamaica was to be £1,500 per annum respectively, the former prelate having the presidency of Codrington College, and the latter's revenue being provided out of the "church lands of St. Christopher's, formerly belonging to the Jesuits and the Carmelites and other French popish clergy." The Bishops of Burlington and Williamsburg were to receive £1,000 per annum, while for the former the society had "been at six hundred pounds' charge and upwards to purchase a convenient house and land for his residence." Other sources whence the income named could be obtained were suggested, such as "the best rectory in the capital seat of each bishop," with the tenth part of all future grants and escheats to the crown," which the king might be pleased to give, together with "such local revenues as shall be thought fit to be made by their respective assemblies." If these and other resources should prove insufficient, or be deemed impracticable, the memorial further prayed that a prebend in the gift of the crown, the mastership of the Savoy, or that of St. Catherine's, might be annexed to the continental bishoprics, for the supply or augmentation of their maintenance.

A scheme so well conceived and so thoroughly digested, having received the hearty countenance of the late sovereign, might have been expected to secure the immediate approval of the crown. But the times were most unfavorable for the consideration of the claims of the Church. The rebellion had just broken out in Scotland, and the political jealousies and suspicions then rife, intensified by a distrust of the clergy, who, in many instances, were suspected — and not without cause — of favoring the pretensions of the exiled House of Stuart, precluded all hope of success, at least during the administration of Sir Robert Walpole. It was not likely that the application in behalf of a few churchmen on a distant continent would receive a hearing when the existence of the government itself was in danger from rebellion, even though the object of the petition was asserted to be "to forward the great work of converting infidels to the saving faith of our blessed Redeemer, and for the regulating such Christians in their faith and practice as are already converted thereto." The adherents of the House of Hanover felt that the struggle in which they were engaged was for life. They had neither thought nor time for matters or measures that contemplated merely the relief of the spiritual needs, or the development of the ecclesiastical constitution of the far-away provinces of the American coast. Thus it was that the society's plan, which had been so carefully thought out and so ably urged, was laid aside. The archbishop, Dr. Tenison, who died in December, 1715, mindful of the need which the society had so repeatedly sought to remedy, bequeathed to it a legacy of £1,000, "toward the settlement of two bishops, one for the continent, the other for the isles of America;" and it was in the

same undiscouraged spirit, and with like confidence of ultimate success, that Dr. Kennett, then Dean and shortly afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, in a letter to his correspondent in Boston, the Rev. B. Coleman, an independent minister, recites the difficulties in the way of the society's success in its work in America, and the means of relief:—

The two great difficulties that still lie hard upon our Society for Propagation of the Gospel are, 1. the want of sober and religious missionaries; few offering themselves to that service for the glory of God and the good of souls; but chiefly to find a refuge from poverty and scandal. 2. Such men, when they come to the places allotted to them, forget their mission; and instead of propagating Christianity, are only contending for rites and ceremonies, or for powers and privileges, and are disputing with the Vestries of every Parish, and even with the civil government of every province. The two mischiefs can hardly be redress'd but by fixing Schools and Universities in those parts, and settling, we hope, two Bishops, one for the Continent, another for the Islands, with advice and assistance of presbyters, to ordain fit persons, especially natives, and to take care of all the Churches.¹

The repeated delays and disappointments in securing the episcopal supervision, so imperatively required in America, called forth the earnest remonstrances, and even the complaints, of men like Talbot, who had given up all for the upholding of the Church of the living God in the New World. The following characteristic and caustic criticism is contained in a letter from this worthy missionary, written in 1716:—

The poor Church of God here in the wilderness, there's none to guide her among all the sons that she has brought forth, nor is there any that takes her by the hand of all the sons that she has brought up. When the apostles heard that Samaria had received the Word of God, immediately they sent out two of the Chiefs, Peter and John, to lay their hands on them, and pray that they might receive the Holy Ghost; they did not stay for a secular design of salary; and when the apostles heard that the word of God was preached at Antioch, presently they sent out Paul and Barnabas, that they should go as far as Antioch to confirm the disciples; and so the churches were established in the faith, and increased in number daily. And when Paul did but dream that a man of Macedonia called him, he set sail all so fast, and went over himself to help them. But we have been here these twenty years calling till our hearts ache, and ye own 'tis the call and cause of God, and yet ye have not heard, or have not answered, and that's all one. . . . I don't pretend to prophecy, but you know 'tis said, the kingdom of God shall be taken from them and given to a nation that will bring forth the fruits of it. God give us all the grace to do the things that belong to our peace.

In the same reproachful strain he again writes:—

I cannot think but the honourable Society had done much more if they had found one honest man to bring Gospel orders over to us. No doubt, as they have freely received, they would freely give; but there's a *nolo episcopari* only for poor America, but she shall have her gospel-day even as others, but we shall never see it unless we make more haste than we have done.

But it was not only the wish of the clergy to have a bishop in America; the vestries and laity, from time to time, joined in the earnest appeal for the same boon. On the 2d of June, 1718, a petition was signed by order of the vestries of Christ Church, Phila-

¹ Life of Kennett, p. 123.

delphia, and St. Ann's, Burlington, as well as by the clergy, and many of the laity in Maryland at a later date, which forcibly states the grievance and burdens to which the American Church was subjected on this account : —

For want of Episcopacy being established amongst us, and that there has never been any Bishop sent to visit us, our churches remain unconsecrated, our children are grown up and cannot be confirmed, their sureties are under solemn obligations, but cannot be absolved, and our clergy, sometimes, under doubts, and cannot be resolved :

But, more especially for the want of that sacred power which is inherent to your apostolic office, the vacancies which daily happen in our ministry cannot be supplied for a considerable time from England, whereby many congregations are not only become desolate, and the light of the Gospel therein extinguished; but great encouragement is thereby given to sectaries of all sorts which abound and increase amongst us; and some of them pretending to what they call the power of ordination, the country is filled with fanatic teachers, debauching the good inclinations of many poor souls who are left destitute of any instruction or ministry.

About this time an unknown benefactor gave to the venerable society the sum of £1,000, with instructions that "the principal and interest might be applied towards the maintenance of a bishop in America, when said bishop should be established." In 1720 this sum was increased by a gift of £500 from Dugald Campbell, Esq., for the same purpose, and subsequently a benefaction of like amount was received from the Lady Elizabeth Hastings. These free-will offerings from the laity show that the sense of the need of bishops was not confined to the clergy merely, nor even to Americans, for whose benefit the plan was proposed.

The hopes so often expressed by the honest and fearless Talbot, that "a head" would be provided for the American Church, "to propagate the Gospel," -- to propagate it by imparting some spiritual gift by ordination or confirmation, — at length faded out. The tireless missionary still pursued his work, building churches to see them used as "stalls and stables for Quakers' horses when they came to market or meeting," and securing "missioners" who after a little sought refuge in Maryland "for the sake of themselves, their wives, and their children." For his own part he felt that he could not desert the "poor flock" he had gathered, even if he had "neither money, credit, nor tobacco." Worn with excessive labor he sought permission to return for a time to England. Here he claimed and received for a time the interest of Archbishop Tenison's legacy, which, until the appointment of an American bishop was payable to an aged missionary. But life in England had lost its charms for one so active and abundant in effort for the upbuilding of the Church of God. He could not be idle when souls were perishing in schism and sin. He could not forget the scenes of his early labors, and his great success. The missionary's heart yearned for the sons he had begotten in the faith, and so he returned to spend the rest of his days "*apud Americanos*," as was his favorite phrase. Soon after his return credible reports were received by the society of his refusal to take the oath of allegiance to the king and of his omission of the king's name in the church's

prayers. He had been accused by Governor Hunter, as long before as 1715, of having "incorporated the Jacobites in the Jerseys, under the name of a church, in order to sanctify his sedition and insolence to the government;" but he had indignantly repelled the charge for himself and for his people, with every evidence of good faith. The church-wardens and vestry at Burlington joined in this denial, and the accusation of the governor was, without doubt, as untrue as it must have been malicious. There could be little sympathy between the friend and admirer of Swift and the self-sacrificing, conscientious, and hard-working "missioner" at Burlington. The very charge, however, may have been the occasion of its subsequent justification. The repeated failure of the efforts to provide a bishop for the Church in America, to whose service he had given his life, may have turned his attention to that non-juring schism whose bishops were, at least, unshackled by any connection with the State, and from whose hands the coveted apostolical commission might be supplied. He had been able to boast, "I suffer all things for the elect's sake, the poor Church of God, here in the Wilderness." He was now, after years of faithful labor, after spending and being spent in the church's service, after winning the testimony of churchmen far and near, "that by his exemplary life and ministry he had been the greatest advocate for the Church of England, by law established, that ever appeared on this shore,"¹ to be "discharged the society for exercising acts of jurisdiction over the brethren, the missionaries." He promptly denied the charge, averring that he "knew nothing about it, nor anybody else, in all the world;" but that a change had come over the old missionary's spirit is evident. There is no further appeal made in his letters for a bishop for America; nor is this subject, which proved the burden of his earlier correspondence, again referred to. Accused as a "notorious Jacobite" by the testimony of a worthless, strolling clergyman, who, in the same breath with which he maligned Talbot, pronounced a place "slavish" "where they require two sermons every Lord's Day, Prayers all the week and Homilies on Festivals, besides abundance of Funerals, Christenings at home, and sick to be visited," — Talbot was dismissed from the society's service, his church was closed, and "a long, long penance" exacted of him for "crimes" which he professed were to him "unknown." The same questionable authority complained that at Philadelphia "he convened all the clergy to meet, put on his robes and demanded episcopal obedience from them. One wiser than the rest refused, acquainted the governor with the ill-consequences thereof, the danger he would run of losing his government; whereupon the governor ordered the church to be shut up." "There seems to be no reason to doubt," writes Hawkins, in his historical notices of the missions of the Church of England, "that, during his visit to England, he, with Dr. Welton, had been consecrated by the non-juring bishops. Such a step admits of no justification; but we may well suppose that he was led to take it by no personal ambition, but by that strong and earnest conviction of the absolute necessity

¹ Memorial of Church-wardens and Vestrymen of Christ Church, Philadelphia, St. James's, New Bristol, and St. Mary's, Burlington, to the society.

of an episcopate for the welfare of the Church in America, of which his letters afford such abundant testimony. It appears that he occasionally assumed the episcopal dress, and that he administered the ordinance of confirmation. Whatever confusion or schism might have arisen by the irregular exercise of the episcopal office was prevented by an order from the Privy Council for Welton's¹ return to England, and by the death of Mr. Talbot, which occurred in 1727."² Notices of Mr. Talbot occur occasionally in the correspondence of the missionaries with the society, or with their diocesan, the Bishop of London. The excellent Jacob Henderson, Commissary of Maryland, under date of August 16, 1724, writes that, —

Mr. Talbot, Minister of Burlington, returned from England about two years ago in Episcopal Orders, though his orders till now of late have been kept as a great secret, and Dr. Welton is arrived there about six weeks ago, as I'm credibly informed, in the same capacity, and the people of Philadelphia are so fond of him that they will have him right or wrong for their minister.

I am much afraid these gentlemen will poison the people of that province. I cannot see what can prevent it but the speedy arrival of a Bishop there, one of the same order to confront them, for the people will rather take confirmation from them than have none at all, and by that means they'll hook them into the schism.

In June, 1726, the commissary of the eastern shore, the Rev. Christopher Wilkinson, writes to his diocesan : —

I understood Dr. Welton has left Philadelphia and is gone for Lisbon. He and the rest of the non-jurors disagreed very much among themselves, in so much that they avoided one another's company. Mr. Talbot and Mr. Smith (who also differ very much in their sentiments of submission to the established government) have been with us in Maryland. They behaved themselves very modestly, avoided talking very much, and resolved to submit quietly to the orders sent from England to prohibit their public officiating in any of the Churches, or to set up separate meetings.³

A few weeks later the Rev. Archibald Cummins, who had lately arrived in Pennsylvania, writes to the Bishop of London as follows : —

I have been importuned by numbers of people from Burlington, and by some of this Province, to write to your Lordship in favour of Dr. Talbot; they made me promise to mention him, otherwise I would not presume to do it. He is universally beloved, even by Dissenters here, and has done a great deal of good. Welton and he had differed, and broke off correspondence by reason of the rash chimerical projects of the former, long before the Government took notice of them. If he were connived at and could be assisted by the Society (for I am told the old man's circumstances are very mean), he promises by his friends to be peaceable and easy, and to do all the good he can for the future.⁴

Poor old man! He had lived not for himself, but for others. He was "universally beloved," had "done a great deal of good," and at

¹ Added to the letter from Urmston, in which the charge is made that Talbot endeavored to secure the canonical obedience of the clergy, is a "P.S.," as follows: "He is succeeded by Dr. Welton, who makes a great noise amongst them by reason of his sufferings. He has brought with him to the value of £300 sterling in guns and fishing-tackle, with divers printed copies of his famous altar-piece at White-Chapel. He has

added a scrawl with words proceeding out of the mouth of the Bishop of Peterborough to this effect as I am told, 'I am not he that betrayed Christ, though as ready to do it as ever Judas was.' I have met him once in the streets, but had no further conversation with him." — *Prot. Epis. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, I., p. 93.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 146, 147.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

the close of an exemplary and most useful life, with no offence charged against him other than a suspicion of Jacobite tendencies and practices, and the alleged exercise of episcopal authority, his last days could only be spent "peaceably and easy," if he were "connived at," so that he might still "do all the good" in his power to the end! Certainly the name of John Talbot may well be held in loving remembrance by the Church for which he did and dared so much!¹

The venerable and beloved Bishop White was wont to relate a tradition which he heard from his elder brethren when he was but a youth. The story was this:—

A gentleman who had been ordained among the Congregationalists of New England, and who had officiated among them as a minister for many years, at length, to the surprise of his friends, began to express doubts about the validity of his ordination, and manifested no small trouble of mind on the subject. Suddenly, about the time of the arrival of Talbot and Welton, he left home without declaring the place of his destination or purpose of his journey. After an interval of a few weeks he returned, and gave no further information of his movements than that he had been to some of the southern colonies; he also said on his return that he was now perfectly satisfied with his ordination, and from that day never manifested the least solicitude on the subject, but continued till he died to preach to his congregation. It was soon whispered by those whose curiosity here found materials for its exercise that the minister had been on a visit to the non-juring bishops, and obtained ordination from one of them. He never said so; but among churchmen it was believed that such was the fact.²

With each added year the need of a bishop was more painfully felt. In 1724 the Rev. Samuel Johnson, the newly-ordained missionary at Stratford, addressed the Bishop of London on the subject, urging the appointment of a bishop, in view of the fact that "a considerable number of young gentlemen," and "those the best educated among us," "for want of episcopal ordination, decline the ministry," because "unwilling to expose themselves to the danger of the seas and distempers, so terrifying has been the unhappy fate of Mr. Browne."³ "So that," continues this excellent missionary, "the fountain of all our misery is the want of a bishop, for whom there are many thousands of souls in this country so impatiently long and pray, and for want do extremely suffer." The following year six of the New England clergy, including Dr. Cutler and Mr. Johnson, prepared a memorial to the venerable society, in which they pray for the protection and guidance of "an orthodox and loyal bishop" residing among them. Referring to the presence of Dr. Welton, as threatening "very unhappy consequences" to the Church and the government, they add: "Not only those who profess themselves churchmen long and pray for this great blessing of a worthy bishop with us, but also multitudes of those who are well-wishers to us, but are kept concealed for want thereof, and would immediately appear and form many more congregations too, if once this happiness were granted."⁴ The Rev. James Honyman, of Rhode

¹ The ingenious and able argument of the Rev. Dr. Fulton in support of the view that Talbot was not consecrated, will be found among the monographs appended to this volume, and is well worthy of careful consideration in this connection.

² Dr. Hawks, in his "History of the Church in Maryland," p. 185.

³ The Rev. Daniel Browne died in England of the small-pox shortly after admission to Holy Orders.

⁴ Hawkins's "Hist. Notices," p. 388.

Island, besides signing this memorial, addressed a further communication to the Bishop of London, submitting that many perplexing doubts were constantly arising which could only be resolved by the authority of an ecclesiastical superior resident on the ground, and cognizant of all the circumstances that might affect each case in question.

Nor was this importunate cry for the presence and blessing of the episcopate confined to the clergy and congregations of the northern and middle colonies. After numerous fruitless applications in the past, the clergy of Maryland renewed their demand, and the Bishop of London invited them to nominate one of their own number for the office of suffragan. The choice fell upon the Rev. Mr. Colebatch, a man of exemplary character and acknowledged fitness for the work proposed. No records are extant to acquaint us with the grounds the bishop had for presuming that the consecration of a suffragan would be permitted; but it is unlikely that he would have made the request for a nomination unless he had reason to assume the consent of the crown. But the failure of the effort at this time resulted not from the opposition of the authorities in England, but in the province itself. The proposition of the bishop being noised abroad, a writ of *ne exeat* was applied for and granted by the courts of Maryland against the departure for England of the choice of the clergy, and the one whom both his brethren and his diocesan were anxious to see intrusted with the office of a suffragan bishop was thus forbidden by the legislature to leave the province.

It appears from a letter addressed to the venerable society in 1748, by one of its most faithful and successful missionaries, the Rev. Clement Hall, of North Carolina, that a report was then prevalent "that a bishop" who was, to quote his words, "much wanted, and by all good men earnestly desired," was "about to be sent over and settled in Virginia," and the writer anxiously asks whether the report were true. The absence of any definite answer to this earnest query is sufficient proof that if any ground for the rumor existed other than the wish of good men, it was soon removed, and the long-continued indifference of those in power to the spiritual needs of the colonies was persistently maintained.

The excellent Secker, Bishop of Oxford, had, in his sermon preached before the society in 1741, pointed out the advantages arising from the presence of bishops in the colonies; and Dr. Sherlock, Bishop of London, in writing to good Dr. Johnson, at Stratford, Conn., had informed him that he had been "soliciting the establishment of one or two bishops to reside in proper parts of the plantations, and to have the conduct and direction of the whole;" but it was not till the year 1750 that a united and sustained effort was again made for the accomplishment of this long-deferred scheme. The zeal with which Bishops Sherlock, Secker, and Butler entered upon their task, seemed to have gained strength from the very disappointments which had attended all previous efforts.

It seems strange that a measure necessary for the very existence of the Church should have been so bitterly and perseveringly opposed, and finally effectually thwarted by the machinations of those who

claimed for themselves and for their own religious organization the most complete tolerance and the most perfect freedom. Pains had been taken from the first to assure dissenters that in the establishment of episcopacy in the colonies there was no design of infringing upon the rights or privileges of those who were not in the communion of the Church.

Your loving Brother
Thos. Cant.

In a letter addressed to the Rev. Mr. Colman, an independent minister of Boston, by Dr. White Kennett, Dean, and afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, we find the following language used with reference to the proposed American episcopate :—

I hope your Churches would not be jealous of it, they being out of our line, and therefore beyond the cognizance of any overseers to be sent from hence.¹

But the opposition which was thus deprecated, by one who spoke with authority as a leading member and officer of the venerable society which had the matter at that time in hand, was shortly aroused, and year by year intensified by the very progress of the Church to which these bishops were to be sent as overseers. The introduction of the Church into the northern colonies, which was effected toward the close of the seventeenth century, and its rapid development on every side in the early part of the succeeding century, had excited the apprehension that the coveted blessings of the New England theocracy were to be lost, and the "standing order," even of Puritan Massachusetts and Connecticut was to be made subservient to another polity and a less rigid rule of faith. The conversion of Rector Cutler, the scholarly head of Yale College, which was followed by the defection of one after another from the ranks of Puritanism, gave rise, as we have seen, to a wide-spread apprehension: and a most intense opposition to the Church. Controversies had arisen on every side, and disputes and bickerings became more and more heated as years went on. Prejudices were aroused, and the very existence of the New England churches was believed by many to be imperilled. The great principles of toleration were but imperfectly understood, and "it was not to be endured that episcopacy should, unmolested, rear its mitred head among the children of men who had said to the world: 'Let all mankind know that we came into the *wilderness*, because we would worship God without that *Episcopacy*, that *Common Prayer*, and those unwarrantable *ceremonies* with which the *land of our forefathers' sepulchres* has been defiled; we came hither because we would have our posterity settled under the full and pure *dispensations* of the gospel; defended by *rulers that should be of ourselves.*'"²

No one familiar with the history of New England can be ignorant of the pains taken on the part of the colonial ministers and magis-

¹ Turell's "Life of Colman," p. 127.

quoted by Dr. Hawks, in "Prot. Epis. Hist. Soc. Coll.," i., p. 113.

² Mather's "Magnalia," Book III., Part I., sec. VII., page 219, of Vol. I.: Hartford reprint,

trates to prevent, by the use of all available means, the authorization of bishops for America. The letters of instructions to the provincial agents who were employed to watch over the interests of their American constituents at the English court have frequent references to the importance of thwarting any scheme for the introduction of a trans-Atlantic episcopacy. The correspondence of the leading ministers with the prominent dissenters of England abounds in references to this matter, and in earnest appeals for their brethren's coöperation in hindering so dreaded an invasion of their alleged rights. Constant representations were made to the ministry by those who represented the dissenting interest that any scheme in this direction would be attended with most serious consequences. Remonstrances, appeals, manifestoes, and even threats, were resorted to, to convince those in authority of the unpopularity and danger of promoting such a measure.

It was in consequence of this unreasonable opposition, and with full knowledge of the means resorted to at home and in the colonies to excite and intensify it, that the bishops who interested themselves in 1750 in the effort to obtain the consecration of bishops for America were at pains at the outset to remove prejudice, and to prevent misapprehension by laying down principles which should have disarmed all possible hostility. The scheme which was prepared by these eminent prelates was such as could offer neither injury nor occasion offence to the dissenters. It was digested and prepared by the celebrated author of the "Analogy," Bishop Butler, and as copied from his manuscript, was first published to the world by the celebrated East Apthorp, of Christ Church, Cambridge, in whose hands the original then was. We give it in full:—

1. That no coercive power is desired over the laity in any case, but only a power to regulate the behaviour of the clergy who are in Episcopal Orders, and to correct and punish them according to the laws of the Church of England, in case of misbehaviour or neglect of duty, with such power as the commissaries abroad have exercised.

2. That nothing is desired for such bishops that may in the least interfere with the dignity, or authority, or interest of the Governor, or any other officer of State: Probates of wills, license for marriages, etc., to be left in the hands where they are; and no share in the temporal government is desired for bishops.

3. The maintenance of such bishops not to be at the charge of the colonies.

4. No bishops are intended to be settled in places where the government is left in the hands of dissenters, as in New England, etc., but authority to be given only to ordain clergy for such Church of England congregations as are among them, and to inspect into the manners and behaviour of the said clergy, and to confirm the members thereof.

A plan conceived in this almost apologetic manner, and with these restrictions upon any undue exercise of the episcopal authority, should have precluded opposition, as it certainly removed all possibility of danger or cause for alarm. It seems difficult to believe that the hostility with which this proposition was assailed could have arisen from real scruples of conscience. It would seem as if the real cause of opposition must have been a natural apprehension that the Church of England in America, thus perfected in its organization, and thus invested with the powers of self-government and self-perpetuation,

would rapidly increase at the expense of the dissenting bodies around it, winning converts both from the ministers and members of the various sects with which it would inevitably come in competition, from its orderly and apostolic government, its venerable and attractive forms, and its inevitable *prestige* as the religion of the court and crown. We cannot for a moment believe that the leading dissenters were ignorant of the distinction between the spiritual rights inhering to the episcopal office and the accidental appendages of temporal power which belonged to the lords spiritual of the mother-land. The claim of the American churchmen to the full and free exercise of their faith, involving, as it necessarily did, the perfection of their ecclesiastical constitution, was undeniable; and it was only the unreasoning prejudice of ignorance or sectarian hate that could pretend to view this simple act of justice as threatening the liberties of America. There may have been those who doubted the possibility of separating between the powers purely spiritual and those of a temporal nature, which for years had been associated with the bishops of the mother-land, and fancied that the American bishop could not and would not confine himself to the exercise of his episcopal powers simply, without aping the state, and seeking to obtain the temporal power, of his episcopal brethren in the mother-land. That such was the conviction of many honest men admits of little doubt, and the fact that there was no opposition to the introduction of the episcopal office, when the independence of the country was finally assured, proves their sincerity in these apprehensions. Their doubts and invincible prejudices, in spite of every possible assurance to the contrary, do little credit to their charity, or their confidence in the word or solemn professions of their fellow-men, and they are certainly without excuse for the bitterness and rancor, the falsification, calumny, and slander, exhibited by those who were the champions in the pulpit and in print of the cause they avowed.

On the 21st of February, 1750, the Bishop of London, Dr. Sherlock, presented to the king in council a memorial entitled "Considerations relating to Ecclesiastical Government in his Majesty's Dominions in America." In this important document every care was taken to avoid giving any occasion of offence to dissenters, or others who might be opposed to the scheme of an American episcopate. It disavows any purpose of appointing a bishop either for New England or for Pennsylvania. It proposes to confer upon the American prelates no powers but such as are purely spiritual and inherent to their sacred office, and directly and distinctly disclaims any purpose of supporting the proposed episcopate by a tax or imposition of any kind upon the people. The need of the American Church was temperately but cogently urged, and nothing was omitted to give assurance of the full purpose of the promoters of the plan to avoid any possible political complication, or to evoke any sectarian hostility to a scheme proposed solely with a view to the establishment of the American churchmen in their spiritual rights.

But the time chosen for the presentation of these "Considerations" proved inopportune. The king was preparing for a visit to the

continent, and ostensibly on this account the consideration of the bishop's memorial was deferred until the monarch's return from Hanover. And thus the third application to the crown proved of no avail.

While the king was absent a correspondence on the subject was entered into by Bishop Seeker and Walpole, but the interchange of views between the bishop and the prime minister produced no material effect, either in advancing the success of the plan proposed or in removing the strong opposition to the scheme which its simple mention had excited among the dissenters at home and in America. The "true reason of the Bishop of London being opposed and defeated in his scheme of sending in bishops," writes Dr. Chandler to Johnson, of Stratford, was this: "It seems that the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Onslow, can have the interest and votes of the whole body of the dissenters upon condition of their befriending them; and by their influence on those persons the ministry was brought to oppose it."¹ Comment is unnecessary.

In view of the evident impossibility of success while such a powerful opposition was arrayed against the plan of an American episcopate it was not likely that the churchmen in whose interest the scheme was urged would voluntarily provoke discussion with reference to it which could only intensify the assaults of the dissenters, and, in the end, prejudice their cause. At the same time it was impossible for them to remain passive and silent when assailed by misrepresentation and rancorous abuse. Charges from pulpits and in pamphlets and in newsprints of the day had been made again and again against the venerable society for an alleged violation of its charter, in its sending a number of its missionaries, not merely to the destitute and neglected portions of the colonies, but to those where, in the view of the dissenters, there was no need of services or sacraments other than their own. More than one-third of the society's laborers, exclusive of those stationed in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the West Indies, were employed in New England, and, although the most careful and painstaking scrutiny had failed to find a solitary instance where a missionary had been sent into New England save at the request of those to whom he was appointed to minister, still these Church of England clergy were deemed intruders, and their congregations charged with the sin of schism, because they claimed the exercise of their religion on soil deemed the exclusive property of Puritanism. It was asserted that the society had for its object chiefly "to episcopize dissenters." Such a charge, urged as it was with evident irritation and hate, could not fail to elicit discussion and reply. The Rev. East Apthorp, the missionary at Cambridge, a clergyman of learning and piety, published a small pamphlet in defence of the society, entitled "Considerations on the Institution and Conduct of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts." It was not long before this publication found a reviewer in the celebrated Jonathan Mayhew, of Boston. "Equally an enemy to the Trinity, to loyalty, and to Episcopacy," as Dr.

¹ Johnson MSS., quoted by Dr. Hawks, "Prot. Epis. Hist. Soc. Coll.," 1., p. 146, note.

Johnson writes, ¹ Mayhew, in his reply, not only criticised the conduct of the society with no little asperity, but added many bitter and angry



Jonathan Mayhew

reflections on the Church of England, especially inveighing against the scheme of an American episcopate. This attack of the puritan

¹ Hawks and Perty's "Conn. Church Documents," II, p. 38.

doctor, which was an occasion of sorrow and regret to leading members of his own body, was answered anonymously in London, in a pamphlet "remarkable for its strength of argument, fairness of discussion, and Christian temper." So convincing and so courteous was this reply that even Mayhew was compelled to acknowledge that his adversary was "a person of excellent sense and a happy talent at writing; apparently free from the sordid, illiberal spirit of bigotry; one of a cool temper, who often showed much candor; was well acquainted with the affairs of the society, and, in general, a fair reasoner." Still the combative doctor published two replies to this tract, in which, though abating much of his former acrimony, he persisted in maintaining that he was not "wrong in any material point." To these pamphlets Mr. Apthorp wrote a dignified and sensible reply, which terminated the controversy. Dr. Mayhew, on reading this "Review," announced his purpose of not answering it, and, in the following year, he died.

The "anonymous tract," which was characterized by Mayhew, who was, however, ignorant of the authorship, as written by a "worthy answerer," was the production of Archbishop Secker, then president of the venerable society. Intimately concerned as he was in the conception and furtherance of the plan for the American episcopate, he was able to speak with authority in its defence, and his arguments were such as could not readily be gainsaid. It was this defence and the earnest advocacy of these measures for the relief of the oppressed Church of England in America that subjected this eminent prelate to the most virulent abuse at home and abroad. "Posterity will stand amazed," observes the amiable Porteus, his biographer, "when they are told that, on this account, his memory has been pursued in pamphlets and newspapers with such unrelenting rancour, such unexampled wantonness of abuse, as he would scarce have deserved had he attempted to eradicate Christianity out of America, and to introduce Mahometanism in its room; whereas, the plain truth is, that all he wished for was nothing more than what the very best friends to religious freedom ever have wished for, a complete toleration for the Church of England in that country."¹

While the archbishop was engaged in England in the preparation of an answer to Dr. Mayhew, the Rev. Henry Caner, of the King's Chapel in Boston, and Dr. Samuel Johnson, of Christ Church, Stratford, Connecticut, were engaged in a similar task. Their contributions to this controversy appeared in the same volume, the "Observations" by Dr. Johnson forming an appendix to Mr. Caner's vindication.

A contemporary print, entitled "An Attempt to Land a Bishop in America," illustrates the alarm and hatred on the part of those of whom Lord Chatham wrote, that, "divided as they are into a thousand forms of policy and religion, there is one point on which they all agree; they equally detest the pageantry of a king, and the supercilious hypocrisy of a bishop." The scene depicted in this print is

¹ Beilby Porteus's "Life of Secker," p. 53

on a wharf. A crowd of excited colonists, with open mouths and violent gesticulations, are brandishing staves and clubs. One, in



AN ATTEMPT TO LAND A BISHOP IN AMERICA.

Quaker garb, stands with an open copy of Barclay's "Apology" in his hand. Others, with cropped hair and Puritan faces, are shouting, "No Lords, spiritual or temporal, in New England;" and are hurling

copies of "Sydney on Government," "Calvin's Works," and "Locke," at a retreating figure who is climbing the shrouds of the "Hillsborough" ship, which is being thrust off from shore. The Episcopal carriage is dismounted and packed on deck; the crozier and mitre are placed by its side, and the affrighted prelate, whose rochet and chimere are streaming behind him as he mounts the ropes in haste, is crying, "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace!" The legend in front is, "Shall they be obliged to maintain bishops, who cannot maintain themselves?" while a grinning ape, in the foreground, poises a missile to hurl at the bishop. All this bravery of a mob in pursuit of a single, unarmed, unresisting man is under the banner of "Liberty and Freedom of Conscience."

The controversy provoked by the appearance of Apthorp's defence of the society from the charge of unfaithfulness in its administration was hardly over when the use of certain expressions by the Bishop of Landaff, in his anniversary sermon before the society, in which he depicted the religious condition of some of the American colonies as but little better than heathenish, caused the war of words to break forth afresh, and with even greater bitterness. It was assumed, though without reason, that these assertions had especial reference to New England, and the Rev. Charles Chauncy, a Congregationalist minister of Boston, of no little ability and reputation, undertook at once the work of correction and reproof. In "a letter to a friend, containing remarks on certain passages" in the Bishop of Landaff's sermon, he took occasion not only to controvert the supposed attack upon the religious condition and institutions of New England, but also to assail the bishop's arguments in favor of bishops in America. This "Letter" from the trenchant pen of Chauncy was followed by one in a similar vein, and so closely copying the arguments, and even the language, of the Puritan divine as to suggest plagiarism. This affected performance was the production of a Mr. William Livingston, a lawyer of New York, whose literary reputation is certainly not enhanced by the production of a work which contained nothing which had not been said in more terse and simpler language by Dr. Chauncy. The discussion on the bishop's sermon was terminated by "A Vindication," prepared and published by the Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, of New York, whose familiarity with the facts and skilful management of his material, coupled with incisive argument and pungent sarcasm, left nothing to be said in reply. But while the controversy with reference to the Bishop of Landaff's sermon

was thus summarily closed, the strife was almost immediately renewed, and the discussion of the whole subject became general.

Thomas B. Chandler
Prof.^r of the Convention

Early in 1767 the Rev. Dr. Johnson of Stratford, in Connecticut, had suggested to the Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, of Elizabethtown, in New Jersey, the propriety of appealing in a calm and

temperate manner to the general public in favor of an American episcopate. A little more than ten years before, the excellent Johnson had lost a son, who had died of the small-pox, in England, while there in quest of orders. Keenly sensible of the general dread of this scourge of which his friend and fellow-conformist, the Rev. Daniel Browne, had died, on occasion of his own visit to England for ordination, the stricken missionary, who had never lost sight of the matter in his correspondence with the authorities at home, now sought to allay prejudice and disarm opposition to a scheme by which others might be spared the bereavement he had suffered. Shortly after this suggestion was made it was decided, at a voluntary convocation of the clergy of New York and New Jersey, among whom were Drs. Auehmuty, Rector of Trinity, New York; Chandler, afterwards Bishop-designate of Nova Scotia; and Myles Cooper, President of King's College; Seabury, afterwards first Bishop of Connecticut; Inglis, afterwards first Bishop of Nova Scotia, and Abraham Beach, one of the leading members of the early General Conventions of the Church after the revolution, "that, fairly to explain the plan on which American bishops had been requested, to lay before the public the reasons of this request, to answer the objections that had been made, and to obviate those that might be otherwise conceived against it, was not only proper and expedient, but a matter of necessity and duty."

We transcribe from the original folio in the handwriting of the secretary, Mr. Seabury, the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Convention of New York:—

The Clergy of the Province of New York taking into their serious consideration the present state of the Church of England in the Colonies, where it is obliged to struggle against the opposition of sectaries of various denominations, and labours under the want of the Episcopal Order, and all the advantages and blessings resulting therefrom; agreed upon holding voluntary conventions, at least once in the year and oftener if necessity required, as the most likely means to serve the interests of the Church of England; as they could then not only confer together upon the most likely methods, but use their joint influence and endeavours to obtain the happiness of Bishops, to support the Church against the unreasonable opposition given to it in the Colonies, and cultivate and improve a good understanding and union with each other.

First Convention, May 21, 1766:

In pursuance of this agreement, a voluntary Convention of the Clergy of the Province of New York, assisted by some of their brethren from New Jersey and Connecticut, was held at the house of Doctor Auehmuty, in New York, the 21st of May, 1766.

Present:

Revs. Doctor Johnson,	Mr. Cutting.
“ Doctor Auehmuty.	Mr. Avery.
“ Doctor Chandler,	Mr. Munro.
Mr. Charlton,	Mr. Jarvis,
Mr. Cooper,	Mr. Seabury,
Mr. Ogilvie,	Mr. McKeane.
Mr. Cooke,	Mr. Inglis. ¹

On the day following the clergy united in a letter to the secretary of the venerable society, in which the arguments just made use of by

¹ This interesting and valuable volume is still preserved in the hands of the Rev. Prof. Wm. J. Seabury, D.D., of New York.

the Rev. Mr. Seabury are enforced. We give the opening paragraph:—

THE CLERGY OF NEW YORK TO THE SECRETARY.

NEW YORK, May 22, 1766.

REV. SIR:—The Clergy of the Province of New York having agreed in conjunction with some of our brethren of Connecticut and New Jersey, to hold voluntary annual conventions, in the province of New York, for the sake of conferring together upon the most proper methods of promoting the welfare of the Church of England, and the interests of religion and virtue; and also, to keep up as a body an exact correspondence with the Honourable Society, we embrace with pleasure this opportunity, which our first meeting hath furnished us with, to present our duty to the Venerable Society, and doubt not but this our voluntary union for these important purposes will meet with their countenance and approbation. With the greatest satisfaction we assure the Society that the Church in this province is in as good a state as can be expected, considering the peculiar disadvantages under which it still labours. We cannot omit condoling with the Society, upon the great loss which the Church has sustained in the death of Messrs. Wilson and Giles, who perished by shipwreck near the entrance of Delaware Bay. From the character of these two gentlemen we had pleased ourselves with the prospect of having two worthy clergymen added to our numbers; which, to our great grief, we find too small to supply the real wants of the people in these Colonies. This loss brings to our mind an exact calculation made not many years ago, that not less than one out of five, who have gone home for Holy Orders from the Northern Colonies, have perished in the attempt, ten having miscarried out of fifty-one. This we consider as an incontestable argument for the necessity of American Bishops, and we do, in the most earnest manner, beg and entreat the Venerable Society, to whose piety and care under God the Church of England owes her very being in most parts of America, that they would use their utmost influence to effect a point so essential to the real interests of the Church in this wide-extended country.¹

In June, 1767, appeared "An Appeal to the Public in favor of the Church of England in America." This work, which was marked by a perspicuous method and arrangement, and a clear and judicious statement of facts and arguments, consisted in the main of a brief view of the evidence in favor of the episcopal office in the Church, followed by a presentation of the obvious justice of the claim of American churchmen to be allowed the presence and privilege of a chief shepherd, whose office was essential to their idea of the being of a church, and for which they claimed apostolic and primitive precedent. The plan proposed was next presented in detail, and the fears and objections to the introduction of such an officer into American ecclesiastical affairs considered and met. It was evident, both from the manner in which the subject was treated, and from the cogency of the arguments presented in its behalf, that to still resist such an appeal on the ground of certain undefined, but possible and apprehended, evils, savored much more of partisan intolerance than of Christian charity or common fairness.

The opposition to the "Appeal" of Dr. Chandler appears to have grown out of disappointment, on the part of the Presbyterians of New York, for the rejection of their application for a charter by the authorities of the mother-land. In this failure of their application for corporate powers and privileges the Bishop of London was supposed

¹ N. Y. MSS., II., pp. 406-7.

to have been concerned, and a simultaneous attack upon the "Appeal" followed, giving rise to the suspicion that a combination had been organized to crush out the plan for an American episcopate, commended in the "Appeal," in behalf of which the Bishop of London was known to be deeply interested. A series of papers appeared in the "New York Gazette," under the name of the "American Whig," which was then supposed, and afterwards known, to be chiefly the production of Mr. William Livingston, while the "Pennsylvania Journal," in Philadelphia, opened its columns to the essays of the "Sentinel," which were conceived in a similar vein. In Boston, Dr. Chauncy, the acknowledged champion of independency, published "The Appeal to the Public Answered." The invectives of the "American Whig" were reproduced in the newspapers of Boston and Philadelphia, while the lucubrations of the "Sentinel" were spread before the public by the presses of the sister cities of Boston and New York. Thus, as if by concerted action, and simultaneously, the press of the three leading cities of America was subsidized for the furtherance of an attack upon the Church more violent and uncompromising than any which had preceded it. The adherents of the Church were not silent. The "American Whig" found its scurrility answered by a reviewer under the *nom de plume* of "Timothy Tickler," who lashed his assailant with merciless severity in the successive numbers of "A Whip for the American Whig." These papers were shortly gathered into a volume, and we have only to turn the pages of "A Collection of Tracts from the late News Papers, etc., containing particularly 'The American Whig,' 'A Whip for the American Whig,' with some other pieces, on the subject of the Residence of Protestant Bishops in the American Colonies, and in answer to the writers who opposed it, etc. New York: Printed by John Holt, at the Exchange, 1768," in nearly four hundred and fifty pages, to which was added, the following year, another volume of almost the same size, to see the bitterness of the controversy, which sought to prove to the popular mind, at least, —

"The Bishops, those *creatures of Kings*,
To be Dragons, with *terrible stings*."

The Philadelphia "Sentinel" was answered by one of the most accomplished and able writers of the day, the celebrated Dr. William Smith, Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia. These replies were followed by "Remonstrants" and "Anti-Sentinels," while the lowest depth of scurrility and low humor was reached in a "Kick for the Whipper," by Sir Isaac Foot.

In answer to Dr. Chauncy, and without noticing these inferior and anonymous assailants, Dr. Chandler published "The Appeal Defended," and, in 1771, "The Appeal Further Defended," in reply to a second retort from his Boston antagonist. The controversy finally closed, for nothing further could be said on either side. The reasons for desiring bishops in America remained unchanged. They were, in fact, unanswerable; nor could the intolerant and unreasonable opposition of those who would deny to churchmen the rights and privileges

they claimed for themselves reach beyond a certain measure of invective or abuse. The hardships borne by the Church in being compelled to send her candidates across a stormy ocean, and to a land where they were peculiarly exposed to disease and death, were exemplified during the very midst of the controversy. In the loss of a single ship on the coast of New Jersey, almost within sight of port, two missionaries, returning with the qualification for their work they had dared the perils of the sea to obtain, perished, one of whom left a family in New York dependent upon charity. One-fifth of those who went abroad for holy orders never returned. Shipwreck, captivity, and death in foreign prisons, and the pestilence which claimed its tribute of victims, added to the charges of a long journey and an expensive residence in the mother-land, kept the supply of clergy short, and parishes were sometimes a score of years in securing a clergyman duly qualified to minister to them in holy things. The grievance was one felt as well by the laity as by the clergy. We have again and again referred to the "addresses" from officials and wardens and vestries, urging their right to be heard in a matter so closely affecting themselves. Nor is the testimony of the celebrated Sir William Johnson on this point to be overlooked. This staunch promoter of Christianity among the Indians offered to the venerable society twenty thousand acres of land in the vicinity of Schenectady, New York, and on the 10th of December, 1768, wrote as follows:—

We cannot have a clergy here without an Episcopate; and this want has occasioned many to embrace other persuasions, and will oblige greater numbers to follow their example; of which the dissenters are very sensible, and by pretended fears of an episcopal power, as well as by magnifying their own numbers and lessening ours, give it all possible opposition.

While these disputes were at their height there was added, as a natural result of the systematic efforts made by the dissenting ministers, from their pulpits and in their publications, to inflame the prejudices of the populace, the interference of the legislative authority in opposition to the scheme for an American episcopate. On the 12th of January, 1768, the House of Representatives of the Province of Massachusetts Bay addressed a letter to its agent in London, Dennis de Berdt, Esq., in which was the following strong deprecation of any attempt to send bishops to America:—

The establishment of a Protestant episcopate in America is also very zealously contended for; and it is very alarming to a people whose fathers, from the hardships they suffered under such an establishment, were obliged to fly their native country into a wilderness, in order peaceably to enjoy their privileges civil and religious: Their being threatened with the loss of both at once must throw them into a very disagreeable situation. We hope in God such an establishment will never take place in America; and we desire *you would strenuously oppose it*. The revenue raised in America, for aught we can tell, may be as constitutionally applied towards the support of prelacy as of soldiers and pensioners: If the property of the subject is taken from him without his consent, it is immaterial whether it be done by one man or by five hundred, or whether it be applied for the support of the ecclesiastic or military power, or both. It may be well worth the consideration of the best politicians in Great Britain or America, what the natural tendency is of a rigorous pursuit of these measures.¹

¹ Quoted by Dr. Hawks, in "Prot. Epis. Hist. Soc. Coll.," I., pp. 154, 155.

Strange to say this opposition to a plan for an American episcopate on the part of the Puritan Legislature of the Massachusetts Bay Province was shortly followed, though from different reasons, by similar action on the part of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, which was chiefly composed of churchmen. The circumstances of this action were as follows: In April, 1771, the Rev. John Camm, the commissary of Virginia, summoned a convocation of the clergy of Virginia to meet at the College of William and Mary, on the 4th of May. At the time assigned but a small number of the clergy appeared, and when a proposition was made to address the king in favor of an American episcopate those who were present proposed and carried a postponement of the question till a later date. At the time of the second meeting, on the 4th of June, although the nature of the business contemplated had been widely advertised, but twelve clergymen, a less number than before, were in attendance. The first question considered was, whether such a minority of the clergy, there being at the time more than a hundred parishes in the province, and most of them supplied, could be deemed a convention of the Virginia clergy. It was at length decided, but not without opposition, that this was a convention, the call having been duly made. A proposition to address the king was, after discussion, defeated. It was then decided unanimously that the convention should apply to the Bishop of London for his opinion and advice. Before the adjournment of the convention, however, the action with respect to an address to the king was reconsidered, and the measure resolved on. It was urged in opposition to this action that it implied a lack of respect to their diocesan, the Bishop of London, thus to address the crown. Besides, the disturbances growing out of the passage and enforcement of the stamp act, and the troubles on the North Carolina border, and the general uneasiness, were referred to as indicating that the present was an unsuitable time for such an address. There was no opposition to the episcopal office. On the contrary, the convention adopted a formal declaration of its cordial and conscientious approval of episcopal government. Against the vote to address the crown two of the leading clergy formally protested. They were the Rev. Samuel Henley, Professor of Moral Philosophy, and the Rev. Thomas Gwatkin, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, in William and Mary College. The grounds of this protest were as follows:—

First, Because as the number of the clergy of this colony is at least a hundred, we cannot conceive that twelve clergymen are a sufficient representation of so large a body.

Secondly, Because the said resolution contradicts a former resolution of the same Convention, which put a negative upon the question, *whether the king should be addressed upon an American Episcopate?* and that an assembly met upon so important an occasion should rescind a resolution agreed to and entered down but a few minutes before, is in our apprehension contrary to all order and decorum.

Thirdly, Because the expression *American Episcopate* includes a jurisdiction over the other colonies; and the clergy of Virginia cannot, with any propriety, petition for a measure which, for aught that appears to the contrary, will materially affect the natural rights and fundamental laws of the said colonies, without their consent and approbation.

Fourthly, Because the establishment of an American Episcopate *at this time*

would tend greatly to weaken the connexion between the mother country and her colonies, to continue their present unhappy disputes, to infuse jealousies and fears into the minds of Protestant Dissenters, and to give ill-disposed persons occasion to raise such disturbances as may endanger the very existence of the British empire in America.

Fifthly, Because we cannot help considering it as extremely indecent for the clergy to make such an application without the concurrence of the President, Council, and Representatives of this Province; an usurpation directly repugnant to the rights of mankind.

Sixthly, Because the Bishops of London have always exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction over this colony, and we are perfectly satisfied with the mild, just, and equitable government of our excellent diocesan, the present Lord Bishop of London, and do think a petition to the crown to strip his Lordship of any part of his jurisdiction but an ill-return for his past labours, and contrary to our oath of canonical obedience. We do further conceive, as it had been unanimously determined by this very Convention that his Lordship should be addressed for his opinion relative to this measure, the clergy ought to have waited for his Lordship's paternal advice before they had proceeded any further in an affair of such vast importance.

Seventhly, Because we have particular objections to that part of the resolution by which the committee are directed to *apply*, as it is termed, *for the hands of the majority of the clergy of this colony*: a method of proceeding, in our opinion, contrary to the universal practice of this Christian Church, it having been customary for the clergy to sign all acts of an ecclesiastical nature in public convention: whereas the manner of procuring their concurrence, now proposed, is unworthy the decorum and dignity by which so venerable a body ought ever to be guided.

Two other clergymen subsequently joined the Rev. Messrs. Henley and Gwatkin in this protest, the Rev. Messrs. Hewitt and Bland, and their action was deemed of sufficient importance to receive the consideration of the House of Burgesses. On the 12th of July the House, which was largely, if not wholly, composed of at least nominal churchmen, adopted the following resolution: —

Resolved, nemine contradicente. That the thanks of this House be given to the Rev. Mr. Henley, the Rev. Mr. Gwatkin, the Rev. Mr. Hewitt, and the Rev. Mr. Bland, for the wise and well-timed opposition they have made to the pernicious project of a few mistaken clergymen for introducing an American bishop: a measure by which much disturbance, great anxiety, and apprehension would certainly take place among his Majesty's faithful American subjects; and that Mr. Richard Henry Lee and Mr. Bland do acquaint them therewith.

It cannot be concealed that much of the indifference, if not hostility, evidently felt by the Virginia clergy to the introduction of an American episcopate grew out of the laxity in morals and want of spiritual life then unhappily prevalent throughout the province. Thus the very occasion for the presence of bishops was made an objection to their introduction. Besides, the establishment of the episcopate would, doubtless, have diminished the power of the vestries and made the clergy less dependent upon their varying humors and prejudices. This possibility rendered the wealthy and influential laity inimical to the scheme, and led them to applaud the action of the "protestors" against the commissary's movement. To one familiar with the uncompromising opposition to the exercise of the authority of the Bishop of London shown by burgesses, vestries, and the leading laity from the very first, the show of deference to their "excellent diocesan" in the protest of the four clergymen seems farcical enough. From the lack of a bishop to administer the needed discipline upon recalcitrant

clergy and to interpose the episcopal authority against the tyranny of the vestries, the Church in Virginia had sunk to a depth of degradation which, on the final loss of its temporalities, after the war for independence, threatened its utter extinction. The clergy themselves saw their error, but it was too late. Years of labor and devotion were required to revive the embers of a spiritual fire and zeal that had well-nigh burned wholly out. The work had to be done anew, and in that work, so happily successful at a later day, bishops as well as clergy and laity bore each and all their part.

It would appear, from the newspaper reports of the time, and from other sources, that a petition was presented by eight of the Maryland clergy to the governor, requesting his interest in England and in the province in favor of the introduction of an American episcopate. The petitioners had also memorialized the crown, the archbishop, the Bishop of London, and Lord Baltimore, to the same effect. The governor declined to receive this petition as the act of the whole body of the clergy, and proposed to lay the matter before the assembly. A circular letter was sent by the petitioners to the other clergy of the province, asking permission to append their names to the petition sent to England, which was granted; but the measure failed to win the approval of those in power in the province.

The lack of interest shown by the majority of the Virginia clergy, in the effort to secure the episcopate, gave rise to a controversy between them and the clergy at the North. The members of the convocation who had urged upon Dr. Chandler the preparation and publication of the "Appeal," prepared "An Address from the Clergy of New York and New Jersey, to the Episcopalians in Virginia," which was published in 1771, and to which Mr. Gwatkin made reply early in the following year. Mr. Gwatkin's pamphlet is chiefly valuable for its explicit statement that the authors of the protest "have not any aversion to Episcopacy in general, to that mode of it established in England, or even to an American Episcopate, introduced *at a proper time, by proper authorities, and in a proper manner.*" It gives as the reason for the action of the "protesting" clergy in their opposition to an "immediate establishment," "a prudential regard to the *practicable*, a desire to preserve peace, heal divisions, and calm the angry passions of an inflamed people."

It was too late for concessions on a matter such as this to appease a popular indignation, soon to find expression in open rebellion against the authority of the crown. The struggle for the episcopate faded out of mind in the intensity of the struggle for independence. That very episcopate which, in the providence of God, had been denied all through the period of the country's dependence, was freely bestowed among the first blessings of the well-earned peace.

We have yet to add the details of the organized opposition of the Presbyterians and Puritans to the plan for the introduction of American bishops. With this interesting episode of the story of the struggle for the episcopate we shall close our account of the ill-fated efforts to this end, made during a period of more than a century.

So reasonable did the plea of the churchmen appear, and so ear-

nestly was their cause espoused by the authorities of the Church at home, that there was felt on the part of the Puritans of New England and the Presbyterians of New York and Pennsylvania, the imperative need of union and coöperation to defeat the scheme. The Presbyterian Synod of New York and Philadelphia made overtures to the Congregationalist Associations of Connecticut with a view "for forming a plan of union," which the records,¹ only published a few years since, show conclusively to have been desired chiefly to prevent an American episcopate. All this was couched under the agreement "to unite our endeavours and counsels for spreading the Gospel, and defending the religious liberties of our Churches." The Independents and Presbyterians of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, and the Dutch Reformed congregations of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, were invited to enter this alliance, "both for promoting the kingdom of Christ and preserving our religious liberty." The "desire that the union should extend through all the colonies" was urged upon "the brethren in other provinces." A copy of "the Plan" of union was enclosed to each religious body invited to participate; but the "minutes" fail to give us this document. Appended to the records is a draft of a letter with the significant heading, "Suppose a gentleman in the Colonies should write to his correspondent in London as follows":—

SIR,—We understand sundry petitions have been sent home by some of the Episcopal Clergy in the Colonies in order to obtain the appointment of a Bishop here; and that it is a determined point on your side of the water to embrace the first favourable opportunity for that purpose. This affair, we must confess, gives us much anxiety, not that we are of intolerant principles; nor do we envy the Episcopal Churches the privileges of a bishop for the purposes of ordination, confirmation, and inspecting the morals of their Clergy, provided they have no kind of superiority over, nor power any way to affect the civil or religious interests of other denominations. Let this be but settled by an Act of Parliament, and such bishops divested of the powers annexed to that office by the common law of England, and then we shall be more easy. Without this the introduction of a diocesan into the colonies would throw us into the utmost confusion and distraction. For, though it is alleged that no other than the above-hinted moderate Episcopacy is desired or designed; yet should it not be fixed by Parliamentary authority, we have no security that matters will be carried no farther; yea, from the restless spirit, which some here have discovered, we have reason to apprehend that there is more in view. Our forefathers, and even some of ourselves, have seen and felt the tyranny of Bishops' Courts. Many of the first inhabitants of these colonies were obliged to seek an asylum among savages, in this wilderness, in order to escape the ecclesiastical tyranny of Arch-Bishop Laud, and others of his stamp. Such tyranny, if now exercised in America, would either drive us to seek new habitations among the heathen, where England could not claim a jurisdiction, or excite riots, rebellion, and wild disorder. We dread the consequences as often as we think of this danger. Gentlemen acquainted with the law inform us, that a Bishop is a public minister of State, known in the common law of England, and invested with a power of erecting courts to take cognizance of all affairs testa-

¹ Minutes of the Convention of Delegates from the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, and from the Associations of Connecticut, held annually from 1766 to 1775 inclusive. Hartford, 1813, 8^o, p. 68. That we do not misstate the reason for the formation of this body will be seen from the language of the Committee of Publication in their report to the General Association of Connecticut: "The first and second Conventions

were occupied mainly in forming and completing their plan of union and effort, and the subsequent Conventions in prosecuting measures for promoting the liberties of their Churches, threatened at the time by the attempts made by the friends of Episcopacy in the Colonies and Great Britain for the establishment of Diocesan Bishops in America," etc.

mentary and matrimonial, and to enquire into and punish for all offences of scandal. Might he not plead, as well as any man, that the common law of England is his birthright, and that the laws in force before the settling of the Colonies were brought thither, and took place with the first-settlers? What is to hinder him to claim all the powers exercised by Arch-Bishop Laud and his Ecclesiastical Courts? All acts made in England since that time to lessen the power of Bishops and their Courts can be of no service to us; for it is not mentioned in any of them, that they are extended to the Colonies, and the reason is plain; no such exorbitant powers were claimed or exercised among us. Now can anything else than the most grievous convulsion in the Colonies be expected from such a revolution? Will it at all go down with us to have the whole course of business turned into a new channel? Would it be yielded that the Register's office, the care of orphans, &c., should be transferred from the present officers, to such as a Bishop might appoint? Would not the Colonies suffer the last extremities before they would submit to have the legality of marriages and matters respecting divorce tried in an Ecclesiastical Court? It is not easy to conceive what endless prosecutions under the notion of scandal might be multiplied. A covetous, tyrannical and domineering Prelate, or his Chancellor, would always have it in their power to harass our country and make our lives bitter by fines, imprisonments, and lawless severity. Will the numerous Colonists who came hither for the sake of freedom from ecclesiastical oppression, and by whose toil a great increase of dominion and commerce hath arisen to the mother country, bear to find themselves divested of the equality and liberty they have so long enjoyed, and brought under the power of a particular denomination, etc., etc.¹

That anything could have been more cleverly concocted than this letter to excite the passions and prejudices of the ignorant, or to raise a storm of popular clamor in all quarters of the dissenting interest, it is impossible to believe. But even this artful manifesto is not all. Added to this remarkable paper is a letter from the Rev. Francis Allison, Vice-Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, part of which was "in shorthand, very difficult to decipher," written in answer to the inquiry, — we quote the words, — "Why we are persuaded in this city that there is a determination, or a fixed resolution, to send bishops to America." The authority for this belief is mentioned. Dr. Chandler's report of a conversation with the archbishop, "That it was hard to deny that privilege to the Church of England in America that she allowed to all dissenters, viz., liberty of conscience," was guardedly referred to; but Dr. Smith's statements to his friend and associate in the college at Philadelphia were most relied upon to prove the danger and excite opposition. Certain phrases and the line of argument in this shorthand letter go far to warrant us in ascribing the authorship of the paper we have quoted at length to the pen of Dr. Allison. It is charged as one of the proofs of power claimed, and likely to be claimed, by American bishops, that already in New York "all the marriage licenses granted by the governor are stamped with the mitre," and that in the New England governments the Archbishop of Canterbury appointed the notaries public.

Meeting after meeting followed; but the object of this alliance, stated at the outset, as we have seen, to be "both for promoting the kingdom of Christ and preserving our religious liberty," had only to do, so far as the records show the action taken, with preventing the spread of the Church, and denying to churchmen the liberty of having

¹Minutes of the Convention of Delegates, etc., pp. 13, 14.

their ecclesiastical system perfected. The Massachusetts ministers were "not prepared to send delegates" to the convention, but transmitted a vote of their body that the "Pastors of the town of Boston," with others, "maintain a friendly correspondence" with the brethren, and that the same committee "write to the Committee of Dissenters in England to thank them for the concern they have expressed for our religious liberties,"¹ and to desire that they would give us their assistance, and use their influence for the preservation of the same, and in particular, "that a bishop may not be sent among us." At the convention at Elizabethtown, in 1768, the Committee of Correspondence with the English dissenters reported a letter, which was approved, and from which we cite the following extracts:—

But it is very evident it is not that harmless and inoffensive Bishop which is designed for us, or the missionaries among us request; and therefore we cannot but be apprehensive of danger from the proposed Episcopate, however plausible the scheme may be represented. We well know the jealousy of the Bishops in England concerning their own power and dignity suffering by their example of such a mutilated Bishop in America, and we also know the force of a British Act of Parliament, and have great reason to dread the establishment of British courts among us. Should they claim the right of holding these courts, and of exercising the power belonging to their office, by the common law of England, (which is esteemed the birthright of a British subject,) we could have no counterbalance to this enormous power in our colonies, where we have no nobility, or proper courts, to check the dangerous exertions of their authority; and where our governors and judges may be the needy dependents of a prime minister, and therefore afraid to disoblige a person who is sure to be supported by the whole bench of Bishops in England; so that our civil liberties appear to us to be in imminent danger from such an establishment. Besides, nothing seems to have such a direct tendency to weaken the dependence of the colonies upon Great Britain, and to separate them from her; an event which would be ruinous and destructive to both, and which we, therefore, pray God long to avert."²

In 1770 the usual proceedings of the convention, which met at Norwalk, Conn., were varied by the appointment of committees "to obtain all the instances of Episcopal oppression they can" in their respective colonies, and also "the instances, of the lenity of the" Connecticut "Government with regard to the Episcopal dissenters therein."³ The following year "Dr. Allison brought in the draught of a letter to the Committee of Dissenters in London." It begins with the statement that the opponents of an American episcopate "are still greatly alarmed." "The whole bench of Bishops, and many bigots with you, are constantly teased by our missionaries to procure an American Episcopate." Reference is made to the action of the Virginia clergy

¹ The English committee profess themselves "fully sensible of the many civil and religious inconveniences that would arise from the introduction of Diocesan Bishops into America," and assure their correspondents in America "of their most vigilant attention to oppose and frustrate any such design," and this they claim to be done in behalf of "one common cause, the defence of civil and religious liberty."—*Minutes, etc.*, p. 65.

² *Minutes, etc.*, p. 23. The professions of loyalty made at the outset by the friends of this Convention and incorporated into their "Plan of Union" are noticeable. Article III. of the Plan recites among the details of "the general design" "to recommend, cultivate and preserve loyalty

and allegiance to the King's majesty, and also to address the King, or the King's ministers from time to time with assurances of the unshaken loyalty of the pastors comprehended in this union and the churches under their care, and to vindicate them if unjustly aspersed." (*Minutes, etc.*, p. 10.) Well wrote the excellent and well-informed Rev. Jonathan Boucher, of Maryland, in 1771, on this very point: "If whilst they are thus hostile to the Church, we really can believe them to be cordial friends to the State, all I can say is, that we shall pay them a compliment to their loyalty at the expense of their consistency."—*Discourses*, p. 93.

³ *Minutes, etc.*, p. 29.

and the "seasonable stand for liberty," made by the protesters among the clergy against the petition for a bishop. The assertion that opposition to the scheme "among the dissenters has ceased" is pronounced false, and the statement made that "the colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut have given instructions to their agents to oppose an American episcopate."¹ Similar action to that in Virginia was reported from Maryland. The "utmost skill and interest" of the English dissenters is invoked "to avert this impending blow that so surely threatens our civil and religious liberties." "No act of Parliament," it is asserted, "can secure us from the tyranny of" episcopal "jurisdiction," nor "can we have any security against being obliged, in time, to support their dignity, and to pay taxes to relieve the society in paying their missionaries."² "In a word, we think ecclesiastics vested with such power dangerous to our civil and religious liberties; and it seems highly probable that it will in time break that strong connection which now happily subsists between Great Britain and her colonies who are never like to shake off their dependence on the mother-country until they have bishops established among them."³ We may place this statement beside the assertion of the elder President Adams, that "the apprehension of Episcopacy contributed as much as any other cause to arouse the attention, not only of the inquiring mind, but of the common people, and urge them to close thinking on the constitutional authority of Parliament over the colonies. This was a fact as certain as any in the history of North America."⁴

In 1772 the convention again assembled at Elizabethtown. The General Association of Connecticut had instructed its delegates to "heartily concur with the Southern gentlemen in counteracting any motion that has been or shall be made for said Episcopate."⁵ Assurances were received from the English committee "that however the bishops and clergy may labor the point, the persons in power do not seem to be at all for it at present, and we hope never will."⁶ This assurance afforded the convention "great satisfaction." They gratefully acknowledge their correspondents' "zeal for the cause of religious liberty on this extensive continent."⁷ The following year the convention assembled at Stamford. The gathering of statistics as to the proportion of churchmen to dissenters occupied much of their time, and their chief reference to "the unjust encroachments of Episcopal domination," is to the effect that the "Episcopal adversaries" of "the cause of religious liberty" only wait "a favorable opportunity of renewing their attempts, and, if possible, effecting their design with the most fatal mischiefs to this growing country."⁸ The conventions in 1773, at Stamford, Conn., and in 1774, at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, show records that are noticeable simply for the absence of the professions of loyalty to the crown, and the expressions of anxiety lest the introduction of bishops

¹ Minutes, etc., p. 33. ² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁴ *Vide* Morse's "Annals," pp. 197-203: "That the American opposition to Episcopacy was at all connected with that still more serious one soon afterwards set up against civil government, was not indeed generally apparent at the time: but it is now indisputable, as it also is that the for-

mer contributed not a little to render the latter successful." "This controversy was clearly one great cause that led to the revolution."—*The Rev. Jonathan Boucher's View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution in Thirteen Discourses. London, 1797.*

⁵ Minutes, etc., p. 35. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38. ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

should tend to weaken the union between Great Britain and the colonies. These professions had served their purpose. They were no longer required, and in the preparation of churchmen and dissenters for the struggle for independence the opposing religionists were to fight shoulder to shoulder, some of each party or body on the one side and some of each on the other. The New England colonies furnished their quota of loyalists from the Puritan congregations and towns, as well as from the few church parishes; and in the middle states and at the southward, churchmen, both lay and clerical, were among the foremost in their resistance to British oppression and in their appeal to the wage of battle for the support of the popular cause. When the smoke had cleared away, and the people, after years of privation, suffering, and strife, had won their coveted freedom by their swords, it was found that all apprehension of peril to the civil or religious liberties, secured at the cost of so much blood and treasure, from the coming of bishops, had vanished; and we of to-day wonder that such an idea could have obtained at all. That it did enter into the feelings of the masses, and influence the action of the times, we have fully shown.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE.

THE popular dislike to the introduction of bishops which obtained in the northern colonies is shown by the following extract from an address delivered before the "Webster Historical Society," by the Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, entitled, "John Adams, the Statesman of the American Revolution." (Published by the Society, Boston: 1884):—

"For nearly a hundred years preceding the Revolution, these efforts to establish Episcopacy in Massachusetts were causes of anxiety and alarm. On the anniversary of the death of Charles the First, January 30, 1750, twenty-five years before the war broke out, Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, of Boston, preached a discourse which became famous on both sides of the Atlantic, in which he attacked the doctrines of the divine right of kings, passive obedience, and the exclusive claims of the Episcopal hierarchy. A sentence from the preface to the published sermon will indicate its character and temper: 'People have no security against being unmercifully priest-ridden but by keeping all imperious bishops, and other clergymen who love to lord it over God's heritage, from getting their feet into the stirrup at all.' It breathes an intense spirit of religious and civil liberty, and did much to intensify the colonial hatred of the threatened Episcopal hierarchy. In this it expressed—perhaps inspired—the sentiments of Samuel Adams, and was one of the most powerful influences which kept alive the spirit of revolution, and finally prepared the minds of the Massachusetts colonists for open resistance. The following extracts will show how continuous was the expressed hostility to Episcopacy,—a feeling not confined to the ignorant, illiberal crowd, but shared by the most enlightened of the colonists:—

"Samuel Adams, as the voice of the House of Representatives, presumably expressing the sentiments of the people, in a letter to their agent in London, in 1768, said, 'The establishment of a Protestant Episcopate in America is also very zealously contended for; and it is very alarming to the people whose fathers, from the hardships they suffered under such an establishment, were obliged to fly their native country into a wilderness. . . . We hope in God such an establishment will never take place in America, and we desire you would strenuously oppose it. The

revenue raised in America, for aught we can tell, may be constitutionally applied towards the support of prelacy as of soldiers and pensioners."¹

"Dr. Andrew Eliot, the enlightened clergyman who declined the presidency of Harvard College, in one of a series of letters chiefly on this subject, written between 1768 and 1771, addressed to Thomas Hollis, in England, said, 'The people of New England are greatly alarmed; the arrival of a bishop would raise them as much as any one thing.'²

"As late as 1772, the Boston Committee of Correspondence appointed to state the rights of the colonists, in their report made in Faneuil Hall, among other things declared, 'That various attempts have been made, and are now made, to establish an American Episcopate; though 'no power on earth can justly give temporal or spiritual jurisdiction within this province except the General Court.'³

Our author proceeds to defend the position that "there was at that time a real danger to civil liberty, as it existed under democratic forms, in the attitude and claims of the Anglican hierarchy." It is quite as unnecessary for us to combat this view as it would be to attempt to controvert the assumption just cited that "no power on earth" could "justly give temporal or spiritual jurisdiction" within the limits of Massachusetts, "except the General Court."

¹Wells's "Life of Samuel Adams," I., p. 157.

³Thornton's "American Pulpit," p. 192; *vid.*

²Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. Series, III., Vol. IV., p. 492. Adams' Works, IX., pp. 287, 288. Tudor's "Life of Otis," p. 126.

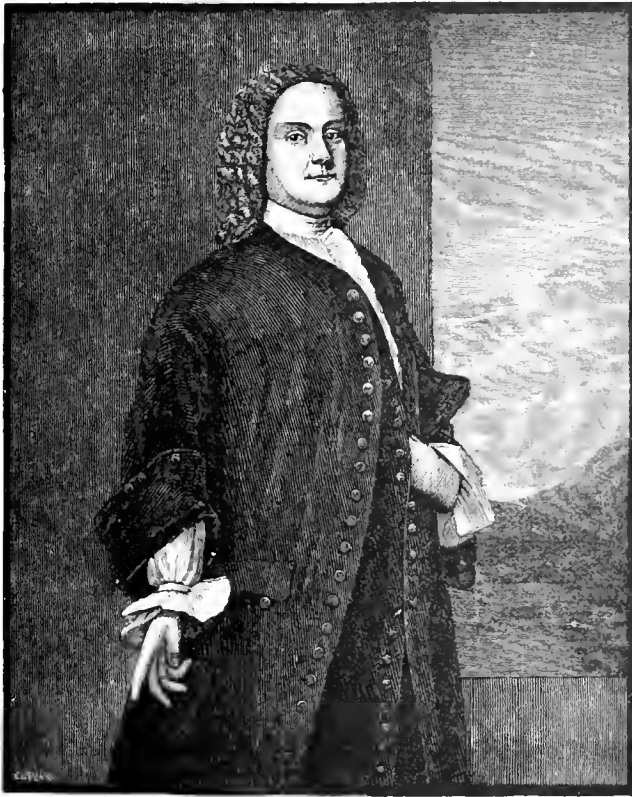
CHAPTER XXIII.

KING'S COLLEGE, NEW YORK, AND THE COLLEGE AND ACADEMY OF PHILADELPHIA.

ABOUT the middle of the eighteenth century measures were set on foot, both in New York and in Philadelphia, for the establishment of seminaries of learning. It was but natural that one so well and widely known and respected for learning, judgment, and good sense, as the Rev. Samuel Johnson, D.D., of Stratford, should be consulted as to the incipient steps to be taken in founding these proposed schools. It would appear, from the correspondence between Dr. Johnson and the celebrated Bishop of Cloyne, Dr. Berkeley,¹ that the founding of a college in New York was projected, and the good offices of friends in England and Ireland requested early in, if not before, the year 1749. In the same year a similar project was set on foot in Philadelphia, numbering among its friends and supporters the celebrated Benjamin Franklin, who had sketched a plan for an institution of the higher learning as early as 1744, and who had, with the coöperation and approval of several of his friends, among whom were Thomas Hopkinson, Tench Coxe, Francis Hopkinson, and Richard Peters, issued a pamphlet in 1749, entitled, "Proposals relative to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania." Bishop Berkeley's suggestions were communicated to Franklin, who had visited Dr. Johnson, and sought his acceptance of the charge of the proposed academy. The bishop advised that the charters and statutes should be prepared and secured without recourse to England, and that the enterprise should be begun "with a president and two fellows." These, he advised, should be supplied from "seminaries in New England." The "first care as to learning" was that "the Greek and Latin classics be well taught;" but "the principal care must be good life and morals, to which, as well as to study, early hours and temperate meals will much conduce." The "terms for degrees" were to be "the same as at Oxford, or Cambridge," which "would give credit to the college," and "pave the way for admitting graduates *ad eundem* in the English universities." "Premiums in books or distinctions in habit" were suggested as likely to "prove useful encouragements to the students." The college building should be "regular, plain, and cheap," each student having "a small room, about ten feet square, to himself." The "principal expense," it was urged, "should be in making a handsome provision for the president and fellows." Such were the "few crude thoughts thrown together" by the bishop. Transmitted, as we have seen, to

¹ Vide "The Life of Samuel Johnson, D.D., By Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D.D." first President of King's College in New York. New York: Lond. Reprinted, 1824. pp. 160-164

Franklin, these were carefully considered and acted upon, while the letter of Dr. Johnson, in which they were enclosed, and other "pieces" of his composition, served to increase the desire of the trustees to secure, as the head of the proposed academy and college, one "whose experience and judgment would be of great use in forming rules and establishing good methods in the beginning, and whose name for learning would give it a good reputation."¹ Franklin strongly



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

urged the doctor to accept, meeting the objections raised by Johnson, on the ground of age, the insufficiency of the offered support, and the little prospect of increased usefulness, in a series of letters, which are of interest and value as showing the estimate placed by the philosopher on the character, learning, and influence of his correspondent. The formation of a new church in Philadelphia, to be under his charge, was suggested, and the hall of the academy was offered for this purpose. As three-fourths of the trustees were members of the Church of England, they were disposed to remove every obstacle to the ac-

¹ Letter of Dr. Franklin, quoted in Beardsley's "Life of Dr. Johnson," p. 158.

complishment of their wish. To Dr. Johnson's objections to the proposed removal, Franklin replied with great cleverness, urging that the doctor's "talents for the education of youth" were "the gift of God; and that he on whom they are bestowed, whenever a way is opened for the use of them, is as strongly called as if he heard a voice from heaven: nothing more surely pointing out duty, in a public service, than ability and opportunity of performing it."¹ To Johnson's expressions of unwillingness to intrude his services as a clergyman into the cure of Dr. Jenney, the incumbent of Christ Church, the philosopher's reply is most characteristic: "Your tenderness of the church's peace is truly laudable; but, methinks, to build a new church in a growing place is not properly dividing, but multiplying; and will really be a means of increasing the number of those who worship God in that way. Many who cannot now be accommodated in the church go to other places or stay at home; and if we had another church, many, who go to other places or stay at home, would go to church. I suppose the interest of the Church has been far from suffering in Boston by the building of two new churches there in my memory. I had for several years nailed against the wall of my house a pigeon-box that would hold six pair; and, though they bred as fast as my neighbors' pigeons, I never had more than six pair, the old and strong driving out the young and weak, and obliging them to seek new habitations. At length I put up an additional box, with apartments for entertaining twelve pair more, and it was soon filled with inhabitants by the overflowings of my first box, and of others in the neighborhood. This I take to be a parallel case with the building a new church here."² But the arguments of Franklin proved unsuccessful. The printer-philosopher undertook the publication of Johnson's "Elementa Philosophica: containing chiefly Noetica, or Things relating to the Mind or Understanding; and Ethica, or Things relating to the Moral Behaviour." This work, of which the first part was in the main new, and the remainder was a reissue of the author's "System of Morality," was dedicated to Bishop Berkeley, whose system of philosophy the work was intended to explain and enforce. The author of this scholarly work was only willing to help on the Philadelphia Academy by advice and suggestions.

While the correspondence with Dr. Johnson was going on the academy was formally inaugurated. The rector, David Martin, A.M., Professor of Greek and Latin languages, whose term of service began with the opening of the school in 1749, died in 1751. "His body," writes Franklin, "was carried to the church, respectfully attended by the trustees, all the masters and scholars in their order, and a great number of the citizens. Mr. Peters preached his funeral sermon, and gave him the just and honorable character he deserved."³ The care of the classical students was assumed by Mr. Peters, a trustee, and one of the "Founders." The English master was David James Dove, "who formerly taught grammar

¹ Dr. Franklin's letter, quoted in Beardsley's "Life of Johnson," p. 162; *vide, also*, Sparks's "Works of Franklin," VII., pp. 47-50.

² *Ibid.*
³ Franklin's Letter to Dr. Johnson, quoted in Beardsley's "Life of Johnson," p. 166.

sixteen years at Chichester in England.”¹ Franklin speaks of him as “an excellent master,” and adds that “his scholars have made a surprising progress.”² In the “Catalogue of the alumni of the University of Pennsylvania,”³ the name of Charles Thompson, afterwards Secretary of Congress, precedes that of Mr. Dove as first on the list of “Tutors,” the date of both appointments being 1750. Theophilus Grew was the master of the Mathematical School. In 1752 Franklin writes to Dr. Johnson that —

Our Academy, which you so kindly inquire after, goes on well. Since Mr. Martin’s death the Latin and Greek School has been under the care of Mr. Allison,



Richard Peters

a dissenting minister, well skilled in those languages and long practised in teaching. But he refused the rectorship, or to have anything to do with the government of the other schools. So that remains vacant, and obliges the trustees to more frequent visits. We have now several young gentlemen desirous of entering on the study of philosophy, and lectures are to be opened this week. Mr. Allison undertakes logic and ethics, making your work his text to comment and lecture upon. Mr. Peters and some other gentlemen undertake the other branches, till we shall be provided with a rector capable of the whole, who may attend wholly to the instruction of youth in the higher parts of learning as they come out fitted from the lower schools. Our proprietors have lately wrote that they are extremely well pleased with the design, will take our seminary under their patronage, give us a charter, and, as an earnest of their benevolence, five hundred pounds sterling. And by our opening a charity school, in which near one hundred poor children are taught Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, with the rudiments of Religion, we have gained the general good-will of all sorts of people, from whence donations and

¹ Franklin’s Letter to Dr. Johnson.

² *Ibid.*

³ Published in Philadelphia, 1877.

bequests may be reasonably expected to accrue from time to time. This is our present situation, and we think it a promising one; especially as the reputation of our schools increases, the masters being all very capable and diligent, and giving great satisfaction to all concerned.¹

The three schools, of Ancient Languages, English, and Mathematics, were transferred, in 1751, to the building erected a few years before by the followers of the Rev. George Whitefield as a "Tabernacle." This building, which was situated on Fourth street, below Arch, in the city of Philadelphia, was purchased by the trustees and refitted for their purpose, and here the masters and ushers, or tutors, — the office of rector being vacant since Martin's death, — pursued their labors for the instruction of the pupils in their respective departments. Failing to secure the services of Dr. Johnson as rector of the Philadelphia Academy, the attention of Franklin and his fellow-trustees was called to another, who, in view of the remarkable ability, the tireless devotion, and unexampled success displayed in his efforts for the academy and college which grew into life and strength under his skilful management, may well be regarded as the founder of the University of Pennsylvania.

William Smith was born on the 7th of September, 1727, on the banks of the river Don, a few miles from Aberdeen, in Scotland. In 1741 he entered the University of Aberdeen, taking his first degree in March, 1747. After spending some little time in London he embarked for New York, on the 3d of March, 1751, bringing letters of recommendation from the Archbishop of Canterbury to Governor De Lancey. On his arrival in New York he took up his residence with Colonel Martin, on Long Island, as tutor to his two children, whom he had accompanied from England. Here he remained until August, 1753. It was during his residence in New York that he published a pamphlet entitled "A General Idea of the College of Mirania." This was issued at the desire and cost of some gentlemen of New York, as a sketch for a proposed institution of learning in that city. This pamphlet was sent immediately on its appearance from the press to the Rev. Richard Peters and to Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia. The reply of Franklin was as follows: —

Mr. Peters has just been with me, and we have compared notes on your new piece. We find nothing in the scheme of Education, however excellent, but what is in our opinion very practicable. The great difficulty will be to find the Arastus,² and other suitable persons in New York, to carry it into execution; but such may be had if proper encouragement be given. We have both received great pleasure in the perusal of it. For my part, I know not when I have read a piece that has so affected me — so noble and just are the sentiments, so warm and animated the language."³

Praise such as this could not but be followed by action, and, at a meeting of the trustees, held on the 25th of May, 1753, "it being proposed that Mr. William Smith, a gentleman lately arrived from London, should be entertained for some time upon trial to teach Natu-

¹ Franklin's Letter to Dr. Johnson.

² The name given to the principal, or head of the ideal college.

³ Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D., by Horace Wemyss Smith, 1, p. 25.

ral Philosophy, Logic, etc., in case he will undertake the same, it was agreed to, and Mr. Franklin and Mr. Peters are desired to speak with him about it."¹ The invitation to accept a position in connection with the Philadelphia Academy appears to have been accepted, though not in the form originally contemplated. Mr. Smith proceeded to England for orders, as a preliminary step to entering upon his work. On the 21st of December, 1753, he was ordained deacon, in the palace at Fulham, by Dr. John Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln, at the request and in the presence of Dr. Thomas Sherlock, Bishop of London, who was in declining health, and on the 23d of the same month he was ordained priest at the same place by Dr. Richard Obaldston, Bishop of Carlisle. On the 24th of the following May, 1754, he was

Phila Oct 9 1755
Your most humb Serv^t
B Franklin

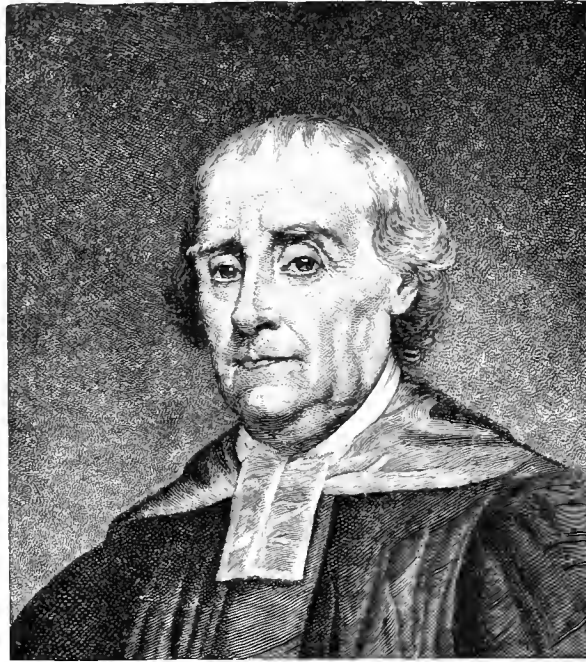
"inducted Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, and Professor of Natural Philosophy." On the day following he "commenced teaching in the philosophy class, also ethics and rhetoric to the advanced pupils."²

At the time of Mr. Smith's entrance upon his duties at the academy, the institution was, as we have seen, a collection of "schools." The classical, the English, the mathematical and the charitable schools, each under a distinct master, but all under the charge of a "Rector" or a "Provost," composed the institution. To the schools already named another was added, the "Philosophy School," in which ethics, natural philosophy, and rhetoric were taught to advanced pupils by the provost. In this "Philosophy School" there were a senior and a junior class. Later, it appears that a freshman class was added to this department, into which pupils from the classical school were entered after due preparation and examination. Public examinations were frequent, at which the masters were interested attendants, and in the details of which they were at liberty to participate. Thus far there was no college, in the modern sense of the word. The institution was simply a collection of five schools, under the same general management, the School of Philosophy being the most advanced. The instruction imparted in this department gave the institution its only claim to be considered as a college, and as it was

¹ Minutes of the Trustees, quoted in the "Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D.," i., p. 26.

² Life and Correspondence, i., p. 45.

destitute of the power to confer degrees in the arts, which is a distinguishing prerogative of a college or university properly so called, the provost and vice-provost, in December, 1754, suggested to the trustees the propriety of obtaining an additional charter, changing the corporate title and obtaining the power to confer the degrees in arts. On the 14th of May, 1755, the governor granted to "The Trustees of the College, Academy and Charitable Schools of Phila-



REV. WILLIAM SMITH, D.D., FROM A PORTRAIT BY GILBERT STUART.

delphia" the new charter asked for, and also the necessary powers of a "Seminary of Universal Learning," in the conferring of degrees. On the 11th of July the salary of the provost was fixed by the trustees at £200 per annum, to commence from the time of his first connection with the college. The names of Mr. Smith as provost, and Mr. Allison as vice-provost, appear in the charter, as if their appointments emanated from the governor himself. The minutes of the trustees state that they were so inserted at the request of the board. The change from a collection of schools, such as we have described, to a college occasioned little or no change in the style or system of instruction. The Classical and Philosophy Schools were now spoken of as the college, in distinction from the other schools; the chief change growing out of this enlargement of the plan and powers of the institution, being the substitution of Mr. Smith, a churchman and a clergyman, for Mr. Allison, a Presbyterian minister, as the head of

the college, the former rector or head now taking the second place. It is evident that during the year of his connection with the academy Mr. Smith had given such unmistakable proof, not only of scholarship, but also of comprehensive ideas and executive ability, as to render this change in the relation of the two leading instructors inevitable. That these eminent men, differing widely as they did on vital questions of religion and politics at a time when party spirit in Church and State was singularly bitter, should have worked side by side and in perfect harmony in the cause of education, attests their common devotion to the interests of the college they served. It was by Mr. Smith that the "Plan of Education" to be pursued in the college was prepared, at the request of the trustees, in May, 1756. Of this "Plan" it is enough to cite the words of President Stillé, who says that "its best eulogy is, that it has formed the basis of our present American College System."¹ It assumed "that nothing can be proposed by any scheme of collegiate education but to lay such a general foundation in all branches of literature as may enable the youth to perfect themselves in those particular parts to which their business or genius may afterwards lead them; and scarce anything has more obstructed the advancement of sound learning than a vain imagination that a few years spent at college can render youth such absolute masters of science as to absolve them from all future study."² The *curriculum* proposed was, both in its selection of subjects and in the order in which their study was to be pursued, not unlike that which obtained till within a few years in all American institutions of the higher learning. The course was intended to comprise three years. During this time Juvenal, Livy, Cicero, Horace's *Ars Poetica*, Quintilian, and the Tusculan Questions were read in the order we have given. In Greek, the Iliad, Pindar, Thucydides, Epictetus, and Plato *de legibus* formed the prescribed course. In mathematics the studies pursued were quite as extended as in our own times, while in the department of natural philosophy, chemistry, hydrostatics, pneumatics, optics, and astronomy received attention during the junior and senior years. Ethics, and the natural and civil law, as illustrated by history, formed an important part of this course. This scheme did not exist merely on paper. It was faithfully carried out in its details, and with most satisfactory results, during the whole period of its gifted author's connection with the college. The instruction was singularly thorough, and the college, thus provided with a *curriculum* of unusual merit, and officered in the best possible manner, acquired from the start an enviable reputation. Within two years from the time the charter was granted the number of students in the institution was about three hundred, of whom nearly a third were connected with the college proper. The comprehensiveness of its plan and the thoroughness of its instruction, together with the acknowledged ability of its head, drew students not merely from the city and province, but from Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and the West Indies. The college was not exclusively a church institution. In the words of its pro-

¹ A Memoir of the Rev. William Smith, D.D., by Charles J. Stillé, p. 11.

² *Ibid.*

vost, addressed to Dr. Bearcroft, the secretary of the venerable society: —

The chief men in the province are engaged in the trusteeship of our academy, and its foundation is on the most catholic and liberal plan.

I find Dr. Jenney¹ is not very fond of the design, and says that our trustees have little regard for religion. But the truth is that from the first he has opposed the Institution, because it was not made a Church establishment, and all the Masters to be of that persuasion. His zeal for the best church on earth is certainly commendable; but it may be carried too far. Had our College been opened on that plan in such a place as Philadelphia, the students would indeed have been a very scanty number. The people would not have borne even the mention of such a design at first. However the Church, by soft and easy means, daily gains ground in it. Of twenty-four Trustees, fifteen or sixteen are regular churchmen; and when our late additional Charter was passed, I, who am a minister of the Church of England, had the preference to two other ministers of other persuasions of longer standing than me in the Institution, and was made Provost of the same by the unanimous voice of the Trustees. We have prayers twice a day, the children learn the Church Catechism, and, upon the whole, I never knew a greater regard for religion in any Seminary, nor Masters more thoroughly possessed of the truth of our common Christianity.²

On the 17th of May, 1757, the first commencement of the college took place. Six students received on this occasion the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The first name on the list of alumni is that of Jacob Duché, who, by his speeches and sermons, and as the chaplain of the Continental Congress in 1776, obtained a distinguished reputation for devotion to the cause of American liberty that was lost by his subsequent defection to the opposite side. Duché was for a time Professor of Oratory in the college, and while in England obtained the Doctorate in Divinity. Another of these first graduates was the Rev. Samuel Magaw, D.D., a leading clergyman in the measures resulting in the organization of the Church in Pennsylvania and in the United States subsequent to the revolution, who was also at a later date the vice-provost of the college where he was graduated. Another was the celebrated Francis Hopkinson, LL.D., a member of the Continental Congress, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a Judge of the United States District Court for Pennsylvania, and a prominent member of the early conventions of the Church in the State, and of the Church at large. Of such material was the first graduating class of an institution numbering among its students at the time men who were to attain the highest positions in Church and State. At this time William White was a student in the "Mathematical School."

The restless activity of such a man as William Smith could not content itself with the conduct of a college and the instruction of youth. He entered with all his soul into the political controversies of the day, and, as a result of his opposition to the pacific policy of the Quaker assembly, a pretext was found for his arrest, conviction, and imprisonment for several months for an alleged "breach of privilege" in "publishing and promoting" a libel upon the assembly of the province. The college trustees evidently sympathized with their imprisoned provost. They directed his classes to attend his instructions

¹The Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, and Commissary of the Bishop of London.

²Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D., I., p. 143.

at the jail, and unanimously accorded him leave of absence in November, 1758, to visit England and prosecute his appeal to the king in council. His appearance in England was well-timed. It was at the moment when the elder Pitt was planning the campaign which was to put an end to the rule of France in North America. The presence of one whose political martyrdom had been occasioned by his efforts to rouse the people of a distant and exposed province to defend itself against the common foe could not fail to secure for him and the interests he had at heart a measure of sympathy and support. To these claims upon the kindly regard of the public there was added the *prestige* of a successful literary career. A volume of sermons published in London, in 1759, reached a second edition in a few years, and received from the "Critical Review" unusual praise, as "containing strokes equal to any in the *Oraisons Funèbres* of Bossuet." The "Monthly Review," if less flattering, was even more discriminating in its words of approval. It was to be expected, in view of these claims to notice and reward, that his own university should bestow upon him the doctorate. To this was added the action of Oxford, at the suggestion of the archbishop and other prelates, in conferring the same distinction in view of his services to Church and State. His appeal was heard in council, and the highest court of judicature pronounced, in the king's name, "his high displeasure at the unwarrantable behaviour of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, in assuming to themselves powers which do not belong to them, and invading both His Majesty's royal prerogative, and the liberties of the subject."¹

Returning with ample vindication and abundant honors, he brought with him a deed of gift, from the Honorable Thomas Penn, of lands in Bucks County for the college; and if this may have been the only present advantage acquired, the intimate relations into which he had been brought with many "great and influential personages," both in Church and State, enabled him at a later day to secure for the college pecuniary assistance of the greatest importance.

The second commencement, deferred until the return of the provost, was held on the 11th of December, 1759. Among the graduates were Samuel Keene, afterwards D.D., and an influential clergyman of Maryland; William Paca, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Samuel Powell, Mayor of Philadelphia and Speaker of the Senate of Pennsylvania, and one of the active spirits in the organization of the American Church after the revolutionary war.

Dr. Smith could not fail, from his position at the head of the college and as the leading member of a society for the promotion of schools and education among the German settlers of the province, to wield no little influence upon the clergy and laity of the Church. Dr. Jenney was almost incapacitated by age and infirmities from taking the position which his office as commissary and his rectorship of Christ Church would otherwise have secured without question. In the convention of the clergy of the province the provost became the most prominent figure, and in his frequent and familiar intercourse with the

¹ Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, I., p. 208.

authorities of the Church at home soon acquired a controlling influence in the management of church affairs. In the controversy occasioned by the intrigues and machinations of the turbulent Macclenechan, which resulted in the founding of another congregation, afterwards known as St. Paul's, Dr. Smith was most prominent, strenuously maintaining the order and discipline of the Church, and rendering most faithful service to the aged and infirm Jenney in securing the removal of his temporary assistant. In connection with these duties devolving upon him as the most prominent of the clergy of the province, it was the provost's good fortune to witness the steady increase of the college under his charge, in number and in reputation, till the necessity of endowments and additional buildings became apparent. In November, 1761, these needs of the college formed the subject of an exhaustive report to the trustees, and in view of the fact, then disclosed, that the expense of the maintenance of the institution had for several years exceeded its income by about £700 per annum, it was determined to send an agent to England to solicit funds for a permanent endowment and for the erection of the buildings imperatively required. The acceptance of this duty by the provost gave to the discouraged trustees the assurance of success. Credentials and means for his mission were amply furnished, and in February, 1762, Dr. Smith set sail from New York on this important duty.

Meanwhile the plans for the foundation of a college in New York had taken shape; and in the hands of a few gentlemen of wealth and position, chiefly members of the Church of England, and with the aid of Trinity Church in supplying the site for the proposed institution, King's College had sprung into being. From an intimation in the records of Trinity Church it would appear that, as early as 1703, it was the purpose of the government of the province, then in the hands of Lord Cornbury, to provide a site for a college on the island of New York. In 1746 authority was granted by the assembly for raising money for this purpose by means of a lottery, and within the following few years the sum of three thousand four hundred and forty-three pounds eighteen shillings, was raised for the erection of a college within the colony. This sum was placed in the hands of trustees, a majority of whom were members of the Church of England, and a number of whom were of the vestry of Trinity Church. The land bestowed by Trinity was granted on condition that the president of the college for the time being should be in communion with the Church of England, and the morning and evening prayers should be those of the Church, or else such a selection from the "Book of Common Prayer" as should be agreed upon by the president or trustees, or governors of the said college. These provisions, giving a churchly character to the proposed institution, and the majority accorded to the Church in the governing board, excited the animosity of the dissenters, and for a time threatened to thwart the plans of its founders. The opposition to the Church of England interest was led by Mr. William Livingston, a violent enemy of the Church. The act of the assembly, obtained in the beginning of the year 1753, appointing the trustees and vesting in them the moneys

raised by the lottery; and the supplemental act of July, the same year, appropriating to the college £500 out of "the duty of excise," for the seven years from the first day of January, 1754, though bitterly opposed, were followed by the granting of the royal charter, on the 31st of October, 1754. The college was opened prior to the granting of the charter. The trustees had at the outset chosen the Rev. Dr. Johnson of Stratford, as president of the intended institution; and in April, 1754, he reluctantly, in view of his advanced years and the exposure to disease consequent upon residence in the city, accepted the position and entered upon his work. In June he published, in the newsprints of the day, an account of the design of the college, the plan of education proposed, and the requirements for admission, and appointed a day for the examination of candidates. Ten appeared at the appointed time, including two from other institutions of learning. These formed the first class, and were taken by Dr. Johnson under his own personal care and instruction, the place of meeting being the large vestry-room belonging to Trinity Church. The president was chosen one of the ministers of Trinity Church. He drew up a form for the daily prayers taken from the "Book of Common Prayer," with a special collect of his own composition for the college, which, with the Psalter, he caused to be printed for the use of the students. He also compiled a body of laws for present use, and thus proceeded to bring the affairs of the institution into method and order. He found time amidst this pressure of duties to enter into a vigorous correspondence with President Clapp, of Yale College, with reference to the requirement of students from church families to attend the services of the college chapel, "designed to guard and perpetuate the Puritan faith;"¹ and, as a result of his irresistible logic, the obnoxious rules were relaxed. After a little delay he removed, with his family, to New York, where he devoted himself assiduously to the care of the college, and to the performance of his duties at Trinity Church. At the entrance of a second class the need of a tutor was apparent, and the second son of the president, William Johnson, a graduate of Yale in the class of 1748, and A.M. in course, and an *ad eundem* master at Harvard in 1753, was appointed to this post. With the increase of students there was a corresponding increase in the interest exhibited by the community, and large subscriptions were secured, and the plans of the college building were well advanced.

The president had acquainted the Bishop of London and the venerable society with the design of the college and his appointment to its superintendency, and had desired the kind patronage of the bishop and the society in its behalf. This was readily accorded. The bishop, Dr. Sherlock, in his reply expressed his hearty approbation of the college and of the choice that had been made for its president, and he earnestly encouraged Dr. Johnson to persevere, in spite of the opposition that had been raised, in his labors for the cause of Christian and churchly education. The reply from the society was to the same effect; and that these assurances of sympathy and aid

¹ Beardsley's "Life of Dr. Johnson," p. 200.

were not merely complimentary was shortly proved by acts of generosity worthy of lasting remembrance. In connection with this correspondence and taking advantage of the departure of Mr. William Johnson, the college tutor, for England, to receive holy orders, the vestry of Trinity Church, which from the first had shown the deepest interest and the fullest confidence in the new college, addressed the society in a letter, which we print for the first time from the original, long preserved in the archives of this venerable body. The letter is full of interest and value, from the vivid descriptions it gives of the men and measures of the time:—

NEW YORK, Nov. 3d, 1755.

The Vestry of Trinity Church, in New York, to the Secretary:—

REVD. SIR.—We esteem it a great honor amidst the many virulent reproaches we have met with to find our conduct with regard to the College lately founded here approved by so venerable and respectable a body as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and to have received their thanks for the donation we made, which was communicated to us by Mr. Barclay, and which we most gratefully acknowledge. We had also the satisfaction of the universal approbation of our constituents notwithstanding the vast debt we have contracted by building the Chapel of late. We always expected that a gift so valuable in itself and so absolutely necessary (it being the only ground within the city properly situated, and of sufficient extent) would be a means of obtaining some privileges to the charity, especially as the promoters of the affair in the House of Representatives always proposed such a preference, at least, as is granted by the Charter, but had never insisted on any condition till we found some persons labouring to exclude all systems of religion out of the constitution of the College. When we discovered this design we thought ourselves indispensably obliged to interpose, and have had the countenance of many good men of all denominations, and, in particular, the ministers of the Foreign Protestant Churches in this City, who are appointed Governors of the College, and without the least hesitation qualified, agreeable to the Charter, and continue hearty friends to it. But, notwithstanding this, the opposition still continues, and has so far prevailed, as to have hitherto prevented the application of the money raised by lottery for the use of the College. To effect this our opponents have been indefatigable; the most base and disingenuous methods have been used to prejudice the common people in the several counties, whom they have endeavoured to persuade that the test imposed on the President will infallibly be attended with the establishment of Bishops and tithes, and will end in the loss of all their religious privileges, and even in persecution itself. Petitions have been drawn & handed about, to be signed against the charter establishment, and weekly papers have been published for two years past, wherein all the friends of the Church and the Vestry of Trinity Church, in particular, have been abused in the most opprobrious terms. So that it is very uncertain when the money will by the General Assembly be vested in the Governors. In the meantime they have begun a subscription among themselves, and are daily purchasing materials to lay the foundation of a handsome, convenient edifice, which, God willing, they purpose to begin next Spring, and they are induced to hope that as the dissenting seminary in New Jersey has had the General Assembly of the Kirk in Scotland engaged in its behalf last year, as well as the dissenting interest in England, and as we are informed have collected a very considerable sum of money, so our brethren in England will be ready to contribute to preserve the Church in this part of the world from the contempt its enemies are endeavouring to bring upon it. The dissenters have already three seminaries in the Northern Governments. They hold their synods, Presbyteries and associations and exercise the whole of their Ecclesiastical Government to the no small advantage of their cause, whilst those churches which are branches of the National Establishment are deprived not only of the benefit of a regular Church government, but their children debarred the privilege of a liberal education, unless they will accept of it on such conditions as Dissenters require, which in Yale College is to submit to a fine as often as they attend the public worship in the Church of England, com-

munitions only excepted, and that only on Christmas & Sacrament days. This we cannot but look upon as hard measure, especially as we can, with a good conscience, declare that we are so far from that Bigotry and narrowness of spirit they have of late been pleased to charge us with, that we would not, were it in our power, lay the least restraint on any man's conscience, and should heartily rejoice to continue in brotherly love and charity with all our Protestant brethren, as we can appeal to all men, we have always done, notwithstanding the late unmerited reproaches, calumnies and opposition we have met with.

Upon the whole, as we are informed, the Governors of the College intend to proceed according to the Charter, and have reason to think that this will be the best means to quell the present opposition, restore peace, promote true religion and harmony amongst all denominations of Christians; and at length induce the Assembly to grant the money raised for the College. We humbly beg leave to recommend the cause in which they are engaged to the Patronage of the Venerable Board and its several members, and hope that when a subscription shall be set on foot in England they will, upon proper application, encourage and assist them in their laudable undertaking. This will add a new obligation on all the members of the Church of England, as this in all probability will be the only college in which they are like to have an interest. We commit this letter to the care of Mr. George Harrison, one of our vestry and Mr. William Johnson, son of the Rev. Dr. Johnson, by whom we beg leave to tender our best regards to the venerable board and by whom they may be informed more particularly in any matter relating to this subject.

We remain with much respect,

HENRY BARCLAY,
JAMES ROBINSON,
& others.

Mr. Johnson, who had been received most kindly by his father's friends and correspondents in England, and had been honored by the degree of Master of Arts from the two ancient universities, died, shortly after his admission to holy orders, of the small-pox, adding another to the number of youth of piety and learning who, in seeking the apostolic commission for their ministry, gained it at the cost of their lives. The vacancy in the college staff, occasioned by the resignation of this gifted and promising young man, had been filled by the appointment of Mr. Leonard Cutting, A.M., who had been educated at Eton and at Cambridge and was thoroughly furnished for his work. Materials were provided for the erection of the college building, which was to be built "on the skirts of the city,"¹ on the ground given by Trinity Church. On the 23d of August, 1756, the corner-stone, bearing a suitable inscription, was laid by the royal governor, Sir Charles Hardy, on which occasion the president made a brief speech in Latin to the governors, to his excellency Sir Charles Hardy, and Mr. DeLancey, the lieutenant-governor, congratulatory on this happy event. The entrance of a third class increased the number of students to about thirty, and as the president was forced to leave the city in November, on account of the spread of small-pox, the governors provided another instructor, whom they made Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Mr. Daniel Treadwell, A.M., a graduate of Harvard College, and recommended by Professor Winthrop as eminently qualified for the position. This same year a member of the venerable society, the Rev. Dr. Bristowe, bequeathed his library of about fifteen hundred volumes "to the college of New York, of which Dr. Johnson is presi-

¹ Chandler's "Life of Johnson," p. 96.

dent," thus laying the foundation of the present library of Columbia College.

The progress made by the college appears from the following address to the venerable society, now first printed from the original in the archives of that body :—

To The Rt. Rev. Father in God Lord Bishop of London, —

The humble address of the Governors of the college of the province of New York in the City of New York in America, May it please your Lordship: As the care of the Church in these colonies has been annexed to the See of London and it is therefore fit that every thing here relating to the interest of Religion & Learning should be referred to your Lordship and recommended to your Patronage, the Governors of this college lately incorporated by Royal Charter for instructing youth in the liberal sciences do humbly beg leave to lay before your Lordship some account of our proceedings and to recommend this Infant Seminary to your Lordship's favour and kind Patronage. The undertaking has indeed met with much opposition with which we are informed your Lordship is not unacquainted, which has occasioned the loss of one half of the monies originally raised by public Lotteries for carrying on of this design. However as we are conscious of the uprightness of our intentions and encouraged by the countenance of many good men of all denominations we are carrying on this good work in the best manner our circumstances will admit of. Several young gentlemen have been admitted, and prosecute their studies under the Inspection of the Rev Dr Johnson and two Tutors well qualified. We have given orders for purchasing an apparatus of proper Instruments for teaching mathematical and experimental Philosophy. We are also building a neat and convenient edifice for public schools & lodgings (being one side of a quadrangle hereafter to be carried on) on a very valuable and most agreeably situated bit of Ground adjoining to this City which is a donation of the Rector, Churchwardens & Vestry of Trinity Church. But being sensible that we shall not be able to bring this work to any tolerable degree of perfection and answer the great design of our Incorporation without the charitable assistance of our Mother Country; we have presumed to address the Honorable Society for propagating the Gospel for their countenance & influence in recommending our case to such gentlemen as may be disposed to assist us in our undertaking, and we humbly beg leave also to ask your Lordship's kind patronage and influence in pursuance of the same design. We do moreover humbly intreat your Lordship's prayers and blessings upon this important undertaking and that your Lordship's most valuable life and health may be long preserved and your faithful labours in the cause of God and his true Religion may be abundantly rewarded with an eternal crown of Glory is the fervent prayer of, may it please your Lordship, your Lordship's most dutiful and most obedient humble Servants,

JNO. CHAMBERS,

Presiding Member in behalf of the Governors.

SAMUEL JOHNSON,

President of the College.

NEW YORK, 27 May, 1758.

On the 21st of June, 1758, the college held its first commencement, at which seven graduates received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, among them Samuel Provoost, afterwards first Bishop of New York. A number of others, graduates of Cambridge, England, Harvard, Yale, and the College of New Jersey, took the Master's degree, making the whole number of degrees conferred upwards of twenty. The year following passed off smoothly and successfully. The various classes were divided between the president and two subordinates, the president confining himself to Greek, logic, metaphysics,

and ethics. The college building was now rapidly approaching completion. At the second commencement, in 1759, two only proceeded Bachelors of Arts. At the third commencement, in 1760, six young men took the Bachelor's degree, among them the celebrated Isaac Wilkins, who, after a stormy political career, entered the ministry, received the Doctorate in Divinity, and was for many years a prominent clergyman in the diocese of New York. On this occasion the governors of the college met in the college hall, and, after an address in Latin from the president, proceeded to St. George's Chapel, where the graduating exercises were performed and the degrees conferred. Professor Treadwell had died in the spring of 1760, and the president and Mr. Cutting were compelled to do double duty for the following year. In May, 1761, occurred the fourth commencement. There were but three graduates, but several of those who formed the first class now took



DISTANT VIEW OF KING'S COLLEGE IN 1763.

their Master's degree. The following year the governors appointed Mr. Robert Harpur, A.M., who had been educated at the University of Glasgow, to the Professorship of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. With the aid of this brilliant instructor, Dr. Johnson's last year of service was rendered comparatively easy. He held his fifth and final commencement in May, 1762, eight young men taking the Bachelor's degree. Before his retirement from office he was able to further the efforts of the governors to augment the funds of the college by an appeal to England. The expenses of carrying on the institution were already causing an annual encroachment on its slender capital, and, although great liberality had been shown to this new enterprise, it was not to be expected that its wants could be fully supplied at home. It was in view of these needs and of the interest expressed in England in the inception and progress of the college, that, at the instigation of

the president, the services of Dr. James Jay, as agent of the college, were secured, and this gentleman was formally accredited to the Archbishops, the Universities, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. On the 13th of May, 1762, Dr. Jay sailed from New York on his mission. Three months before, on the 13th of February, Dr. Smith had sailed from the same port on the same errand.

Dr. Jay, better known as Sir James Jay, Knight, — for he received this distinction from the king, George III., while acting as agent of King's College, — was a brother of the Hon. John Jay, of New York, and bore with him on his important mission, among other letters of introduction and commendation, the following communication addressed to Archbishop Seeker by Dr. Johnson. It gives so interesting and succinet an account of the case of the college that we reproduce it here: ¹ —

To the Most Rev. Father in God, Thomas Lord, Archbishop of Canterbury, —

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE, — Your Grace is well acquainted with the labors and difficulties under which we have struggled in founding our College and carrying it on hitherto and has been informed that we have erected an elegant building of one hundred and eighty feet in length by thirty in width and three stories in height, which is now just finished and designed for one side of a quadrangle, to be completed as we shall be enabled. But as we are not yet able to carry it any further without assistance, nor have we a sufficient fund to support the necessary officers — the Master, Professors and Tutors — we are therefore constrained to beg the charitable contributions of such public spirited gentlemen as are generously disposed to promote so good a work, and have empowered the bearer hereof, Dr. James Jay, of this city, who is an ingenious young gentleman and a graduated physician of the University of Edinburgh, to ask and receive such benefactions as should be contributed to this important undertaking. And as your Grace is the first member of our corporation, and has given abundant demonstration of your delight in doing good offices, and especially to this college, for which we are inexpressibly thankful, we humbly beg leave to recommend him to your Grace, and entreat you in addition to your former goodness that you will give him your best advice and direction for his carrying on a solicitation for benefactions, and if you think proper that you will introduce him or procure him to be introduced to our most gracious Sovereign for his favor; and also that you will be pleased to recommend him to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London, or any other of the nobility, clergy, or gentry as your Grace shall judge most expedient. In doing this you will unspcakably oblige, may it please your Grace,

Your Grace's, etc.

Dr. Smith, as we learn from his biographer,² was indignant at what he deemed an unfair, as it certainly was an unexpected, interference with his purposes and plans. There was, as he writes, "a strange clashing of interests and applications," and the proposal "to unite both designs" was at first refused by the irate provost, who thought his "own interest best;" but after considerable negotiation it was agreed that a joint application in behalf of both colleges should be made to the king. "His Majesty," wrote Dr. Smith, "expressed his approval of the plan, and said he would do something to begin the design; that to King's College, in New York, he would order £400 sterling; and that in respect to the college in Philadelphia, he ob-

¹ From Beardley's "Life of Dr. Johnson," pp. 269, 270.

² Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D., 1, p. 300.

served that it had a liberal benefactor in our Proprietors, who stood as it were, in his room; but that he must not suffer so good a design to pass without some mark of his regard, and therefore would order £200 sterling for us."¹ A royal brief for collections throughout the united kingdom in behalf of the two colleges was issued, and the two agents divided the territory between them, Dr. Smith going to the north of England and Scotland, and Dr. Jay to the south and west. The arrangements being amicably concluded, Dr. Smith pronounces his rival, Dr. Jay, "an active and sensible young fellow." The "Brief" brought in £4,800 to each institution; the private collections £1,136 10s. 6d. to each. The royal bounty was £400 to King's College, and £200 to the college and academy of Philadelphia. The proprietaries of Pennsylvania gave to the college under their patronage £500, and £284 17s. had been collected by Dr. Smith before the union of the interests of the rival institutions. The college at Philadelphia received in all £6,921 7s. 6d. It was estimated by Dr. Smith that upwards of eleven thousand persons contributed to the collection made under the authority of the brief, and more than eight hundred responded to the private appeals of Dr. Jay and himself. So far as the Philadelphia college was concerned the possession of this added capital was made an incentive to further efforts to increase the funds of the institution. In the winter of 1771-72 Dr. Smith paid a visit to Charleston, South Carolina, and, in the course of a few months, collected nearly a thousand guineas for the college from the inhabitants of that city. On his return he set on foot a subscription for the same object in Philadelphia, from which nearly £1,200 was received. Dr. Morgan, one of the Professors of the Medical Faculty, applied to the people of the Island of Jamaica for contributions to the college funds, and from this source about £3,000 were obtained. It was by services and labors such as these that William Smith won for himself the distinction he had coveted. On the 14th of September, 1762, he writes to the Rev. Richard Peters, that the honor he proposed was "in being a kind of founder of our college." This honor he fairly earned and justly merited. It was his pleasure and privilege to watch over its interest till, amidst the vicissitudes of the war for independence, the schools of learning were closed, and, in the attempted organization of its government after the civil disruption, the rights of the college authorities were trampled upon, and the provost dispossessed from the place he had filled with so much honor and usefulness. He was never restored to his former privileges and powers, and it is only of late years that full justice had been rendered to him for his abundant and most useful services to the cause of Christian education and the advance of the higher learning in America.

The retirement of Dr. Johnson from the presidency of King's College was followed by the election of the Rev. Myles Cooper, LL.D., whose incumbency closed amidst the opening scenes of the Revolution. Among those who received their graduating degrees at the hands of this able and gifted man were Richard Harrison, D.C.L., John Jay,

¹ Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D., I., p. 301.

LL.D., Egbert Benson, LL.D., Robert R. Livingston, Peter Van Schaack, LL.D., Bishop Benjamin Moore, Gouverneur Morris, and the Rev. Dr. John Bowden, while the name of Alexander Hamilton appears on the list of students entered in 1774, whom the exigencies of the times prevented from completing their course in arts.

Few college presidents have ever superintended the intellectual training and development of a brighter array of men, and, in estimating the services rendered to the Church and State by the college presided over by Johnson, we must not forget the long and brilliant incumbency of his successor, whose love for church and crown drove him from an honored and useful post.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE.

AN interesting memorial of the mission of Sir James Jay and Dr. William Smith, to England, is found in "a Sermon Preached on occasion of the Brief for the American Colleges. By Daniel Watson, A.M., Vicar of Leek, in Yorkshire. Newcastle: MDCCCLXIII," 8°, p. 36. Our author dwells upon "two circumstances in the scheme," "that ought to recommend it to the favor and encouragement of every good Christian and true Protestant, and, indeed, of every *British* patriot."

"The one, that the persons to be educated in these AMERICAN SEMINARIES are intended as antidotes to counteract the poison of the false, idolatrous, and slavish principles instilled into the poor benighted *Indians*, by Popish emissaries, who represent Christianity in no other garb than what she is forced to wear in the Roman Church — the garb of superstition and worldly policy, of dissimulation and treachery, of pride, cruelty and prosecution, and an universal hatred towards all who refuse to worship the idols they have set up. The effects of which wretched zeal have been found amongst all those barbarous nations, who have been under the influence and management of popish powers; and severely felt by such of our own countrymen in particular, who have been unhappy enough to fall into their hands.

"The other article which gives a particular value to these SEMINARIES is, that Protestant youth of all denominations and persuasions are received into them, and partake of the instruction there dispensed without respect of persons. This circumstance, as it will give birth to many amiable and lasting friendships in after-life, between men of different persuasions; so an affectionate intercourse among the students, who will be taught to think generously of each other's religion, will open a free communication of sentiments, and tend to wear off that sourness of party, which has been the disgrace of the *Reformation*: as well as contribute to the detection of errors, and to the conviction of those who might be inclined to persist in them, only because they were the error of their forefathers.

"Thus, you see, the nature and extent of this charitable undertaking, to which your contributions are now solicited. It is to dispense the pure and peaceable word of God amongst those poor, uninformed or misguided tribes of *Indians*, who are now as it were consigned to the care and protection of BRITONS; whom a gracious Providence seems to call forth to 'be a light to lighten those Gentiles,' and thereby to make known 'his salvation unto the end of the earth.'

"And if, by a cheerful obedience to this heavenly call, the blessed work should prosper in our hands, and 'the word of the Lord have free course and be glorified,' great and distinguished will be our name, and precious our memory, when future historians shall record and distant ages read, that from BRITAIN 'sounded out the word of the Lord,' into those remote and barbarous regions, and that from this blessed island 'the day-spring from on high (in its native lustre, first) visited them that sat in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide their feet into the way of peace.'"

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE POSITION OF THE CLERGY AT THE OPENING OF THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE.

AT the beginning of the struggle, which won for us political independence, and ecclesiastical independence as well, there were in the colonies stretching from Maine to Georgia less than three hundred parishes or congregations of the Church, and probably not far from two hundred and fifty clergymen. Nearly two thousand "clerks in Holy Orders" of the Anglican Communion had from the time of the church's introduction into the Western World labored for a longer or shorter term of years on American soil.¹ But at the period of which we speak, although the Church was expanding with the growth of the country, the lack of the episcopate, with its consequent laxity in discipline, and the hindrances placed in her path by various opposing religious bodies, had prevented that development which would have been expected from the fact of her early planting and partial establishment. The Church at the southward was the religion of the wealthy, the cultivated, and refined; there and elsewhere it was the church of the representatives of royalty at each provincial governor's mimic court; of the officers of the army and navy of the king; of those who had supplemented the defects of trans-Atlantic education and training at the ancient universities; of the younger members of noble families who had found homes and fortunes in the New World. Outside of New England it was the church of those who sought political prominence in the colonial assemblies, or coveted the rich offices in the gift of the crown; of the judges on the bench and the lawyers at the bar; of the collectors of the ports; of those whose business brought them in close connection with the great exporters and traders abroad; in short, it was the church of the bulk of that conservative element which amidst provincial surroundings prided itself on its admiration for and devotion to the rule and reigning fashions of the court. Not ignorant nor unmindful of this vantage ground of the Church, an astute and unscrupulous Puritan divine of Connecticut had published, a few years before the struggle between the colonies and crown began, a satirical pamphlet of nearly fifty pages, setting forth "The Real Advantages which Ministers and People may enjoy, especially In the Colonies, by Conforming to the Church of England; Faithfully considered, and impartially

¹ An attempt to gather the names and notices of these mission-priests and deacons of the mother-church, laboring on the American Continent and the islands adjacent prior to 1800, has resulted in the collection of upwards of two thousand names, with references to authorities. This

long list of men, who in the main were worthy of their high calling, is sufficient to prove the missionary spirit of the mother-church from the very days of her spiritual independence secured at the Reformation.

represented in a Letter to a Young Gentleman." This "base pamphlet," as Dr. Johnson styled it,¹ written by Noah Welles, the Congregationalist minister of Stamford, Connecticut, placed in strong contrast the manners of the "polite" and "sprightly," "well-dressed," "fashionable," "brisk and lively," Church-of-England professors, with the "Puritanical preciseness" of "the presbyterians and congregationalists in New England."

Low and scurrilous as this pamphlet certainly was, the point of its satire was its pretended exhibition of the "temporal advantages" of conformity, and the claim that these were the source of the gradual advance and triumph of the Church. That such advantages existed at least, where the Church was established, or had gained a strong foothold, it would be absurd to deny. The days of persecution were over even in New England. The popular mind was exercised with political rather than with theological questions. The churchmen had won, at least, a toleration, and although the *odium theologicum* was maintained by the Puritan leaders, the ministers, and magistracy, still the Church was gaining ground on every side, and churchmen were no longer thrown into jail, or exposed to loss of their goods, for the support of the puritan ministry, or the building of Puritan meeting-houses. It is true that the proposed introduction of bishops has been named by high authority as among the causes of the separation of the colonies from the mother-land; and that it may have influenced some in their desire for independence is doubtless the case. It is also true that even churchmen were divided, if not as to the need of an American episcopate, at least as to its expediency at a time when the project was assailed by invincible prejudice and hate. In the political questions out of which the revolutionary struggle grew it was but natural that the clergy generally should take the side of the mother-country. They had seen the strength and greatness of the land: they had taken solemn oaths of allegiance to the crown at their admission to holy orders; their support was largely dependent upon the venerable society abroad. It is a noticeable fact that in the provinces where the Church had been established and the clergy had their support directly or indirectly from those to whom they ministered, and even in the case of those parishes in provinces where there was no establishment, where the people were the immediate sources of their clergyman's revenue, there were many patriot clergymen sympathizing with and sustaining their parishioners in their resistance to the authority of the crown. The stipendiaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, deriving their living from across the sea, were in nearly every instance loyalists. This was the case without any necessary imputation of being influenced by mere pecuniary considerations. The missionaries of the society had been accustomed to look at all things from an English standing-point. The incumbents of the parishes in Virginia and Maryland had lived in an atmosphere of debate and freedom. They, in common with their parishioners, had acquired in their isolation

¹ Beardley's "Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D.D.," pp. 272, 274.

from the Old World an independence of thought and life that made political independence no novel idea. Not content with following their people in resistance to the arbitrary measures of the British parliament and crown, they chose to lead the way. In speeches and sermons, in essays and addresses, and finally when the sword was drawn, even in the exchange of the surplice for the soldier's garb, and the rule of a parish for the command of a regiment, these clergymen of the Church were not at all behind the most patriotic of their people. The names of the Rev. Charles Minns Thruston, who amidst the opening scenes of the war had been moderator of patriotic gatherings within the walls of his own church in Frederick County, Virginia,¹ and who at the beginning of actual strife laid aside his ministry and attained the rank of colonel in the American army; and the Rev. Peter Muhlenberg, of Shenandoah County, who had also been a moderator of the patriot assemblies at Woodstock ere the breaking out of the struggle, and a delegate to the Virginia Convention of 1773,² who also raised a regiment among his own parishioners and served throughout the war, attaining the rank of brigadier-general, are instances of this devotion to the popular cause. Tradition tells us that Muhlenberg's last sermon was preached in uniform concealed under his ministerial robe, and that as he quoted the words of the book of Ecclesiastes: "To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven,"—"a time of war,"—he laid aside the preacher's gown and walked forth a soldier in garb and office, followed by his people. Of the Virginia clergy, Bishop Madison and Messrs. Bracken, Balmaine, Buchanan, Jarratt, Griffith, Davis, and many others, were avowed and decided partisans of the American cause.³ In South Carolina the Rev. Henry Purcell was appointed by Congress, May 7, 1772, chaplain of the Second South Carolina Regiment, commanded by Colonel Moulton, and in 1778 he was appointed deputy judge-advocate-general for South Carolina and Georgia. The Rev. William Percy, of Charleston, was a strong partisan of the popular side, officiating as chaplain to the troops, and delivering an address on the first anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. In consequence of his avowed sympathy with the rebels he was silenced "on pain of confinement," on the occupation of the city by the British. The Rev. Robert Smith, the first bishop of South Carolina, was banished by the British, and served as a soldier in the American ranks. In fact out of twenty clergymen in South Carolina at the breaking out of the war, five only adhered to the royalist cause and left the country.⁴ William White, the first bishop of Pennsylvania, was a chaplain of Congress, and never faltered even in the darkest days of the war in his adhesion to the American cause. Croes, first bishop of New Jersey, served as a non-commissioned officer throughout a great part of the contest; and Provoost, the first bishop of New York, was distinguished as a leader of the popular side. Parker, second bishop of Massachu-

¹American Archives, Series IV., Vol. I., p. 393.

²*Ibid.*, Series IV., Vol. I., pp. 417, 418; Vol. II., p. 165.

³Hawks's "Ecclesiastical Contributions," Vol. I., Virginia, p. 137.

⁴Dalcho's "History of the Epis. Ch. in So. Car.," p. 206.

setts, was among the first to recognize the new order of things, accommodating the liturgy to the changed situation of public affairs; while Bass, first bishop of Massachusetts, found himself dismissed from the service of the society on the ground of a too ready compliance with the requirements of the revolted provincial assembly. The Convention of Virginia, on the day following the Declaration of Independence, altered the "Book of Common Prayer" to accommodate it to the new condition of things. These alterations almost exclusively related to the prayers for those in authority, and throughout the State this requirement of the popular assembly met with little or no opposition. Elsewhere it was different. Those among the clergy who felt that the appeal to arms, or even the declaration of the Congress declaring the colonies independent, did not warrant them in disregarding the obligation of their vows of allegiance, persisted in the use of the prayer-book services unchanged, or, when this was impossible, closed their churches and met such of their people as sympathized with them politically by stealth or in private houses. We propose to let the actors in these stirring scenes tell the story of their unavailing struggle to counteract the popular will. A series of extracts from manuscript and other authorities will reveal the temper of the times more faithfully than any modern pen could hope to do.

In New York there can be but little question as to the attitude of the major part of the Church clergy from the first. For some years prior to the actual beginning of hostilities the province had been convulsed with excitement, growing out of the discussion of the questions relating to popular rights and grievances. It was a period of intense party feeling and endless debate. While the people were proud of their English origin, and had, at a lavish expense of life and treasure, aided in the subjugation of Canada, and thus in extending the English dominion over the fairest portions of North America, they had learned the lesson of self-respect. These were unwilling to be denied or tamely to forfeit their rights as freeborn Englishmen. They felt that obedience to an unjust rule or submission to tyranny was not only servile, but that it brought ruin and dishonor with the loss of self-respect. But the letters, speeches, resolves, and solemn asseverations of the chief actors in the bold resistance to the measures of Parliament for the enforcement of its settled purpose of deriving a revenue from the American provinces show conclusively that there was at the first no purpose of independence, no desire for separation from the mother-land. Even when armed resistance was inevitable, and the failure to appeal to arms would have been the confession of servitude, the leading spirits felt and acted on the conviction that when the crown saw that the struggle was not with a few hot-headed malecontents, but with the great body of the intelligent freemen of a territorial empire, their wrongs would be righted and their manly resistance to oppression understood and approved. It was only when every means of conciliation had failed and every hope of redress had been disappointed that these men embarked on the wild sea of revolution, and the phrase "sink or swim, survive or perish," became the enforced watchword of their progress to independence.

It was while these measures were still matters of discussion, and all

men's minds were waiting the revelations of an impenetrable future, and questioning as to right and duty, that the influence of the leading clergy in New York was most patiently and perseveringly exercised in the interests of the crown. By sermons, in newspaper articles, by discussions at the "coffee-houses,"—these noted places for the spreading or manufacture of intelligence and the moulding of popular opinion,—these gifted, keen, intelligent men were untiring in their efforts to counteract the wild schemings for independence manifested by the people of Massachusetts, which were indorsed only by the bolder spirits of the Sons of Liberty of New York. The following letter will clearly indicate the attitude of the contending parties of the times:—

It is true that the Presbyterian Junto, or self-constituted Committee of the *Sons of Liberty* for the city of *New York* (as they style themselves), which had stood ever since the time of the Stamp Act, had taken upon them to write letters to *Boston* to their brethren there, assuring them, "that the city of *New York* would heartily join them against the cruel and arbitrary proceedings of the *British Parliament*," etc., which as soon as the gentlemen of property in this city knew, they were very justly alarmed, and a meeting of the inhabitants was desired at the Coffee House, when, in spite of all that could be done by the old committee, which consisted of eight or ten flaming patriots without property, or anything else but impudence, a new committee was chosen, consisting of fifty members, most of them men of sense, coolness, and property; and I understand that nearly the same thing was done at *Philadelphia*.

You will have discovered that I am no friend to Presbyterians, that I fix all the blame of these extraordinary *American* proceedings upon them. You would, perhaps, think it proper to ask, whether no Church of *England* people were among them? Yes, there were, to their eternal shame be it spoken! but in general they were interested in the motion, either as smugglers of tea, or as being overburdened with dry goods they knew not how to pay for, & would therefore have been glad to have a non-importation agreement, or a resolution to pay no debts to *England*. But, sir, these are few in number. Believe me the Presbyterians have been the chief & principal instruments in all these flaming measures, & they always do & ever will act against Government, from that restless & turbulent anti-monarchical spirit which has always distinguished them everywhere, whenever they had, or by any means could assume power, however illegally. In short, I am myself well convinced, that if Government would wish to preserve and encourage loyalty in the Colonies, they must countenance the Church of *England* much more than they have done hitherto. It is an indubitable fact that previous to, and during all these acts of violence committed in the Colonies, especially to the eastward, the Presbyterian pulpits groaned with the most wicked, malicious & inflammatory harangues, pronounced by the favorite orators amongst that sect, spiring their Godly hearers to the most violent opposition to Government; persuading them that the intention of Government was to rule them with a rod of iron, & to make them all slaves; and assuring them that if they would rise as one man to oppose those arbitrary schemes, God would assist them to sweep away every ministerial tool (the amiable name these wretches are pleased to bestow on the professors of the Church) from the face of the earth; that now was the time to strike, whilst Government at home was afraid of them; together with a long string of such seditious stuff, well calculated to impose on the poor devils their hearers, and make them run into every degree of extravagance and folly, which if I foresee aright, they will have leisure enough to be sorry for: But in general, the Church of *England* people during all this time, without any public oratory to spur them, did, from principle, from their own truly loyal principles, in which care is taken to educate them, every thing they could by writing and argument, & their influence, to stop the rapid progress of sedition, which would have gone much farther lengths if it had not been for them.¹

As the season advanced the feelings of the people deepened in

¹ Extracts of a letter from a gentleman in New York, to his correspondent in London, May 31, 1774. — *Am. Archives*, Series IV., Vol. I., pp. 300-301, note.

intensity. The following communication from Dr. Joseph Warren, although not a churchman, to the "Boston Gazette," will indicate a change in popular sentiment, which is the more valuable as coming from so pure and trustworthy a source:—

BOSTON, September 24, 1774.

To the Printers of the Boston Gazette,—

As I have been informed that the conduct of some few persons of the Episcopal denomination, in maintaining principles inconsistent with the rights



DR. JOSEPH WARREN, FROM A PAINTING BY COPLEY, 1774, IN THE POSSESSION OF DR. BUCKMINSTER BROWN, BOSTON.

and liberties of mankind, has given offence to some zealous friends of this country, I think myself obliged to publish the following extract of a letter, dated *September 9, 1774*, which I received from my worthy and patriotic friend, Mr. *Samuel Adams*, a Member of the Congress now sitting in *Philadelphia*, by which it appears, that however injudicious some individuals may have been, the gentlemen of the established church of *England* are men of the most just and liberal sentiments, and are high in the esteem of the most sensible and resolute defenders

of the rights of the people of this Continent; and I earnestly request my countrymen to avoid everything which our enemies may make use of to prejudice our Episcopal brethren against us, by representing us as disposed to disturb them in the free exercise of their religious privileges; to which we know they have the most undoubted claim; and which, from a real regard to the honor and interest of my country, and the rights of mankind, I hope they will enjoy as long as the name of *America* is known in the world.

J. WARREN.

"After settling the mode of voting, which is by giving each Colony an equal voice, it was agreed to open the business with prayer. As many of our warmest friends are members of the Church of *England*, I thought it prudent, as well on that as some other accounts, to move that the service should be performed by a clergyman of that denomination. Accordingly, the lessons of the day and prayer were read by the Reverend Doctor *Duché*, who afterwards made a most excellent extemporary prayer, by which he discovered himself to be a gentleman of sense and piety, and a warm advocate for the religious and civil rights of *America*."¹

This memorable scene has been made the subject of artistic treatment, and is familiar to every one. It is noted, with reference to this solemn inauguration of the cause of the colonies by the use of the church's prayers, that Mr. *Duché* appeared in full canonicals, attended by one of his clerks. He used the prescribed forms for the day, September 7, 1774; including in the Psalter Psalm xxxv. Its suitability to the occasion produced a deep impression. The invitation to *Duché* had proceeded from Samuel Adams, the bitter opponent of the Church, and especially inimical to the introduction of bishops into America. In making the motion he observed that "*he* could hear a prayer from a gentleman of piety and virtue."² Washington alone, of the assembly, we are told, knelt during the prayers.

In Philadelphia the clergy had from the first arrayed themselves on the patriotic side. On the 23d of June, 1775, Dr. Smith preached a sermon in Christ Church, "on the present situation of American affairs." It was delivered before a battalion of the volunteer militia of Philadelphia, and in the presence of the members of Congress and "a vast concourse of people."³ The impression produced by this remarkable discourse was unexampled. Edition after edition was called for in Philadelphia, in Delaware, and elsewhere. The Chamberlain of London ordered ten thousand copies to be printed at his expense, and distributed freely or sold at a nominal price. Other editions appeared in various cities. It was translated in several foreign languages. In the preface the author states his position, and that of his brethren:—

Animated with the purest zeal for the mutual interests of Great Britain and the Colonies, evidently panting for the return of those Halcyon days of harmony, during which both countries flourished together as the glory and wonder of the world; he thought it his duty, with the utmost impartiality, to attempt a statement of the unhappy controversy which rent the empire in pieces; and to show if peradventure he might be permitted to vouch for his fellow-citizens, so far as he had been conversant among them, that the idea of an independence upon the Parent country, or the least licentious opposition to its just interests, were utterly foreign to their thoughts; that they contended only for the sanctity of charters and laws, together with the right of granting their own money; and that our rightful Sovereign had nowhere more loyal subjects, or more zealously attached to those principles of government, under which his family inherits the throne.

¹ Am. Arch., Series IV., I., p. 802.

² Life and Works of John Adams, II., p. 368.

³ Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D., I., p. 507.

But the views of the Philadelphia clergy are better expressed in their own language : —

PHILADELPHIA, June 30th, 1775.

MY LORD, -- We now sit down under deep affliction of mind to address your Lordship upon a subject, in which the very existence of our Church in America seems to be interested. It has long been our fervent prayer to Almighty God that the unhappy controversy between the Parent Country and these Colonies might be terminated upon Principles honourable and advantageous to both without proceeding to the extremities of civil war and the horrors of bloodshed. We have long lamented that such a spirit of Wisdom and Love could not mutually prevail, as might devise some liberal plan for this benevolent purpose; and we have spared no pains in our power for advancing such a spirit so far as our private influence and advice could extend. But as to public advice we have hitherto thought it our duty to keep our Pulpits wholly clear from every thing bordering on this contest, and to pursue that line of Reason and Moderation which became our characters; equally avoiding whatever might irritate the Tempers of the people or create a suspicion that we were opposed to the Interest of the Country in which we live. But the time is now come, my Lord, when even our silence would be misconstrued and when we are called upon to take a more public part. The Continental Congress have recommended the 20th of next month as a day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer thro' all the Colonies. Our Congregations, too, of all Ranks have associated themselves, determined never to submit to the Parliamentary claim of taxing them at pleasure and the Blood already spilt in maintaining this claim is unhappily alienating the affections of many from the Parent Country and cementing them closer in the most fixed purpose of a Resistance dreadful even in Contemplation. Under these circumstances our people call upon us and think they have a right to our advice in the most public manner from the Pulpit. Should we refuse, our Principles would be misrepresented and even our religious usefulness destroyed among our People. And our complying may perhaps be interpreted to our disadvantage in the Parent Country. Under these difficulties (which have been increased by the necessity some of our Brethren have apprehended themselves under of quitting their charges) and being at a great distance from the advice of our superiors, we had only our own consciences and each other to consult, and have accordingly determined out that part which the general good seems to require. We were the more willing to comply with the request of our Fellow Citizens as we were sure their Respect for us was so great, that they did not even wish any thing from us inconsistent with our characters as Ministers of the Gospel of Peace. Military Associations are no new things in this Province where we never have any Militia Law. They subsisted during the different Alarms in the last war, and they now subsist under the special countenance of our own Assemblies professing the most steady Loyalty to His Majesty, together with an earnest desire of re-establishing our former harmony with the Mother Country, and submitting in all things agreeable to the ancient modes of Government among us. Viewing matters in this light, and considering that not only that they were members of our own congregations who called upon us, but that sermons have heretofore been preached to such bodies we thought it advisable to take our turn with the Ministers of other Denominations: and a Sermon was accordingly preached by Dr. Smith the 17th instant, in which he thought it necessary to obviate any misrepresentations that might be made of the Principles of our Church. Mr. Duché is likewise to preach on the 7th July, upon a similar Invitation and all our Clergy throughout the Colonies, we believe, will preach on the day recommended by the Continental Congress for a Fast. And God knows that exclusive of such a Recommendation, there never was a Time when Prayer and Humiliation were more incumbent upon us. Tho' it has of late been difficult for us to advise, or even correspond as usual with our Brethren the Clergy of New York, we find that they have likewise in their Turn officiated to their Provincial Congress now sitting there as Mr. Duché did both this year & the last at the opening of the Continental Congress. Upon this fair and candid state of things, we hope your Lordship will think our conduct has been such as became us and we pray that we may be considered as among His Majesty's most dutiful & Loyal subjects in this & every other transaction of our lives. Would to God that we could become mediators for the Settlement of the unnatural Controversy that now distracts a once happy Empire. All that we can do is to pray for such a Settlement

and to pursue those Principles of Moderation and Reason which your Lordship has always recommended to us. We have neither Interest nor Consequence sufficient to take any great Lead in the Affairs of this great Country. The people will feel and judge for themselves in matters affecting their own civil happiness; and were we capable of any attempt which might have the appearance of drawing them to what they think would be a Slavish Resignation of their Rights, it would be destructive to ourselves as well as to the Church of which we are ministers. But it is but justice to our Superiors and your Lordship in particular to declare that such conduct has never been required of us. Indeed could it possibly be required we are not backward to say that our Consciences would not permit us to injure the Rights of the Country. We are to leave our families in it and cannot but consider its Inhabitants entitled as well as their Brethren in England to the Right of granting their own money, and that every attempt to deprive them of this Right will either be found abortive in the end or attended with evils which would infinitely outweigh all the Benefit to be obtained by it. Such being our persuasion, we must again declare it to be our constant Prayer, in which we are sure your Lordship joins that the hearts of good & benevolent men in both Countries may be directed towards a Plan of Reconciliation worthy of being offered by a great Nation that have long been the Patrons of Freedom throughout the world, and not unworthy of being accepted by a People sprung from them, and by birth claiming a participation of their Rights. Our late worthy Governor, the Hon^{ble} Rich. Penn, esq., does us the favor to be the bearer hereof, and has been pleased to say he will deliver it to your Lordship in Person. To him therefore we beg leave to refer your Lordship for the truth of the facts above set forth. At the ensuing meeting of our Corporation for the relief of Widows, &c., which will be in the first week in October next We shall have an opportunity of seeing a Number of our Brethren together and consulting more generally with them upon the present state of our affairs and shall be happy on all occasions in the continuance of your Lordship's paternal Advice and Protection.

Signed :

RICHARD PETERS,
W^m SMITH,
JACOB DUCHÉ,
THOMAS COOMBE,
WILLIAM STRINGER,
WILLIAM WHITE.

While these matters were transpiring at the southward the excitement in New York had become intense. Scarcely were the measures of the Continental Congress made public, through the press, when the clerical party in the city undertook their critical examination, and sought in print, and in public and private speech, to counteract their influence and evident tendencies to open revolt. Pamphlets on the one side or the other, articles in the weekly gazettes, and broadsides, with flaming head-lines and all the artifices within the printer's power to compel attention and secure a reading, came thick and fast. Two pamphlets on the proceedings of the Continental Congress, marked with unusual ability, and couched in an easy and familiar style, were issued from the press; and distributed freely throughout the province, and far and wide besides. No name of author or printer appeared, and while the writer was evidently well-informed, and had, besides, the gift of incisive argument and resistless logic that could not well be gainsaid, the only resource of the exasperated Sons of Liberty was to mete out to the hapless pamphlets the punishment of being tarred, feathered, and nailed to the pillory. they would gladly have visited upon the nameless author. That these ebullitions of popular fury were no fitting reply to the caustic criticisms of the "Friendly Address to all Reasonable Americans, on the Subject of our Political

Confusion," and the "Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress," by "A. W. Farmer,"¹ was evident to the more thoughtful of the patriotic party, and the work of answering these objectionable pamphlets was felt to be a necessity. Within a fortnight² from the appearance of the "Farmer's" free thoughts, there was issued "A Full Vindication of the Measures of the Congress from the Calumnies of their Enemies, in Answer to a Letter under the Signature of A. W. Farmer," comprising "A General Address to the Inhabitants of America, and a Particular Address to the Farmers of the Province of New York," by "A Friend of America." The effect of this admirable reply was magical. The tide of popular feeling was turned at once. In thought, argument, and style the work was masterly. Almost simultaneously with the appearance of this answer, and, as before, without printer's or writer's name, appeared another pamphlet from the Westchester farmer, entitled: "An Examination into the Conduct of the Delegates at their Grand Convention, addressed to the Merchants of New York," in the appendix of which the challenge was thrown out to the author of "A Full Vindication" to answer this later publication within ten days, that both of his replies might receive consideration at the same time. Promptly on the day assigned, which chanced to be Christmas Eve, the farmer's letter, addressed to the author of "A Full Vindication," appeared from the press of James Rivington. It was not until the following February that the reply came, entitled: "The Farmer Refuted; or, A More Impartial and Comprehensive View of the Dispute between Great Britain and her Colonies, intended as a Further Vindication of the Congress." It was issued from Rivington's press, and the learning, argument, earnestness, and maturity of this reply commanded respect, and it was felt to be irresistible. These able defences of the popular cause were from the pen of a stripling of eighteen years of age, — a student, at the time, of King's College, and a youth of brilliant promise indeed, but quite unknown before to fame. In these remarkable pamphlets Alexander Hamilton won his spurs. Dr. Myles Cooper, no mean judge, ridiculed the idea that these answers, which had proved so damaging to the cause the president had espoused, could be written by one so young; but abundant proof is furnished, were any needed, in view of the writer's after-career, to ascribe the authorship to the student of King's. Other pamphlets followed, some marked with ability, and some destitute of anything but scurrility; but "A Westchester Farmer" was heard no more. His share in these measures was brought to a summary close.

It was not known with certainty, though strongly suspected, at the time, that the rector of Westchester, the Rev. Samuel Seabury, afterwards an Oxford "D.D." and the first bishop of Connecticut, a man

¹ Dated November 16, 1774. The motto of the "Friendly Address" was: "Am I *therefore* become your enemy, because I tell you the truth? — ST. PAUL;" and that of the second pamphlet was: "Hear me, for I will speak."

² On the 15th of December, 1774. *Vide* an admirable *résumé* of this controversy from which

we have drawn many of our facts, in the "Life and Epoch of Alexander Hamilton: A Historical Study," by the Honorable George Shea, Chief Justice of the Marine Court. Second edition. Revised and condensed. Boston: 1880, chapters VI., VII., pp. 245-311.

of strong convictions, clear logical perceptions, thoroughly furnished for his work by study, learning, and a stern sense of duty, tireless in his advocacy of the cause of church or crown, was the author of these able pamphlets, which, but for the brilliant essays of the youthful Hamilton, might have confirmed the people of New York in their hesitancy and indecision with reference to the resistance unto blood of the measures of the British Parliament. It is evident that the inspiration of Seabury in his political writings was the fear of the Puritan supremacy and the consequent subjugation or extinction of the Church. He had entered into the field of polemics almost immediately upon his settlement in the province. Acquainted as he was with the objects and aims of the Puritan and Presbyterian parties; fearing that the principles and purposes of Mayhew and Chauncy, Hobart and Welles, in New England, and Livingston and his party in New York and New Jersey, and Allison and others in Pennsylvania, planned the destruction of the Church as well as resistance to the will of the crown, he was not the one to sit tamely by when "periodical papers and essays began to be published in New York, tending to corrupt the principles of the people with regard to government, and to weaken their attachment to the Constitution of this Country both in Church and State."¹ "In conjunction with a number of his brethren and friends," he wrote "several essays and papers in answer to the *Watchtower*," Livingston's publication, "with a view to prevent the ill effects it might have on the minds of the people." "Some years after, when it was evident, from continued publications in newspapers, and from the uniting of all the jarring interests of the Independents and Presbyterians from Massachusetts to Georgia, under grand committees and synods, that some mischievous scheme was meditated against the Church of England and the British Government in America," he entered into an agreement with the Rev. Dr. T. B. Chandler, then of Elizabethtown, N. J., and the Rev. Dr. Inglis, the rector of Trinity Church, in the city of New York, "to watch all publications, either in newspapers or pamphlets, and so to obviate the evil influence of such as appear to have a bad tendency by the speediest answers." Assiduously did this able and earnest man perform his part of this compact. At length, "perceiving matters were taking a most serious and alarming turn," he "thought it his duty to exert his utmost abilities and influence in support of the government." Under his guidance, aided by his friend, Isaac Wilkins, "near four hundred friends of government assembled at the White Plains, who openly opposed and protested against any congress, convention, or committee, and who were determined, if possible, to support the legal government of their country." So bold and determined was this reactionary movement, and so dangerous was this one man's influence, that "there was no way of getting rid of such an opposition but for the disaffected in New York to send for an armed force from Connecticut into the county of Westchester, which they did, and under its power carried all their points."²

Acquainted as the well-known rector of Westchester was with the

¹ Seabury MSS., quoted in Shea's "Hamilton," p. 294. ² *Ibid.*, p. 296.

leading men of the time, we may well believe that it was the influence of his personal interviews "with at least one-third" of its members and his anonymous "Alarm to the Legislature of New York" that made the Colonial Assembly of January-April, 1775, decline to confirm the action, and refuse to recognize the authority, of the Congress, and to memorialize, even at this late day, the King and Parliament.

Suspicious were now rife that the Westchester parson was the inspiration of this retrograde movement as well as the author of the hated pamphlets bearing the *nom de plume* of "A Westchester Farmer." Soon after the adjournment of this obsequious assembly the attempt was made by a body of troops stationed at Rye to arrest Wilkins and Seabury. For the time they escaped; Wilkins retiring to England and Seabury remaining to advise and assist in the measures of the royalists, with whom he was in constant communication, and by whom he was recognized as a leader and guide. At length, on the 22d of November, 1775, a party of Connecticut militia entered New York, and took away with them the types and printing material of Rivington, the loyalist printer. This high-handed act, and the seizure of Seabury a few days before by the same lawless party, was the final answer of the Sons of Liberty to the arguments and influence of the "tory parson." It is to the credit of Hamilton that he openly repudiated and resented this style of popular argument.

We cannot better tell the story of the days that followed than in the words of the actors in those scenes, and, if the tale that they recite is long and wearisome in its details, it may be borne in mind that these words are those of men of mark, who, though on the wrong side, must be credited with a conscientious devotion to their mistaken idea of duty and a readiness to suffer in the cause of church and crown, even to the death if need required. They did what they believed to be their duty to the king and state, and, though worsted and ruined in the struggle, these words come to us as the utterances of brave, true men, no less worthy of our respect and remembrance than their brethren who dared as much, but judged more wisely of the end.

We give below the letter of the Rev. Dr. Inglis, afterwards first bishop of Nova Scotia, addressed to the secretary of the venerable society. It will well repay perusal:—

NEW YORK, Oct. 31, 1776.

REVEREND SIR, — The confusion which have prevailed in North America for some time past must have necessarily interrupted the correspondence of the Missionaries with the Society, and that to such a degree as to leave the Society in the dark with respect to the situation, both of the Missionaries and the Missions, at present. I flatter myself, therefore, that a short authentic account of them, and of the Church of England in general, in this and the adjacent colonies, may be acceptable to the society at this most critical period. The success of his Majesty's arms in reducing this city, and driving out the rebels, the 15th of last month, affords me an opportunity of doing this, as packets are now again established between this port and England. I have the pleasure to assure you that all the Society's Missionaries, without excepting one, in New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, and, so far as I can learn, in the other New England colonies, have proved themselves faithful, loyal subjects in these trying times; and have to the utmost of their power opposed the spirit of disaffection and rebellion which has involved this continent in the greatest calamities. I must add that all the other clergy of our church

in the above colonies, though not in the society's service, have observed the same line of conduct; and although their joint endeavours could not wholly prevent the rebellion, yet they checked it considerably for some time, and prevented many thousands from plunging into it who otherwise certainly would have done so.

You have, doubtless, been long since informed by my worthy friends, Dr Chandler and Dr Cooper, to what a height our violences were risen so early as May 1775, when they both were obliged to fly from hence, and seek protection in England. The violences have been gradually increasing ever since, and this, with the delay of sending over succours, and the king's troops totally abandoning this province, reducing the friends of the government here to a most disagreeable and dangerous situation, particularly the clergy, who were viewed with peculiar envy and malignity by the disaffected, for, although civil liberty was the ostensible object, the bait that was flung out to catch the populace at large and engage them in the rebellion, yet it is now past all doubt that an abolition of the Church of England was one of the principal springs of the dissenting leaders' conduct: and hence the unanimity of dissenters in this business. Their universal defection from government, emancipating themselves from the jurisdiction of Great Britain, and becoming independent, was a necessary step toward this grand object. I have it from good authority that the Presbyterian ministers, at a synod where most of them in the middle colonies were collected, passed a resolve to support the continental congress in all their measures. This and this only can account for the uniformity of their conduct, for I do not know one of them, nor have I been able, after strict inquiry, to hear of any, who did not, by preaching and every effort in their power, promote all the measures of the congress, however extravagant.

The Clergy, amidst this scene of tumult and disorder, went on steadily with their duty, in their sermons confining themselves to the doctrines of the Gospel without touching on politics, using their influence to allay our heats and cherish a spirit of loyalty among the people. This conduct, however harmless, gave great offence to our flaming patriots, who laid it down as a maxim, That those who were not for them were against them. The Clergy were everywhere threatened, often reviled with the most opprobrious language, sometimes treated with brutal violence. Some have been carried by armed mobs into distant provinces, where they were detained in close confinement for several weeks, and much insulted, without any crime being even alleged against them. Some have been flung into jail by committees for frivolous suspicions of plots, of which even their persecutors afterwards acquitted them. Some who were obliged to fly their own province to save their lives have been taken prisoners, sent back, and are threatened to be tried for their lives because they fled from danger. Some have been pulled out of the reading desk because they prayed for the king, and that before independency was declared. Others have been warned to appear at militia musters with their arms, have been fined for not appearing, and threatened with imprisonment for not paying those fines. Others have had their houses plundered, and their desks broken open under pretence of their containing treasonable papers.

I could fill a volume with such instances; and you may rely on the facts which I have mentioned as indubitable, for I can name the persons, and have these particulars attested in the simplest manner. The persons concerned are all my acquaintances, and not very distant; nor did they draw this treatment on themselves by any imprudence, but for adhering to their duty, which gave offence to some demagogues, who raised mobs to persecute them on that account. Whatever reluctance or pain a benevolent heart may feel in recounting such things, which are, indeed, a disgrace to humanity and religion, yet they ought to be held up to view, the more effectually to expose the baneful nature of persecution, make it detestable, and put mankind on their guard against its first approaches. Were every instance of this kind faithfully collected, it is probable that the sufferings of the American clergy would appear, in many respects, not inferior to those of the English clergy in the great rebellion of the last century; and such a work would be no bad supplement to "Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy." The present rebellion is certainly one of the most causeless, unprovoked, and unnatural that ever disgraced any country; a rebellion marked with peculiarly aggravated circumstances of guilt and ingratitude, yet amidst this general defection, there are very many who have exhibited instances of fortitude and adherence to their duty which do honour to human nature and Christianity; many who, for the sake of a good conscience, have incurred insults, persecutions, and loss of property, when a compliance with the spirit of the times had insured them applause, profit, and that eminence of which

the human heart is naturally so fond. Perhaps such cases are the most trying to a man's fortitude, much more so, in my opinion, than those which are sudden, and where danger, though more apparent, yet is not more certain or real. The one is like a weight incessantly pressing on us, which wastes and consumes our strength; the other, like a transient impulse, which, by a sudden exertion of strength, may be resisted. It is but justice to say that those instances were exhibited by members of our church: there is not one of the clergy in the provinces I have specified, of whom this may not be affirmed; and very few of the laity who were respectable or men of property have joined in the rebellion.

Thus matters continued; the clergy proceeding regularly in the discharge of their duty when the hand of violence did not interfere, until the beginning of last July, when the congress thought proper to make an explicit declaration of independency, by which all connection with Great Britain was to be broken off, and the Americans released from any allegiance to our gracious sovereign. For my part I had long expected this event: it was what the measures of the congress from the beginning uniformly and necessarily led to. This declaration increased the embarrassments of the clergy. To officiate publicly, and not pray for the king and royal family according to the liturgy, was against their duty and oath, as well as the dictates of their conscience; and yet to use the prayers for the king and royal family would have drawn inevitable destruction on them. The only course which they could pursue, to avoid both evils, was to suspend the public exercise of their function, and shut up their churches.

This accordingly was done. It is very remarkable that, although the clergy of those provinces I have mentioned did not, and indeed could not consult each other on this interesting occasion, yet they all fell into the same method of shutting up their churches. The venerable Mr. Beach, of Connecticut, only is to be excepted, if my information be right, who officiated as usual after independency was declared, and, upon being warned of his danger, declared, with the firmness and spirit of a primitive confessor: "That he would do his duty, preach, and pray for the king till the rebels cut out his tongue." All the churches in Connecticut (Mr. Beach's excepted, if the above account be true, and I had it from pretty good authority), as well as those in this province, except in this city, Long Island, and Staten Island, where his Majesty's arms have penetrated, are now shut up. This is also the case with every church in New Jersey; and I am informed by a gentleman lately returned from Pennsylvania, who had been a prisoner there for some time, that the churches in the several Missions of that province are shut up, one or two excepted, where the prayers for the king and royal family are omitted. The churches in Philadelphia are open. How matters are circumstanced in the more southerly colonies, I cannot learn with any certainty; only that the provincial convention of Virginia have taken upon themselves to publish an edict, by which some collects for the king are to be wholly omitted in the liturgy, and others altered, the word "commonwealth" being substituted for the king. For my part, I never expected much good of those clergy among them who opposed an American episcopate. If such should now renounce their allegiance, and abandon their duty, it is no more than might naturally be looked for. There are, however, several worthy clergymen in those provinces, some of whom have taken sanctuary in England, particularly from Maryland. This province, although the most loyal and peaceable of any on the continent, by a strange fatality is become the scene of war, and suffers most. This city, especially, has a double portion of calamities, brought on by the present rebellion; and perhaps a brief detail of our situation for some months past, may gratify curiosity, and convey to the Society the clearest idea of the state of things here. Upon General Howe's departure from Boston to Halifax, early in the last Spring, the rebel army was drawn to this city, which they fortified in the best manner they could, expecting it would be attacked. Most of the inhabitants, warned by these symptoms of the gathering storm, moved into the country, and carried their valuable effects with them. Among others, I moved my family, consisting of a wife and three small children, seventy miles up the Hudson River where they still remain, that part of the country being yet possessed by the rebels. Dr. Auchmuty the rector, being much indisposed during the Spring and Summer, retired with his family to Brunswick, in New Jersey; and the care of the churches in his absence of course devolved on me as the oldest assistant — a situation truly difficult and trying in such times, especially as the other assistants were young and inexperienced, though very loyal and otherwise worthy young men. About the middle of April, Mr. Washington, commander-in-chief of the rebel forces, came to town with a large reinforcement.

Animated by his presence, and I suppose encouraged by him, the rebel committees very much harassed the loyal inhabitants here and on Long Island. They were summoned before those committees, and upon refusing to give up their arms and take the oaths that were tendered, they were imprisoned or sent into banishment. An army was sent to Long Island to disarm the inhabitants who were distinguished for their loyalty. Many had their property destroyed, and more were carried off prisoners. It should be observed that members of the Church of England were the only sufferers on this occasion. The members of the Dutch church are very numerous there, and many of them joined in opposing the rebellion, yet no notice was taken of them, nor the least injury done to them. About this time Mr. Bloomer administered the sacrament at Newton, where he had but four or five male communicants, the rest having been driven off or carried away prisoners. At this present time there are many hundreds from this city and province prisoners in New England; among these the mayor of New York, several judges and members of his Majesty's council, with other respectable inhabitants.

Soon after Washington's arrival he attended our church; but on Sunday morning, before divine service, one of the rebel generals called at the rector's house (supposing the latter was in town), and not finding him, left word that he came to inform the rector that General Washington would be at church and would be glad if the violent prayers for the king and royal family were omitted. This message was brought to me, and, as you may suppose, I paid no regard to it.

On seeing that General not long after, I remonstrated against the unreasonableness of his request, which he must know the clergy could not comply with, and told him further, that it was in his power to shut up our churches, but by no means in his power to make the clergy depart from their duty. This declaration drew from him an awkward apology for his conduct, which, I believe, was not authorized by Washington. Such incidents would not be worth mentioning, unless to give those who are at a distance a better idea of the spirit of the times. May 17th was appointed by the congress as a day of public fasting, prayer and humiliation throughout the continent. At the unanimous request of the members of our church who were then in town, I consented to preach that day, and, indeed, our situation made it highly prudent, though a submission to an authority that was so far usurped was exceedingly grating and disagreeable. In giving notice the preceding Sunday, I only mentioned that there would be a sermon the ensuing Friday, which was the 17th, without saying anything of the reason or by what authority. It was exceedingly difficult for a loyal clergyman to preach on such an occasion, and not incur danger on the one hand, or not depart from his duty on the other. I endeavoured to avoid both, making peace and repentance my subject, and explicitly disclaiming having anything to do with politics. This sermon, in the composition of which I took much pains, I intend to publish, for various reasons, should I be able to recover it from the place where it is now, with all my books and papers, in the country. The several churches in this province (except two where the clergymen thought they might without danger omit service), and so far as I can learn, through all the thirteen united colonies, as they are called, were opened on this occasion.

Matters now became critical here in the highest degree. The rebel army amounted to nearly 30,000. All their cannon and military stores were drawn hither, and they boasted that the place was impregnable. The mortifications and alarms which the clergy met with were innumerable. I have frequently heard myself called a Tory, a traitor to my country, as I passed the streets, and epithets joined to each, which decency forbids me to set down. Violent threats were thrown out against us, in case the king were any longer prayed for. One Sunday, when I was officiating, and had proceeded some length in the service, a company of about one hundred armed rebels marched into the Church with drums beating and fifes playing, their guns loaded and bayonets fixed as if going to battle. The congregation was thrown into the utmost terror, and several women fainted, expecting a massacre was intended. I took no notice of them but went on with the service, only exerted my voice, which was in some measure drowned by the noise and tumult. The rebels stood thus in the aisle for near fifteen minutes, till, being asked into pews by the sexton, they complied. Still, however, the people expected that when the collects for the king and royal family were read, I should be fired at, as menaces to that purpose had been frequently flung out. The matter, however, passed over without an accident. Nothing of this kind happened before or since, which made it more remarkable. I was afterwards assured that something hostile

and violent was intended; but He who stills the raging of the sea, and madness of the people, overruled their purpose, whatever it was.

In the beginning of July, independency was declared: as this event was what I long expected, I had maturely considered, and was determined, what line of conduct to pursue. General Howe had arrived some time before from Halifax, as did Lord Howe from England. They had taken possession of Staten Island, where the fleet lay in sight of this city, at the distance of nine miles; and only waited for the arrival of the fleet from England, to make a descent and reduce New York. This circumstance pointed out still more clearly what part I should act. However, I thought it proper to consult such a vestry as were in town, and others of the congregation, and have their concurrence; and I must do them the justice to say, that they were all unanimous for shutting up the churches; and chose rather to submit to that temporary inconvenience, than by omitting the prayers for the king, give that mark of disaffection to their sovereign.

To have prayed for him, had been rash to the last degree, — the inevitable consequence had been a demolition of the churches, and the destruction of all who frequented them. The whole rebel force was collected here, and the most violent partisans from all parts of the continent. A fine equestrian statue of the king was pulled down and totally demolished, immediately after independency was declared. All the king's arms, even those on signs of taverns, were destroyed. The committee sent me a message, which I esteemed a favour and indulgence, to have the king's arms taken down in the Church, or else the mob would do it, and might deface and injure the Churches. I immediately complied. People were not at liberty to speak their sentiments and even silence was construed as a mark of disaffection.

Things being thus situated, I shut up the churches. Even this was attended with great hazard; for it was declaring in the strongest manner, our disapprobation of independency, and that under the eye of Washington and his army.

The other assistants now went to their respective friends in the country. My family were at such a distance, and in such a part of the country, that I could not with any degree of safety visit them; I therefore remained in the city, to visit the sick, baptize children, bury the dead, and afford what support I could to the remains of our poor flock, who were much dispirited; for several, especially of the poorer sort, had it not in their power to leave the city. After we had ceased to officiate publicly, several of the rebel officers sent to me for the keys of the churches, that their chaplains might preach in them; with these requisitions I peremptorily refused to comply, and let them know that, if they would use the churches, they must break the gates and the doors to get in. Accordingly I took possession of all the keys, lest the sextons might be tampered with; for I could not bear the thought that their seditious and rebellious effusions should be poured out in our churches. When these requisitions were repeated with threats my answer was, that I did what I knew to be my duty, and that I would adhere to it, be the consequences what they would. Upon this they desisted, and did not occupy any of the churches.

I cannot reflect on my situation at that time without the warmest emotions of gratitude to Divine Providence for preserving me. I was watched with a jealous, suspicious eye. Besides the imputation of being notoriously disaffected — an imputation which had hung others in jail without any other crime — I was known and pointed at as the author of several pieces against the proceedings of the congress. In February last, I wrote an answer to a pamphlet entitled "Common Sense" which earnestly recommended and justified independency. It was one of the most virulent, artful, and pernicious pamphlets I ever met with, and perhaps the wit of man could not devise one better calculated to do mischief. It seduced thousands. At the risk, not only of my liberty, but also of my life, I drew up an answer, and had it printed here; but the answer was no sooner advertised, than the whole impression was seized by the sons of liberty, and burnt. I then sent a copy to Philadelphia, where it was printed, and soon went through the second edition. This answer was laid to my charge, and swelled the catalogue of my political transgressions. In short, I was in the utmost danger, and it is to the overruling hand of Providence that I attribute my deliverance and safety. With difficulty I stood my ground till about the middle of August, when almost all who were suspected of disaffection were taken up and sent prisoners to New England; I therefore found it necessary to return to Flushing, on Long Island; but I had no sooner left that place, than the committee met, and entered into a debate about seizing me. This

obliged me to shift my quarters, and keep as private as possible, till the 27th of that month, when General Howe defeated the rebels on Long Island, which set me and many others at liberty.

On Sunday, the 15th of September, General Howe, with the king's forces, landed on New York Island, four miles above the city; upon which the rebels abandoned the city, and retired toward King's Bridge, which joins this Island to the continent. Early on Monday morning, the 16th, I returned to the city which exhibited a most melancholy appearance, being deserted and pillaged. My house was plundered of everything by the rebels. My loss amounts to near £200, this currency, or upwards of £100 sterling. The rebels carried off all the bells in the city, partly to convert them into cannon, partly to prevent notice being given speedily of the destruction they meditated against the city by fire, when it began. On Wednesday, I opened one of the churches, and solemnized Divine service, when all the inhabitants gladly attended, and joy was lighted up in every countenance on the restoration of our public worship; for very few remained but such as were members of our Church. Each congratulated himself and others on the prospect of returning peace and security; but alas! the enemies of peace were secretly working against us.

Several rebels secreted themselves in the houses, to execute the diabolical purpose of destroying the city. On the Saturday following an opportunity presented itself; for the weather being very dry, and the wind blowing fresh, they set fire to the city in several places at the same time, between twelve and one o'clock in the morning. The fire raged with the utmost fury, and, in its destructive progress, consumed about 1000 houses, or a fourth part of the whole city. To the vigorous efforts of the officers of the army and navy, and of the soldiers and seamen, it is owing under Providence, that the whole city was not destroyed. We had three churches of which Trinity Church was the oldest and largest. It was a venerable edifice, had an excellent organ, which cost 850£ sterling, and was otherwise ornamented. This church, with the rector's house and the charity school, — the two latter, large expensive buildings — were burned. St. Paul's Church and King's College had shared the same fate, being directly on the line of the fire, had I not been providentially on the spot, and sent a number of people with water on the roof of each. Our houses are all covered with cedar shingles, which make fire very dangerous. The church corporation has suffered prodigiously, as was evidently intended. Besides the buildings already mentioned about 200 houses, which stood on the church ground, were consumed, so that the loss cannot be estimated at less than 25,000£. sterling.

This melancholy accident, and the principal scene of war being here, will occasion the clergy of this city to be the greatest sufferers of any on the continent by the present rebellion. The church corporation had some thought of applying to his Majesty for a brief to collect money in England, or for leave to open a subscription to repair their loss in some measure, which, I fear, will involve them in inextricable difficulties, as they are already burdened with a debt of more than 20,000£, this currency. But this step will probably be deferred till the city and country are restored to his Majesty's peace and protection, which I hope will be soon, as a petition for this purpose, signed by near a thousand inhabitants, has been presented to the king's commissioners. I had the honour of drawing up this petition, and from the amiable and excellent character of the commissioners, Lord Howe and General Howe, from whom everything brave, generous, and humane, or tending to the interest of Great Britain, and the colonies, may be justly expected, I flatter myself that the prayer of our petition will soon be granted. Perhaps I should apologize for this detail, in which I myself was so much concerned, but, in truth, no better method occurred to me of conveying to you information of what I thought you were desirous to know, and I claim no merit in doing what I always conceived to be my duty. Any of my brethren in my situation would have done the same that I did — many of them, probably much better.

All the missionaries in the colonies first mentioned are resident in their respective Missions, although their churches are shut, except those that are now in England, and Mr. Walter, of Boston, who is here, also Mr. Cooke, who is chaplain to the Guards, and cannot get to his Mission, as that part of the country is still in the hands of the rebels. I fear many of the Missionaries are distressed for want of an opportunity to draw for their salaries, and I apprehend they have not yet received any benefit from the generous collection that was made for them in England. Dr. Chandler some time since sent me a list of those Missionaries in New Jersey,

New York, and Connecticut, that were to receive those benefactions, and the sum allotted to each; desiring that I should give them notice, and inform them how to draw for the money. But I have not yet been able to give intelligence of this to any, except Messrs. Bloomer and Cutting — all communication by letter with the rest being entirely cut off. Dr. Chandler also kindly informed me, that the Society transmitted a large sum to Boston, to pay the missionaries in Massachusetts and New Hampshire; but I imagine General Howe left Boston before the money could get there; and I have not been able to learn who the person was to whom the money was delivered, nor what is become of it. The Missions of New Windsor (or Newbury, as it was latterly called) and of Albany are still vacant. Mr. Stuart continues at Fort Hunter, and occasionally officiates at Johnstown. He has been of much service in that place. The Indians under his care remain firm in their attachment to the king, except one or two that were bribed into a kind of neutrality, with rum and some other presents, by the rebels, but will, I doubt not, be as active as any for the king's service now that General Burgoyne has crossed the lakes from Canada with his army, and is got into this province. Upon the whole, the Church of England has lost none of its members by the rebellion as yet — none, I mean, whose departure from it can be deemed a loss; on the contrary, its own members are more firmly attached to it than ever. And even the sober and more rational among dissenters — for they are not all equally violent and frantic — look with reverence and esteem on the part which church people have acted. I have no doubt but, with the blessing of Providence, his Majesty's arms will be successful, and finally crush this unnatural rebellion. In that case, if the steps be taken which reason, prudence, and common sense dictate, the Church will indubitably increase, and these confusions will terminate in a large accession to its members. Then will be the time to make that provision for the American Church which is necessary, and place it on at least an equal footing with other denominations by granting it an episcopate, and thereby allowing it a full toleration. If this opportunity is let slip, I think there is a moral certainty that such another will never again offer; and I must conclude, in that case, that Government is equally infatuated with the Americans at present. If fifty years elapse without an episcopate here, there will be no occasion for one afterwards; and to fix one then would be as impracticable as it would be useless. And I may appeal to all judicious persons, whether it is not as contrary to sound policy, as it certainly is to right reason and justice, that the king's loyal subjects here, members of the national Church, should be denied a privilege, the want of which will diminish their numbers, and that merely to gratify the clamours of dissenters who have now discovered such enmity to the constitution, and who will even clamour against anything that will tend to benefit or increase the Church here. The time, indeed, is not yet fully come to move in this affair; but I apprehend it is not very distant, and, therefore, it should be thought of. Government will have it in its power very soon to settle this and other matters as may be judged expedient. The clergy here will not be wanting in anything that is in their power towards the accomplishment of so desirable an object, and, in the mean time, would be very glad to have the Society's advice and directions how to proceed. I may add, that the Society, taught by late experience, will be desirous of seeing the Church placed on a more respectable footing, and so far as I can judge, will join in such prudent measures as may be thought necessary, on their part, for the attainment of it.

I shall not trespass further on your time and patience, by adding to this letter, which is swelled to an extraordinary length, for which the interesting occasion and subject must be my apology, than to assure you, that I am with the most perfect esteem and regard to yourself and the Venerable Society,

Reverend Sir, Your affectionate and humble servant,

CHARLES INGLIS.

“The Rev. D. Hind.”

P. S. Since the above was written, Dr Auckmuty is come to town, having with great difficulty, escaped from the rebels at Brunswick.

To these sad, earnest words we add those of an humble missionary of the society, writing from his place of refuge, after being driven from church and home in Connecticut: —

[*Rev. Mr. Saurjer to the Secretary.—Extract.*]

FLUSHING, LONG ISLAND, November 8th, 1779.

REV. SIR:—The circumstances of the Fairfield Mission, when I first went to it are already known to the Society; and since I wrote to them, the Congregation have been so far from diminishing, that they have considerably increased, not only in numbers, but also in attachment to the Church, notwithstanding the many oppositions to religion and loyalty which have happened since. I have great reason to think that many who did not actually join us were prevented merely by their apprehension of a participation in our persecutions, for which it seems their minds were not yet sufficiently prepared. And I believe that if it shall please the Lord to restore the Constitutional government to Connecticut, the Church will greatly increase in that Province. The people of the parish of North Fairfield erected galleries in their Church, shortly after they came under my care, and even with that addition, it soon became incapable of accommodating the Congregation. They intended to have finished it completely, but were discouraged by the many abuses which their Church shared in common with the other Churches in the Mission. Shooting bullets through them, breaking the windows, stripping off the hangings, carrying off the leads (even such as were essential to the preservation of the building,) and the most beastly defilements, make but a part of the insults which were offered to them. Add to this that my people in general have been greatly oppressed, merely on account of their attachment to their Church and King. Their persons have been frequently abused, many of them have been imprisoned on the most frivolous pretences, and their imprisonment aggravated with many circumstances of cruelty. They have been heavily fined for refusing to rise in arms against their Sovereign and the legal Constitution, and many thinking their situation intolerable at home, have, by flight, sought relief in the King's protection, at the peril of their lives, suffering all the pungent feelings and reflections which must attend a separation from their families under such circumstances. And not a few, impatient at so miserable a servitude, and stimulated by repeated injuries have entered into the service that they might contribute their aid for the recovery of the King's rights and their own liberties.

All these things they have endured with a patience and fortitude indicative of the power of religion, and the steadiness of their virtue, in the face of an opposition very violent and formidable. The loss of all my books and papers puts it out of my power to transmit an exact account of the marriages, funerals, and baptisms since the first year of my residence in Fairfield; but I think they have not greatly altered since that time. There has been, however, a considerable augmentation in the number of Communicants. I think on my first going to Fairfield, they did not exceed 40; some time ago they were considerable more than 100; but lately I believe something less, owing to the number of refugees hinted at above. The present confusions commenced shortly after my removal from the mission of Newboro' to Fairfield, and foreseeing the calamities which have befallen my people, I freely relinquished the rates due to me from them, by the laws of the Province and informed them that I should expect only a bare subsistence for my family during the troubles, towards which the Society's bounty and my medical employment also contributed, at the same time assuring them that I desired only whatsoever they were respectively able and quite willing to give; and (I will say it to their honor) my people did not forsake nor neglect me in my great and most threatening situation, even when their very personal safety seemed to require a very different kind of conduct. Nothing but an opinion that it would be expected of me could have induced me to trouble the Society with my personal concerns. I shall therefore take up but little of their time with it. For some time after I went to Fairfield I lived in tolerable quiet, owing to the undecisive measures of that period; though always known to disapprove the public conduct, and strongly suspected of endeavoring to counteract it. But this repose was soon interrupted by a public order for disarming the Loyalists. Upon this occurring my house was beset by more than 200 armed horsemen, whose design was to demand my arms. But they were for that time diverted from their purpose by the violent agitation they saw the terror of their appearance had thrown my wife into, and which, considering her being sick and in the latter stages of pregnancy, was indeed enough to awaken some degree of humanity even in their breasts. After this I was confined for some time to my house and garden, by order of the person who commanded the Militia of the Town, from which time I was pointed out by the leaders of the

people as an object of their hatred and detestation: and very few of my neighbors (who were chiefly dissenters) would hold any kind of society with me, or even with my family; and my sons were frequently insulted, and personally abused for carrying provision to the jail from my house, when some of my parishioners were confined therein; as well as on other occasions. After this I was advertised as an enemy to my country (by an order of the Committee) for refusing to sign an association, which obliged its subscribers to oppose the King with life and fortune, and to withdraw all offices of even justice, humanity and charity from every recusant. In consequence of this advertisement, all persons were forbidden to hold any kind of correspondence, or have any manner of dealing with me, on pain of bringing themselves into the same predicament. This order was posted up in every store, mill, mechanical shop and public house in the country, and was repeatedly published in the newspapers. But through the goodness of the Lord we wanted for nothing; our people under the cover of the night and as it were by stealth, supplying us with plenty of the comforts and necessaries of life.

These measures proving insufficient to shake my attachment to his Majesty's person and government, I was at length banished, (upon the false and malicious pretence of my being an enemy to the good of my Country) to a place called New Britain in Farmington about 60 or 70 miles from Fairfield, where I was entirely unknown, except to one poor man; the inhabitants differing from me, both in religious and political principles. However, the family in which I lived showed me such marks of kindness as they could, and I was treated with civility by the neighbors. In this exile I remained about 7 months, after which I was permitted to return home to be confined to the parish of Fairfield, which is about 4 miles in diameter; my people having given security in large sums that I should not transgress this limitation, and in that situation I remained about 18 months. After this my bounds were made co-extensive with those of Fairfield county, which was a great satisfaction to me, as it allowed me to visit the congregations of North Fairfield and Stratfield, who had been so long deprived of my ministry, — and so I remained officiating 2 Sundays out of 4 at Fairfield dividing the other 2 equally between the 2 other parishes, until I came away. We did not use any part of the Liturgy lately, for I could not make it agreeable either to my inclination or conscience to mutilate it, especially in so material a point as that is wherein our duties as subjects are recognized. We met at the usual hour every Sunday, read parts of the Old and New Testaments and some Psalms. All these were selected in such a manner as to convey such instruction and sentiments as were suited to our situation. We sang Psalms with the same view. On the Sunday mornings I read the Homilies in their course, and on the afternoons I expounded either parts of the Catechism, or some such passages of holy Scripture as seemed adapted to our case in particular, or to the public calamities in general. By this method we enjoyed one of the two general designs of public religious meetings. I mean public instruction: the other, to wit public worship it is easy to believe was inadmissible in our circumstances, without taking such liberties with the Service as I confess I should blame even a Superior in the Church for assuming. Resolved to adhere to these principles and public professions, which upon very mature deliberation and clear conviction I had adopted and made, I yielded not a tittle to those who opposed them, and had determined to remain with my people to see the end, but was obliged to alter this resolution by that sudden vicissitude, which I must now, with painful reflection relate to the Society. On the 7th day of July last, Major General Tryon landed at Fairfield with a body of his Majesty's troops, and took possession of the town and its environs, the greater part of the inhabitants having tacked their teams and removed what they could on his approach. This cut off all hope from the few Loyalists of saving any part of their effects, if the town should be burnt, every carriage being taken away. The General was so kind, however as to order me a guard to protect my house and some others in its vicinity, when he had resolved to commit the rest of the town to the flames; for as I had already hinted, I had determined to remain at home. But the ungovernable flames soon extended to them all, and in a few minutes left me with a family consisting of a wife and eight children, destitute of food, house and raiment. Thus reduced, I could not think of remaining in a place where it would have been impossible to have clothed and refurnished my family. Therefore availing myself of the protection offered by the present opportunity, I retired within the King's lines with them. As it was impossible (from the want of Carriages) to save anything out of the house, the valuable little library given by the Society, was burnt, together with my own, and

the Plate belonging to Trinity Church at Fairfield was lost, as well as that of my own family, and that handsome Church itself was entirely consumed. The people of the mission met with a heavy stroke in the loss of their Church, Parsonage house, plate, books, &c, not to mention myself their unworthy minister. My own loss includes my little all; but what I most regret is my absence from my flock, to which my heart was, and still is most tenderly attached. I trust, however, that the great Shepherd of the Sheep will keep them in his own tuition and care. I bless the Lord for that, through all my trials, I have endeavoured to keep a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man, continually striving to discharge my duties to my Master, my King, and my people; and am bound to thank the Lord daily, for that divine protection, that tranquillity of mind, and that peace of conscience, which, through his grace, I have all along enjoyed.

We might add letter to letter, like the prophet's roll, full of "weeping, lamentation, and woe." But it needs no further extracts from these pitiful epistles to excite our sympathy with these mistaken but conscientious and devoted "confessors" for Church and king. It is enough that they doubtless saw reason to bless God for the final issue of the struggle in whose opening scenes their lots were cast. That issue brought independence to the Church for which they had labored, lived, and would have died. The episcopate, so stoutly opposed before, so bitterly assailed, and so persistently desired, was among the first fruits of the happy peace, and from the ashes of despoiled temples and the graves of martyred sons of the Church there sprang up, with beauty in place of ashes, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness, our perfected and beautified Zion, to be, as we fondly believe, the joy of the whole earth.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE.

NOTICES of the clergy who espoused the popular cause in the struggle for independence, and of others who were prominent in their devotion to the crown, will be found in other connections. Sufficient appears in the present chapter to convince the impartial reader that both Whig and Tory could be consistent churchmen and loyal to the cause and commands of Christ, though failing to see "eye to eye," or to agree in a matter the important bearings of which could not but appear differently to men of different training, surroundings, sentiments, and tastes. The literature of this period, comprising as it does sermons, addresses, political essays, and appeals, broadsides and poetical effusions, on either side, is of no little interest. It would require many pages for the briefest and barest bibliographical reproduction. At this period, as from the first of our history, churchmen were among the most voluminous contributors to the publications of the American press.

Bitter as were the sufferings of the "refugee" clergy who lost country and home as well as the cause they espoused, it is gratifying to know that their conduct won for them the sympathy and support of the people of Great Britain. In the sermon delivered before the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at the anniversary meeting in 1784, the Bishop of Oxford, Dr. John Butler, thus refers to the faithfulness and loyalty of the missionaries:—

"The characters of those worthies will entitle them to a lasting memorial in some future impartial history of the late events in that country. Their firm perseverance in their duty, amidst temptations, menaces, and in some cases cruelty, would have distinguished them as meritorious men in better times. In the present age, when persecution has tried the constancy of very few sufferers for conscience here, so *many* in *one* cause argue a larger portion of disinterested virtue still

existing somewhere among mankind than a severe observer of the world might be disposed to admit."

It may be added to what has already been said, in giving the position of the clergy at the southward on the questions of the hour, that the lay members of the Church in Virginia especially were foremost in their support of the popular cause. The language of the late William C. Rives is full and clear on this point: "Without denying to other religious denominations their full and glorious share of the early struggles for political liberty in Virginia, it would be to blot out the records of history not to recognize this patent fact, that the leaders and chief actors here (with one or two exceptions, and those not belonging to any religious profession) were members of the Established Church." As Bishop Meade well observes, when animadverting on the delinquencies of the clergy and their struggles with the vestries, who were the representatives and defenders of the people's spiritual rights as well as political liberty: "The vestries, who were the intelligence and moral strength of the land, had been slowly fighting the battles of the Revolution for a hundred and fifty years. Taxation and representation were only other words for support and election of ministers. The principle was the same." It is not impossible that the source and spring of the great popular uprising which secured for us our independence may yet be traced to the church controversies in Virginia, instead of the town-meetings of New England.

William Stevens Perry.

Illustrative Monographs.

MONOGRAPH I.

THE RELATIONS OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COLONY TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

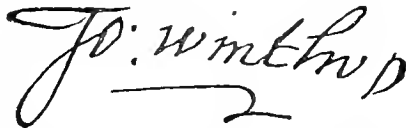
BY THE HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D.,
President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

IT has more than once been asked how it happened, or could have happened, that the Massachusetts Company, having addressed an affectionate farewell to their brethren of the Church of England, at the very last moment before they embarked for America, in which they spoke of themselves "as those who esteem it our honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother, . . . ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation we have received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breasts," should, immediately on their arrival, have practically ignored, or certainly disused, all the forms and ceremonies of that Church, and should have proceeded to institute a church or churches of their own.

It has sometimes, indeed, been inquired of me personally, how it was to be explained that Governor Winthrop, who had not only signed that farewell letter officially, and, as I think, written it himself, but had long been a patron of the little church at Groton, and presented to its living, should have made no reference to the Church of England on coming here, but should have united, without delay, in the organization of a church of an entirely different form of worship and of a wholly independent character.

Now, let me say that few things are more to be regretted than the entire loss of Governor Winthrop's letters to his friends in England at this early period of Massachusetts' history. We have, most fortunately, his letters to his wife and to his eldest son, who remained in England for a year and a half longer. These, however, were letters of affection and private business, and they deal but little with matters of public concern, either religious or civil.

But in his very first letter to his wife, dated at Charlestown on the 16th of July, 1630, he says to her: "The larger discourse of all

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "J. Winthrop". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the main text block.

things thou shalt receive from my brother Downing, which I must send by some of the last ships." Again, in his letter to his son, from Charlestown, 23d July, he says: "For the course of our voyage, and other occurrences, you shall understand them by a journal, which I send with my letters to your uncle D." And, in a subsequent part of the same long letter, he adds. "Take order that a copy of my Relation, &c., be sent to Sir Nath. Barnardiston, and my excuse for not writing to him and Sir Wm. Springe, with my salutations to them both." Still again, in his letter to his son, from Charlestown, August 14, he says: "For our condition here, and our voyage hither, I wrote to you about a fortnight since, by Mr. Revel, but more fully in a journal and Relation, which I sent to your uncle Downing." Once

Your faithfull and obedient wife
Margaret Winthrop

more, in a letter to his son, of Sept. 9, 1630, he says: "I have written to your mother and to your uncle Downing at large, of all things here, to which I must refer you, in regard of my much business and little leisure here." And, lastly, in a letter to his son, of March 28, 1631, he says: "I have written to your uncle D. concerning all our business, fearing you should be come away."

I might give other reasons for thinking that Emanuel Downing, — a lawyer of the Inner Temple in London, — who had married Governor Winthrop's sister, and who did not follow him to Massachusetts for seven or eight years after the transfer of the government to New England, was the person to whom Winthrop communicated everything concerning the early course of proceedings in the colony. As late as March, 1636, I find Downing writing to the governor: "I heartily thank you for your large information of the state of the Plantation. I was the other day with Secretary Coke, who told me that there hath not been a word of your Plantation at Council Board these many months past."

I have said all this to justify the expression of an opinion that much of the inner policy of Governor Winthrop and the Massachusetts Company, at this early period, has been lost to our history by the disappearance of these letters to Downing. So convinced was I of the truth of this impression that, many years ago, during one of my visits to England, I made diligent efforts to discover whether any of Downing's papers, between 1629 and his coming over to New England in 1638, were still in existence; but without success. Could these "large discourses," and journals, and Relations of Governor Winthrop, sent to Downing, be found, I have little doubt that some of the problems of our early political and ecclesiastical history might be solved.

These Relations and journals, indeed, would exactly supply the deficiencies, and fill up the "large blanks" so often noted and regretted in the governor's history of this early period, as we now have it in print, and which reach, with few exceptions, from the 17th of June

to the beginning of December, 1630.¹ He had not leisure for copying into his diary what he had written to Downing.

But, in default of such authentic materials, I venture to proceed with such conjectures as I have formed, from the facts which are known to us, in regard to the question which I have stated as the subject of this paper.

There can be no doubt that Governor Winthrop, up to the time of his embarking on board the "Arbella," — though never what would be called a high-churchman, — was warmly attached to the Church of England, and was a communicant at the little parish church of Groton, of which he was the owner of the living, and to which he presented the Rev. William Leigh as late as 1626. There is a letter to him from the Rev. Henry Sands, a previous pastor of Groton, of earlier but uncertain date,² which shows that he was much relied on in church affairs, and was consulted about the livings of Stoke Vicarage and Nayland, among others, and which entreated his endeavors, "in the affection which I know you bear to the Church of God, to look into it and help."

There is, also, a little autograph volume of his still extant, in my own possession, in which all the sermons which he heard on Sundays and on prayer-days, during a large part of 1627 and 1628, are carefully noted, with the names of the preachers, the texts of their discourses, and the various heads and arguments, carefully and copiously written out. Any one disposed for such an inquiry might obtain from this manuscript volume a good idea of the style of preaching in a quiet English parish at that period.

I may add that now and then we find pleasant evidence that the governor did not forget the great days of the Church calendar. In a letter of his to his wife, dated 19th December, 1623, when he was on his law circuit, and found that he was not likely to be at home at the approaching Christmas, he says : —

I feare it wilbe towards the ende of next weeke before I shall returne; yet I pray thee let povisiõ be made, and all of poore feasted, though I be from home, so I shalbe the lesse missed.³

It may not be forgotten, too, that the governor begins the journal, now commonly known as his "History of New England," on "Easter Monday, March 29" (1630), while his fleet was still "riding at the Cowes;" and that he thus associated the outset of the Massachusetts emigration — not without purpose, as I think — with the great church festival of the Resurrection. It is thus sufficiently clear that Winthrop, up to the last moment of his leaving England, was a member of the English Church. How, then, did he so soon become — as he certainly did become — an American Congregationalist?

The first suggestion which occurs to me, in connection with this question, is that the English Church at that day was simply the Church of England; without a recognized pretension to any catholic or universal character. It was a State Church, whose forms and cere-

¹ See Savage's "Winthrop" between these dates.

² Life and Letters, p. 169.
³ *Ibid.*, i., p. 403.

monies were at the will of kings and parliaments and convocations summoned by the sovereign. It was a local, national church, which during the previous century only had separated itself from the Church of Rome, and which had hardly yet acquired that fixed and settled condition, to the common mind, which would have led those who were leaving England as their home to feel that they necessarily, or even naturally, carried any obligations to that church with them. They might love it ever so sincerely, but they were leaving it for a land where it had no existence, and their farewell letter was literally a letter "taking leave" of it.

In one of his "Answers to Objections," in the paper entitled "Reasons to be considered for justifying the Undertakers of the intended Plantation in New England," Winthrop says, indeed: "Since Christ's time the Church is to be considered as universal without distinction of countries." But that phrase included the Church of Rome and "all other churches of Europe," and has no particular reference to the Church of England. In the same paper he had previously said: "What can be a better work, and more honorable and worthy a Christian, than to help raise and support a *particular Church* while it is in the infancy?" and in his "Conclusions" he distinctly asserts his conviction that "the service of raising and upholding a *particular Church* is to be preferred before the bettering of some part of a Church already established." He adds most significantly: "The members of that Church may be of more use to their mother Church here, than many of those whom she shall still keep in her own bosom."

It will be seen, too, by a letter of the governor's,¹ that he had invited a special meeting of ministers on the 9th of November, in London, to consult in regard to church matters, saying that "we want hitherto able and sufficient ministers to join with us in the work," and adding: "The reasons whereof we find to be the conscience of the obligation by which they stand bound unto this Church for the service in which most of them are employed at present." "The conscience of the obligation" was, of course, only a matter for ministers in orders. If, however, we could learn what was said and done at that meeting, and how far those who attended it advised that, by going to New England, ministers and people would be relieved and released from any obligations by which they seemed bound to the English Church, we should be wiser than we are now. But it is plain, from the words of the invitation, that such a release for ministers was the subject to be considered.

In Winthrop's letter to Dr. Gager, also, inviting him to come over as physician to the company, he expressly speaks of "the work we are in hand with" as "the establishing a Church in New England."²

It would seem, from these expressions, that the governor contemplated the establishment of a particular church, distinct from the mother Church of England, though by no means necessarily or naturally in any opposition to it. How could it fail to be distinct, three

¹ Printed in his "Life and Letters," I., p. 354, and dated Oct. 27, 1629.

² *Ibid.*, p. 335.

thousand miles away from it, and those three thousand equal to ten times three thousand, in difficulty of communication, as compared with the present day! An attempt to stretch any practical episcopal authority across the Atlantic, at that day, would not only have been futile in itself, but would have involved the New England churches in endless embarrassment and confusion. Confirmations, consecrations, orderings of priests and deacons, and everything else dependent on bishops, must have been postponed indefinitely. Should the Puritans have gone along without any religious services, — "forsaking the assembling of themselves together" for the worship of God, — until such matters could be arranged and provided for, even had they been ever so willing for them? Such a suggestion is its own best answer. It is enough to say that there was a physical impossibility in any substantial subordination on one side, or any substantial supervision on the other. *Opposuit natura.*

The Virginia colonists had, indeed, instituted a little church on the English model as early as 1607, with the services of the Prayer Book; and the historian Bancroft tells us that "the Church of England was confirmed as the Church of Virginia" in 1619. But the early experiences of that colony in its episcopal relations — so far as any account of them is to be found — are hardly at variance with the views I have suggested. Some idea of their difficulties may be formed from the letter of Governor Argall to the Virginia Company, in 1617, requesting Sir Dudley Digges to obtain from the archbishop a permit for Mr. Wickham, *who was not in orders*, to administer the holy communion, as the Rev. Alexander Whittaker had been drowned, and as there was no other person.¹ The archbishop's reply is not given; nor have I been able to turn to any other indication of episcopal authority being invited or exercised in those early days of the Virginia colony.

The earliest paper in the Virginia volume of "Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church" is: The Instructions to Sir William Berkeley, in 1650 (from whom is not stated — probably from the Virginia Company) — "to be careful Almighty God be duly and daily served according to the form of religion established in the Church of England."² After 1650 there is no other paper in that volume bearing an earlier date than 1679. Other evidences of episcopal supervision in the Virginia colonial church at that day may perhaps be discovered. Otherwise its history would seem to confirm the idea that distance and infrequency of communication rendered such supervision impracticable, even where it was desired and solicited.³ It is plain that there was a necessity for much independent action, alike in civil and in religious affairs, both in Virginia and in New England.

Winthrop's idea of the Church, in the expression which I have

¹ Neill's "Virginia Company of London," p. 113.

² The accomplished editor of the volume (Bishop Perry, of Iowa) says, in his "Notes," that similar instructions were given to Sir Francis Wyatt in 1621, and renewed on each subsequent appointment.

³ Bishop Meade's "Article 1," in his "Old

Churches and Families of Virginia," is instructive on this point. He mentions that other prayers besides those in the Prayer Book were freely used there, and that there was an utter want of episcopal supervision. He represents it as an attempt to carry on a church without a bishop.

quoted, must plainly have been conformable to that grand definition of it in one of the closing prayers of the Episcopal Communion Service: "The mystical body of thy Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people." Indeed, there are at least five other phrases or designations in the English Prayer Book, with which the governor must have been familiar, which obviously mean the same thing, and must be interpreted consistently with each other: "The Holy Catholick Church," in the Apostles' Creed; "One Catholick and Apostolick Church," in the Nicene Creed; "The Holy Church throughout all the World," in the "Te Deum"; "The Catholick Church,"¹ in the Prayer for all Conditions of Men; and "Thy Holy Church Universal," in the Litany. There may be others, but they were all probably taken from the ancient Uses and Liturgies; and few persons, I imagine, at that day, would have limited the application of either of them exclusively to the Church of England. Nor would any one, I think, so limit them at this day.

Nor did such a church depend for its existence or its continuance on any particular forms or ceremonies. Indeed, the very preface of the English Prayer Book, as originally published at the restoration of Charles II., contains words which are full of significance on this subject: "The particular forms of Divine Worship, and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being things in their own nature indifferent, and alterable, and so acknowledged; it is but reasonable, that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigency of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein, as to those that are in place of authority should from time to time seem either necessary or expedient."

These very words were incorporated into the preface of our American Prayer Book in 1789, and were relied on as the justification of the changes which were adopted for the Episcopal Church in the United States. That preface, indeed, begins by the distinct assertion, that "it is a most invaluable part of that blessed liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, that in his worship different forms and usages may without offence be allowed, provided the substance of the Faith be kept entire." There will be no allegation that the Puritans did not keep entire the "substance of the Faith."

In the English preface "Of Ceremonies" it is also said, in conclusion: "And in these our doings we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe anything but to our own people only; for we think it convenient that every country should use such ceremonies as they shall think best to the setting forth of God's honor and glory, and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect and godly living, without error or superstition; and that they should put away other things, which from time to time they perceive to be most abused, as in men's ordinances it often chanceth diversely in divers countries."

Such expressions as these, though thirty years later than the coming of the Massachusetts Colony, may not unreasonably be cited

¹ This is changed, in the American Prayer Book, into "Thy Holy Church Universal."

in illustration of the views of some, at least, of the English churchmen at an earlier period. They are plainly the very views which were held and acted on in New England. And this is distinctly set forth and maintained in "The Planter's Plea,"—a tract generally ascribed to the Rev. John White, an eminent Puritan minister, known to history as "the Patriarch of Dorchester" (England), and published in London in 1630, in "manifestation of the causes moving such as have lately undertaken a plantation in New-England:—for the satisfaction of those that question the lawfulness of the Action." This tract might well be reprinted in some volume of historical collections, as an original, contemporaneous exposition of the motives and intentions of the Massachusetts colonists, both in their civil and religious relations.

And this brings me to a word or two about the Prayer Book. My friend, Dr. Geo. E. Ellis, one of the vice-presidents of the Massachusetts Historical Society, was substantially correct in what he said, at the First Church Commemoration, in regard to the absence of any copies of the old English Prayer Book from the early inventories of the New England colonists, and to the fact that none of them were to be found at this day in any of our Historical or Antiquarian Libraries. It is true that I have two of them, which undoubtedly belonged to Governor Winthrop or his immediate family. One of them, however, is bound up with the old Family Bible of the governor's father; and the other is bound up with a Greek Testament, and is the very one which was nibbled by the mice, and which gave the governor occasion to revive an old superstition which may be traced as far back as the days of Cicero.¹ But these are exceptional cases and hardly inconsistent with Dr. Ellis's statement. There are, however, two considerations which may serve to explain the rarity of the Prayer Book in New England at any early period.

In the first place, it may be doubted whether the Prayer Book was a very common book, even in Old England, at the time the Massachusetts Colony came over here. During the reign of Charles I., even up to the year 1642,—twelve years after Winthrop's arrival,—it is ascertained that there were printed in all 36 editions of the Prayer Book, but of these 22 were printed in folio and quarto, and were evidently for the use of churches, cathedrals, universities, and those who officiated in them. Twelve more of the editions were in octavo,—not the compact and portable size which would seem to have been suited to general, popular use;—while only two editions remain of the smaller and cheaper and more convenient sort which would be adapted to the common people. I may add that the smaller Prayer Book of those early days—if I may judge by the two copies in my own possession—was by no means easily used, or attractive as a manual. Some pages of it seem to be only a sort of index or directory of the Service. Thus, the Collects are all given in close sequence, but with only numerical references to the Epistles and Gospels.

It may safely be inferred, I think, that the Prayer Book could not have been commonly found in the homes of the great body of the

¹ De Divinatione, Lib. II.

population at that day, — even of those who could read, — and that the larger number listened to it in their churches, and, perhaps, had some of the octavo editions in their pews, or seats, rather than possessed it as a treasure of their own. And, indeed, if I have read aright the Bibliographer's Manual of Lowndes, as corrected and enlarged by Bohn, these old editions of the Prayer Book are almost as rare at this day in Old England as in New England. They are found in a few great libraries of universities or churches, and of course in the British Museum, and are occasionally sold at large prices. But the great mass of copies seems to have disappeared.

But, in the second place, it must not be forgotten that in 1644–45 the use of the Prayer Book in public and private was forbidden by law, and all copies of it were ordered to be delivered up, and heavy penalties imposed upon all offenders.¹ It is quite supposable, to say the least, that the Massachusetts Puritans, who were so entirely in sympathy with the Commonwealth party in England, may have given

Samuel Browne

up or got rid of their Prayer Books, also, at this time, if there were any here; and this might account for there being few or none left to the present day. This may have been the time when Governor Winthrop gave one of his copies to the library of Harvard College, as having no use for it himself. There was no Harvard College library for him to give it to much before this date.

I must not forget to allude to an important fact in connection with the general subject of this inquiry. It is well remembered that

John and Samuel Browne, who had gone out to the Salem Plantation with high recommendations from the governor and company in London, and one or both of whom were designated to be of Endicott's

Jo: Browne

Council, in 1629, were sent back to England by him for disturbing the peace of the plantation, and of the little church there, by attempting to introduce the forms and prayers of the Episcopal Church. They must have brought their Prayer Books with them, and they probably carried them back again. Their case, as we know, was brought before the Massachusetts Company in London, and was referred to a committee for consideration. It happened that Governor Winthrop was on that committee, and he may have learned by that investigation that the Salem Plantation was not disposed for any Prayer-Book service. The Puritans at Salem and the Pilgrims at Plymouth were of one mind on that matter, and they concurred in establishing Congregational forms. But while there is no report on the records from the committee to whom the case of the Brownes was referred, yet a letter of some sharpness and severity addressed to Mr. Skelton and Mr. Higginson, the Salem ministers, would certainly

¹History of the Book of Common Prayer (p. 67), by Rev. Clement M. Butler, D.D., to whom, also, I am indebted for the statements about the early editions of the English Prayer Book.

imply, I think, that the Massachusetts governor and company in London, just before they transferred the chief government to New England, were by no means inclined to sanction or approve any positive proscription of the English Church or church service at Salem.

After their arrival here, too, a similar spirit was repeatedly manifested. There was at least a reverent caution in almost all their religious movements.

Thus, Roger Williams, we all remember, "refused to join with the congregation at Boston," in 1630-31, "because (as Winthrop expressly states) they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England while they lived there."

And when, on the 27th of August, 1630 (old style), John Wilson was chosen teacher, and Mr. Nowell an elder, and Mr. Gager and Mr. Aspinwall, deacons, of the first Boston Church, Governor Winthrop says in his Journal: "We used imposition of hands, but with this protestation by all, that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England."

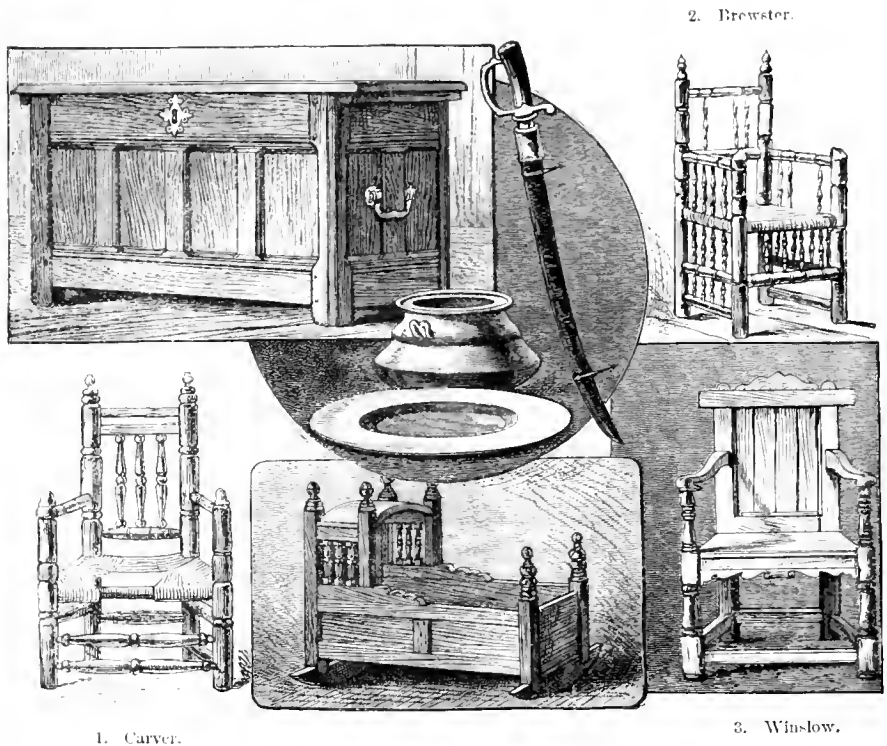
And still again, when the First Church Covenant was about to be formed, scruples were distinctly expressed and enjoined, as shown by the letters of Winslow and Fuller relating to it, about the election of church officers. "Not then intending rashly to proceed to the choice of officers;" this was their language.

It is true that George Phillips, the pastor of the Watertown Church, and a signer of the Farewell Letter, took a different view at first. He had privately told Dr. Samuel Fuller, of Plymouth, — so writes Dr. Fuller to Governor Bradford, — "that if they will have him stand minister by that calling which he received from the prelates in England, he will leave them." But the late president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Mr. Savage, in direct allusion to this statement, says emphatically: "*This was not the spirit of the first settlers of Massachusetts, until they had lived some years in the wilderness;*" "and I imagine (he adds) Phillips was overcome, by the persuasion of friends, to postpone the scruple he had communicated to the Plymouth Colonist."¹



Nothing could be further from my purpose than to draw into doubt the immediate and hearty adoption of Congregational forms of worship by the founders of Massachusetts, as an historical fact; or to question Governor Winthrop's full share in their adoption. The only question is, in what spirit, and under what circumstances, they were adopted. And I have only desire to show that, at the outset, the churches of Massachusetts were organized in no hostile opposition to the Church of England, and in no spirit inconsistent with the affectionate farewell which was addressed by the governor and company to their brethren of that church. Everything in the character of

¹Savage's "Winthrop," edition 1853, p. 16, foot-note.



PILGRIM RELICS.

that paper, and of the men who signed it, assures me that it was no politic manifesto, to conceal or cover purposes and plans already formed; but an honest, affectionate expression of a sincere feeling on leaving England. On their arrival here, they conformed at once to the condition of the colony and the exigencies of religion. In doing so they renounced no previous convictions or relations. But Christianity was to them above all churches, and the worship of God above all forms or ceremonies. Having adhered to the Church of England, as the best mode of worshipping God, while there, — they united in Congregational worship, as the best, and, as I think, the only mode, in which that worship could, under the circumstances, have been arranged and conducted here.

Robt. C. Knickerbocker

MONOGRAPH II.

EARLY DISCOVERIES AND SETTLEMENTS ON THE COAST OF NEW ENGLAND, UNDER CHURCH AUSPICES.

BY THE REV. BENJAMIN F. DECOSTA, D.D.,
Rector of the Church of St. John the Evangelist, New York City.

EARLY in the sixteenth century New England became known as "Norumbega," a name never satisfactorily explained.¹ The country was first styled "New England" in 1616, by Captain John Smith. Some of the early non-conformists called it "Patmos,"² and others "Canaan;"³ though Smith alluded to "Norumbega" as late as the year 1620. Prior to receiving the name of "New England," the country was also called "North Virginia."

The first Englishman known to have visited any portion of New England was David Ingram, a sailor, who, in January, 1568, with about one hundred companions, was landed by Hawkins on the shore of the Gulf of Mexico. Accompanied by three of his associates, he travelled overland to Maine, reaching the St. John's River, where he embarked in a French ship, and finally arrived in England.⁴

Sir Humphrey Gilbert may have visited New England in 1573, but the first known English expedition, probably made to this region, was led by a Portuguese, Simon Ferdinando,⁵ in 1579; while all that is known of Ferdinando's ecclesiastical character is indicated by the fact that he was once in prison on "suspicion of heressie," being bailed out by the Vice-Admiral Herbert. In 1584-86 he was employed in connection with South Virginia exploration. Ralph Lane attested his character and worth, and especially his "grete skylle and grete government."

The first Englishman known to have conducted an English expedition to our coast was John Walker, who, during the year 1580,

¹ Some have regarded the word as of Indian origin, while others assign it to the Old Northern or Icelandic language. On this subject the reader is referred to the author's disquisition in the "Narrative and Critical History of America," Vol. III., Chapter VI. Also, to "The Lost City of New England."

² Calendar of State Papers, American and the West Indies, London, 1880, p. 9.

³ Sewall's Diary, "Mass. Hist. Collections," Series V., Vol. VII., p. 96. Morton's "New English Canaan."

⁴ The voyages of Cabot and John Rutt have no special connection with our subject. On these and other English voyages, see Chapters I. and VI., Vol. III., of "The Narrative and Critical History;" and for English, Spanish, and other voyages, see the Introduction to the Third Edi-

tion of Bishop White's "Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church," where early services and sacramental celebrations are noticed. On Ingram, see the MS. in "The Tanner Collection," in the Bodleian Library, the "Rare Travels" of Job Hortop, London, 1591; the narrative of Miles Phillips, in Hakluyt, ed. 1589, p. 568, and "The Magazine of American History," March, 1883.

⁵ When on that coast one of Ferdinando's ships got aground, which mishap Dr. Hawks improved ("History of North Carolina," I., 196) to declare that he was a Spaniard hired by his nation to frustrate the designs of the colonists, calling him a "treacherous villain" and "contemptible mariner;" whereas he was a true and steadfast friend of English colonization. See the "Narrative and Critical History," III., VI.

in the service of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, came out with a ship to the coast of Maine. On the bank of the Penobscot he discovered a mine of silver. Silver is now found generally distributed on the Maine



John Hawkins

coast, and the mining of the ore is a recognized industry. He gave a short description of the Penobscot River, which at that time was called the "Norumbega." He obtained a quantity of furs, and made the return voyage in "xvii days."² Walker, it would appear, after-

¹ This cut follows a photograph of the bas-relief given in the Hakluyt Society's edition of the "Hawkins Voyages." Another engraving is given in "Harper's Magazine," Jan., 1883, p. 221.

² The clue to this voyage is an odd one. A

marginal entry in a paper at the "State Paper Office," runs as follows: "Sr. H. Gilbert's man brought of the syds of this beast from the place he discovered;" while the "beast" referred to was of the kind mentioned in the paper contain-

wards took Orders in the Church. At least, in 1582, a John Walker had some sort of a living conferred upon him. The MS. which would have settled the point conclusively is one of the Cotton MSS., injured by fire.¹ At the time it was written a John Walker was upon the point of sailing in Fenton's expedition to the Moluccas.

The knowledge acquired by Walker in Norumbega inspired Sir Humphrey Gilbert's activity, and it was in connection with an attempted expedition to New England that this brave churchman lost his life.

After the death of Sir Humphrey, Raleigh turned his attention towards South Virginia, and plans for general colonization were drawn up. Among these plans was that of Captain Christopher Carlisle, who, in April, 1583, proposed to establish a colony near the mouth of the Hudson, where the people would be free from the power and requirements of the Roman Church, many places coveted as colonial sites being already secured by the agents of that faith. A site further southward was nevertheless selected, and in 1584 the work of colonization was begun by Raleigh and the Church of England men, Carlisle eventually taking part in the work. The idea of colonization was at this period the peculiar possession of the men of the Church of England. No tendency in that direction was shown by non-conformists, who were not alive to the subject until the seventeenth century. The notion that American or New England colonization had its rise among non-conformists, being the peculiar product of the religious dissensions, has no foundation in fact.² In the seventeenth century colonization formed a popular theme in the Church, while the necessities of England were great. An excessive population with abundant manufactures demanded new fields, and these were found. It was the example of churchmen, in connection with Virginia

ing the Examination of David Ingram, 1582, and the voyage was of recent date. The year 1580 was the only year when a voyage could have been made for Gilbert by Walker. The MS. says that "John Walker and his company did discover a silver mine within the River Norumbega, on the north shore, upon a hill not farre from the river's side, about ix leagues from the mouth thereof."

¹The MS. is in the British Museum (Otho, E., VIII., fol. 130). In a letter to the Earl of Leicester, he speaks of my "lyving," which is to be kept "untyll I returne fro the indyans," that is, from the Indies. The record says: "The 5 day about 10 a clocke in the forenoone, Mr. Walker died, who had bene weake and sicke of the bloodie fluxe 6 dayes, wee tooke a view of his things, and, prised them, and heaved him overboard, and shot a peece for his knell."—*Hakluyt's Principal Navigations*, III., p. 767.

²The propositions of Carlisle which relate to the more northern parts of the coast, are worthy of a distinct record here:—

But who shall looke into the qualitie of this voyage, being directed to the latitude of fortie degrees or thereabouts, of that hithermost part of America, shal find it hath as many points of good moment belonging vnto it, as may almost be wished for.

1. As first it is to be vnderstood, that it is not any long course, for it may be performed

too and fro in foure moneths after the first discoverie thereof.

2. Secondly, that one wind sufficeth to make the passage, whereas most of your other voyages of like length, are subject to 3. or 4. winds.

3. Thirdly, that it is to be performed at all times of the yeere.

4. Fourthly, that the passage is vpon the high sea, whereby you are not bound to the knowledge of dangers, on any other coast, more then of that Countrey, and of ours here at home.

5. Fifthly, that those parts of England and Ireland, which lie aptest for the proceeding outward or homeward vpon this voyage, are very well stored of goodly harbours.

6. Sixthly, that it is to be accounted of no danger at all as touching the power of any foreign prince or state, when it is compared with any of the best of all other voyages before recited.

7. And to the godly minded, it hath this comfortable commoditie, that in this trade their Factours, bee they their servants or children, shall haue no instructions or confessions of Idolatrous Religion enforced vpon them, but contrarily shall be at their free libertie of conscience, and shall find the same Religion exercised, which is most agreeable vnto their Parents and Masters.—*Hakluyt*, III., p. 181, and ed. 1589, p. 720.

and New England, that stimulated the Leyden Pilgrims. Non-conformists have simply tried to secure a patent upon something that they did not invent.

The expedition of Gosnold to New England in 1602, with its attendant publication, had considerable influence, though the voyage, as we now know, was unauthorized, and the cargo of cedar and sassafras, obtained at the Elizabeth Islands, was confiscated.¹ There is no trace of non-conformity in connection with this voyage, while Robert Salterne, the supercargo, soon after took Orders in the Church. He was of an old church family at Bristol, and it is probable that he performed liturgical services in New England.

In 1603 Martin Pring made his celebrated voyage, being aided in the enterprise by Richard Hakluyt, who, with others, obtained the sanction of Raleigh, the patentee. With two ships Pring harbored at Plymouth,² having Salterne as his supercargo; and here we may reasonably suppose that divine worship was celebrated by Church of England men seventeen years before the arrival of the Pilgrims from Holland.

We next come to the voyage of Weymouth,³ who, in 1605, anchored at Monhegan. Afterwards, putting his ship in harbor at Booth's Bay, he ascended and explored the Kennebec. We have a distinct notice of the church services said in the cabin of his ship, the "Archangel," the savages being present, and showing great interest and respect. The historian of this voyage declares that a "public good, and true zeal of promulgating God's holy Church by planting Christianity, to be the sole intent of the honorable setter-forth of this discovery;" while the "setter-forth" was no complaining non-conformist, but a loyal churchman, the Earl of Arundel. Rosier's narrative of the voyage stirred the minds of the people, and attracted the notice of the Dutch, but one incident of the voyage was destined to have great weight. We refer to the capture by Weymouth of five tall and intelligent natives. They were taken to England, and put under good training, in due time attracting the attention of Sir Ferdinando Gorges; who says that these Indians were the means, "under God, of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations." Accordingly, in 1606, in connec-

¹ The general account of this voyage is given in an exceedingly rare work, the last copy sold bringing \$800. The following is its title:—

"A Briefe and true Relation of the Discoverie of the North part of Virginia; being a most pleasant, fruitfull, and commodious Soyle. Made this present yeare, 1602, by Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold, Captaine Bartholomew Gilbert, and divers other gentlemen their associates, by the permission of the honourable Knight, Sir Walter Raleigh, etc. Written by Mr. John Breerton, one of the voyage. Whereunto is annexed a Treatise of Mr. Edward Hayes. 4to, London. Geor. Bishop, 1602."

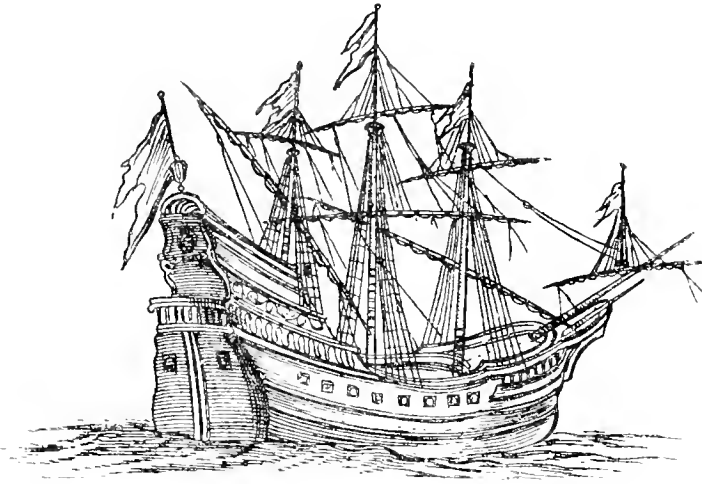
It is poorly reprinted in the third series of "Mass. Hist. Coll.," Vol. VIII. The error in the title-page of the work was pointed out by the writer in a paper read before the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and the unauthorized character of the voyage shown. See the Society's Register, 1878, p. 76. Also see "Magazine of American History," August, 1883.

² The fact that Pring harbored at Plymouth, and not at Gosnold's harbor, in the Elizabeth

Islands, was indicated by the writer, in connection with the voyage of Gosnold in 1878. See "N. E. Hist. and Genealogical Register," p. 76, and "Narrative and Critical History," Vol. III., Chap. VI. The narrative of Pring's voyage is found in Purchas, IV., p. 1654. See V., p. 829; ed. 1626, and reprinted in the "Mass. Hist. Collections." Purchas published editions of his work in one volume in 1613, '14, and '17. In 1625 he published "Purchas His Pilgrims," in four volumes, and in 1626 a supplemental volume, "Purchas: His Pilgrimage; or, Relations of the World," etc. Also see "Plymouth Before the Pilgrims," "Mag. of Amer. History," Dec., 1882.

³ "A True Relation of the most prosperous voyage made this present yeare, 1605, by Captaine George Weymouth, in the Discoverie of the Land of Virginia: where he discovered 60 miles of a most excellent River; together with a most fertile land. Written by James Rosier, a Gentleman employed in the voyage. Londini, Impensis, Geor. Bishop, 1605." The copy of this book in the Brinley sale was bought for \$800.

tion with the Chief Justice, Sir John Popham, and others, he obtained from the king a patent; and two colonies were projected, one for North and the other for South Virginia. During the same year a ship was sent out under Martin Pring to explore the coast anew, and this individual brought back the best survey that Sir Ferdinando had ever seen.¹ In 1607 the expedition, composed of the ship "Mary and John," under Captain Gilbert, and the fly-boat, "Gift of God," commanded by Captain George Popham, set forth, and in due time reached the coast of Maine.² The ships, which had parted company at the Azores, met at the Island of Monhegan, not far from the Kennebec, and here, on Sunday, August 19, the two ships' companies landed, with their chaplain, the Rev. Richard Seymour, and celebrated divine service. This, indeed, was the



SHIP OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

first particular act of worship to which we can point in the history of New England, while Richard Seymour, a minister of the Church of England, was the first Christian priest at present known to have stood upon what is now considered New England soil.

The town begun on the peninsula of Sabino, at the mouth of

¹ See the "Brief Narration" of Gorges, B. I. Chap. v. Reprinted in the "Collections of the Maine Historical Society," Vol. II. Also, on the river discovered by Waymouth, see the "Reply to Mr. Bancroft," "Mag. of Am. History," August, 1883.

² On the Popham Colony, see the writer's work entitled, "A Relation of a Voyage to Sagadahoc, now first printed from the original manuscript in the Lambeth Palace Library," edited with preface, notes, and appendix. Cambridge, John Wilson & Son, University Press, 1880. The preface reviews the story of the settlement; and the appendix reprints the extracts from Gorges, Smith, Purchas, and Alexander, from which, previous to the publication of Strachey's account,

all knowledge of the colony was derived. The MS. containing the account of the voyage, supposed by Palfrey to be lost, was found by the writer. The foregoing was reprinted from the "Mass. Hist. Coll.," Vol. XVIII., 1880-81. On this subject see also the "Memorial Volume of the Maine Historical Society," edited by Dr. Ballard. Also see "The Historic of Travails into Virginia Britannia; expressing the cosmographic and comodities of the country, together with the manners and customes of the people: Gathered and observed as well by those who went first thither, as collected by William Strachey, Gent." Edited by R. H. Major, for the Hakluyt Society, London, 1849. p. 159.

the Kennebec, was abandoned, for the reason that the president, George Popham, died during the winter of 1607-8, which proved one of great severity; while, in the spring, news came of the death of Chief Justice Popham, together with a summons for Captain Gilbert's return, he being required to look after some estates. The colonists, therefore, left their fort, church, and dwelling-houses, and went home to England. Strachey says — we know not upon what authority — that "all" returned; but it does not follow, by any means, that their property at Sabino was never afterwards utilized. Much less are we authorized to affirm that the Popham colonists had no immediate successors, as we know only the names of the officers of the colony. No doubt one immediate result of their return was a feeling of discouragement; yet, beyond question, this feeling quickly passed away. The experience of 1607-8 was salutary in its effects, and revealed to Gorges and his associates the nature of the difficulties with which they had to contend. To say that the work at Sabino had no influence in forwarding colonization is to assume that none of the men engaged in the enterprise ever took part in colonization, and never came out to New England again, which is simply making ignorance the foundation of the argument, according to the custom of those advocates who would have us believe that the real work of colonization of New England began in 1620, instead of having its origin in connection with non-religious issues in the previous century, when it was clearly recognized as a social and commercial necessity. We discover, from the names given on Smith's map of New England, that many who acted with the Popham Colony did not lose their interest. The names of towns familiar to the Popham colonists were soon transferred to the coast of Maine. The notion that the movement towards colonization died out is an unsupported assumption. Captain John Smith says, in one place, that there were "no more speeches" for colonization; but the reply to his own statement, written at a season of depression resulting from captivity, is found in his subsequent narrative of operations, when he was appointed Admiral of New England, and authorized to commence work in earnest, being prevented from laying permanent foundations by head-winds, that kept him all summer from going to sea. That the patent of New England did not lie dead he himself proves; while, from the year 1608, the coast of Maine was alive with the English, who asserted their supremacy, — capturing French vessels,¹ and breaking up the French settlement at Mount Desert.² Captain John Smith, too, was on the coast, which he thoroughly explored and described in his famous book.³

¹ See Biard's Letter in Carayon's "Première Mission," p. 62.

² See "Relations des Jésuites," Quebec: 1858, Vol. I., p. 44; "Col. State Papers," 1574-1613, Vol. I., articles 18 and 25; Champlain's "Œuvres," III., 17; Lescaurbot's "Nouvelle France," ed. 1618, Lib. IV., Chap. XIII.; the Popham "Memorial Volume;" and the writer's "Scenes in the Isle of Mount Desert." New York: 1869.

³ Smith, in 1614, is his own historian, and his writings show the growth of the feeling that

existed with respect to colonization. See "A Description of New-England; or, The Observations and Discoveries of Captain John Smith (Admirall of that country) in the North of America, in the year of our Lord, 1614; with the successe of sixe Ships that went out the next yeare, 1615, and the accidents befell him among the French men of warre; with the prooffe of the present benefit this countrey affords, whither this present yeare, 1616, eight voluntary ships are gone to make further Tryall. At London: printed by Humfrey Lownes, for Robert Clerke;

On the other hand, we may pause to note again the fact that nothing was done on the coast of New England by non-conformists previous to 1620. The adventurers prior to that date were men sent out by prominent members of the Church of England. They examined and mapped its harbors, they discovered its fishing-grounds, and made every preparation necessary for the occupation of the country. They created that favorable state of public sentiment at home which led oppressed religionists and others to emigrate, and turned the attention of all classes to the advantages of the New World. In 1620, when driven by stress of weather to take shelter at Cape Cod, the Leyden colonists decided to change their plan and settle at Plymouth,¹ so named in 1616, their occupation of the country was at once approved by Sir Ferdinando Gorges² and his episcopal coadjutors, who gave the Plymouth settlers a legal right to remain, and afforded them every encouragement.³ Other colonists followed, as the time for the conquest of the New England wilderness had come. If dissenters had not entered upon the work, churchmen enough would have been found. As it happened many did come. The Plymouth colonists even were strongly tinctured with church sentiments, a great gulf existing between many of those people and the settlers of Massachusetts Bay, as we know from the Seven Articles of the Church of Leyden,⁴ which,

and are to be sold at his house called the Lodge, in Chancery lane, ouer against Lincolnes Inne, 1616." Also, "The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles, . . . from their first beginning, An^o. 1584, to the present, 1626." London: 1632. This work now brings an enormous price, but it has been reprinted at Richmond. Arber, London, 1884, gives a reprint of Smith's complete works.

¹ See "A Relation or Iournall of the beginning and proceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plimouth," London, 1622, carefully reprinted, and edited by Dexter, as "Mount's Relation." Boston, 1865.

² For Sir Ferdinando's history of his actions see "A Briefe Narration of the Originall Undertakings of the advancement of Plantations into the Parts of America, especially showing the beginning, progress and continuance of that of New England. Written by the Right Worshipfull Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight and Governour of the Fort and Island of Plymouth, in Devonshire. London. Printed by E. Brudenell, for Nath. Brook, at the Angell in Corn-hill, 1658." This work is reprinted in the "Collections of the Maine Historical Society," S. I., Vol. II.

³ The charter granted to the colonists of Plymouth by the "President and Council of New England," bore date of June 1, 1621. It is a document issued by the Church of England "Plymouth Company" to a singular band of non-conformists at Plymouth, Massachusetts, where it is still preserved, and is described as "the oldest document in Massachusetts officially connected with her history." It is a church document.—*Bradford's Journal*, p. 107.

⁴ Seven Artikels which y^e Church of Leyden sent to y^e Counsell of England to bee considered of in respect of their judgments occasioned about their going to Virginia Anno 1618.

"1. To y^e confession of fayth published in y^e name of y^e Church of England & to every artikell thereof wee do wth y^e reformed churches wheer we live & also els where assent wholv.

"2. As wee do acknowledg y^e doctryne of fayth their lawght so do wee y^e fruites and effectes of y^e same doctryne to y^e begetting of saving fayth in thousands in y^e land (conformistes & reformistes) as y^e ar called wth whom also as wth our brethren wee do de-eyer to keepe spirituall communion in peace and will practis in our parts all lawfull things.

"3. The King's Majesty wee acknowledg for Supream Governor in his Dominion in all causes and over all parsons [persons] and y^e none may deeklyne or apeale from his authority or judgment in any cause whatsoever, but y^e in all things obedience is dewe unto him, ether active, if y^e thing commanded be not agaynst God's woord, or pas-ive yf itt bee, except pardon can bee obtained.

"4. Wee judg itt lawfull for his Majesty to apoynt bi-shops, civill overseers, or officers in authority onder hime, in y^e severall provinces, dioses, congregations or parrishes to oversee y^e Churches and governe them civilly according to y^e Lawes of y^e Land, unto whom y^e ar in all things to geve an account & by them to bee ordered according to Godlynes.

"5. The authority of y^e present bi-shops in y^e Land wee do acknowledg so far forth as y^e same is indeed derived from his Majesty unto them and as y^e proceed in his name, whom wee will also theerin honor in all things and hime in them.

"6. Wee beleeve y^e no sinod, classes, convocation, or assembly of Ecclesiastical Officers hath any power or authority at all but as y^e same by y^e Majestraet geven unto them.

"7. Lastly, wee desyer to give unto all Superiors dew honnor to preserve y^e unity of y^e spirit wth all y^e feare God, to have peace wth all men what in us lyeth & wheerein wee er to bee instructed by any."—Subscribed by John Robinson and William Briester.

—*N. York Hist. Coll.*,
S. 2, Vol. III., Pt. 1, p. 293.

in some respects, go beyond anything that churchmen would consent to in our day.

When Endicott left the Old World, in 1628, the language of the company was, "Farewell the church of God in England, and all Christian friends there! We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England;"¹ and, in 1630, Winthrop's company "esteem it an honour to call the Church of England from whence we rise, our dear mother." Such men as the Brownes of Salem came over with an implied contract in favor of the Church. From Smith's map of New England, 1616, it would appear that the country had been preëmpted by churchmen. As is well known, the map originally was covered with Indian names,² and young Prince Charles was requested to revise them. This appears to have been done after consultation with influential men well versed in all matters relating to New England; for while the prince shows in the selection of names a decided partiality for Scotland, his native country, he nevertheless makes an intelligent distribution of certain names with reference to the enterprise of the Church of England men in the south and west. Except "Boston" and "Hull," taken from Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, there is nothing to recall the homes of the non-conformists. On the other hand, the churchmen of Bristol, always so prominent in connection with New England, find their brave city recognized; while "Plymouth,"³ a great seat of Church of England enterprise, the home of Gorges and the starting-point of the Popham colonists, displaces the aboriginal "Accomac," pointed out as the proper site for a colony by Smith, and surveyed by Pring in 1603; while Dermer made a peace with the Indians in 1619, and thus opened the way for the Leyden colonists, who found Plymouth prepared for them by churchmen and bearing its present English name. So, too, "Poynt Sutliff," near the present Scituate, formed a distinct recognition of that true churchman, Dr. Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, who took such a profound interest in colonization, and spent his money freely in behalf of New England enterprise. The Rev. Samuel Purchas by his publications also performed an important part and showed great zeal.

A greater name, however, than any of those mentioned, and one that demands special notice, is that of the Rev. Richard Hakluyt, who is not to be confounded with Hakluyt the elder, of Yatton. It is unfortunate that we know so little of the history of this remarkable man, who was born about the year 1553, being educated at Westminster School and Christ Church College, Oxford. By accident, while a boy at Westminster, he visited the rooms of his cousin Richard, a gentleman of the Middle Temple, where he "found lying vpon his boord certeine bookes of Cosmographie with a vniversal Mappe." These attracted the lad's

¹ Mather's "Magnalia," B. III., Part II., Chap. I.

² See on map and names, "Narrative and Critical History," III., Chap. VI., and "Memorial History of Boston," I., p. 52.

³ Notwithstanding the fact that Plymouth was named in 1616 by Prince Charles, Mr. Bancroft, in the latest revised edition of his United States (I., p. 209), innocently says: "In memory of the hospitalities which the company [the Pil-

grims] received at the last English port from which they had sailed, the oldest New England colony took the name of Plymouth." In 1620 the harbor was well known, having been mapped by the English; also, by the French in 1605, and the Dutch in 1611. It was one of the red men who had associated with churchmen in Maine, the Chief Samoset, who surprised the Plymouth Pilgrims, in 1620, with the salutation, "Welcome, Englishmen."

attention, whereupon the owner of the *Cosmographie*, Hakluyt says, began to instruct his ignorance, and turned to the 107th Psalm, dwelling upon those who go down into the sea in ships. The seed was sown upon good ground, and Hakluyt's course was fixed for life, since he says: —

The words of the Prophet, together with my cousin's discourse (things of high and rare delight to my young nature), tooke so deepe an impression that I constantly resolved, if euer I were preferred to the Vniversity, where better time and more convenient place might be ministred for these studies, I would, by God's assistance, prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me.

Hakluyt was a man of broad and comprehensive views. While a diligent preacher, and a painful student of theology, he was not unmindful of the humanities. His mind went out in search of all available knowledge, but especially did he delight to supplement his sacred studies with the results of historical research; to all of which he gave a practical turn, and thus became eminently useful in opening new countries to the enterprise of Englishmen, who, along the paths of a successful commerce, bore the banner of Christ and the Church. The activity of Hakluyt was felt in all parts of the civilized world, but especially do we trace his influence in America; while to-day, among historical students, no name carries with it more authority, or is quoted with more respect, than that of Richard Hakluyt. New England especially owes him a debt. Under the impulse created by his genius and learning, and reinforced by his enterprise and liberal financial benefactions, the work of colonization was stimulated to a remarkable degree. Bitter non-conformists, who never acknowledged any obligation, adopted his reasonings, and followed his policy. Thus, largely under his guidance, the course of empire took its westward way. There were religious persecutions in those days, but there were also churchmen who acted from a deep conviction produced by the arguments in favor of colonization, the strongest of which were put by Hakluyt, whose name was a power. It was Hakluyt, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and their fellow-laborers, together with the printing-press,¹ not Archbishop Laud, and the members of the Star Chamber, who colonized New England. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, however, was the

¹ Hakluyt's works appear in the following order: —

Divers voyages touching the discoverie of America and the Islands adjacent vnto the same, made first of all by our Englishmen, and afterwards by the Frenchmen and Britons, etc., etc. Imprinted at London for Thomas Woodcocke, dwelling in paules Church-Yard, at the signe of the blacke beare, 1582. Reprinted by the Hakluyt Society, 1850.

The Principal Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea and Over Land, to the most remote and farthest distant quarters of the Earth, etc. Imprinted at London by George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, Deputies to Christopher Booker, Printer to the Queene's most excellent Maiestie, 1589.

The Principal Navigations, voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea or overland, to the remote and farthest dis-

tant quarters of the Earth at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeres: Divided into three severall Volumes, according to the positions of the Regions whereunto they were directed, etc., etc. By Richard Hakluyt, Preacher, and sometime Student of Christ-Church in Oxford. Imprinted at London by George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, anno 1599.

This work was in three volumes folio; the third printed in 1600. For the convenience of students, it may be noted that this work was reprinted with care in 1809-12, by George Woodfall, edited by R. H. Evans, and is now so scarce that it brings £20 to £30.

Among later pieces was the following narrative, entitled: —

Virginia richly valued, By the description of the maine land of Florida, her next neighbor, etc., etc. London, 1609.

official representative of the movement. To him, therefore, is accorded in a special sense the title of "Father of New England Colonization." The names of these two churchmen, Gorges and Hakluyt, will go down the line of the generations together. It was men of their stamp who established colonization in New England, as well as in Virginia, and also rendered the existence of non-conformity possible, by their kindness and toleration clothing the opponents of the Church with a power, ruthlessly employed at last, to strike down her sons.

Let us pass however, to notice several of the churchmen who appear in the early history of New England as colonists.

Whether at the time the Leyden Pilgrims reached Plymouth there were any other white settlers on the coast of Massachusetts we need not inquire, though it is now quite certain that, in Maine, permanent settlers were on the ground long prior to 1620; while, soon after 1620, colonists appeared in Maine in large numbers.¹ In the Plymouth settlement there was an element decidedly in favor of the Church, as we may conclude from the fact that at Christmas, 1621, Bradford says, the "most of this new-company excused them selves and said it wente against their consciences to work on y^t day."²

One of those some time afterwards associated with the people of Plymouth was the Rev. William Morrell, whom we may style "The first Ecclesiastical Commissioner in New England." Morrell was the minister of the colony attempted at Weymouth "Fore-river," one of the southern arms of Boston harbor. This little stream waters a region of great historic interest.³ Upon the banks of this river stood the ancient "Wessagusset," a settlement commenced by the English before Blackstone had entered the peninsula of Boston. In 1622 Weston sent a colony to that place, of which no trace remained in March, 1623, except a solitary block-house. In the following September Captain Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando, renewed the attempt, having been made lieutenant-general, or "Gove^r of y^e Countrie," with large jurisdiction, both civil and ecclesiastical. He was furnished with a council, and had Francis West for vice-admiral. Like his father, Gorges was a churchman, and had in view the establishment of episcopacy in Massachusetts. Accordingly, with his colony, he brought over Morrell. Though none of this second band of colonists appear to have been massacred by the Indians, like some of the first, in many other respects they fared but little better. Gorges appears to have been disgusted with his principality. At least Bradford says, "The Gov^r and some y^t depended upon him returned for England, haveing scarcely saluted ye cuntrie in his Govern-

¹ Readers of New England history were long accustomed to the tedious iteration, that, in 1620, there was not a single white colonist living between Virginia and Newfoundland. This statement rested upon its basis of ignorance until the publication of the Labadist journal, proving, in connection with other established facts, that a colony existed at Manhattan in 1615, when Jean Vigné was born. In the journal of the N.Y. Biographical Society (1885) Dr. Purple gives an account of four generations of Vigné descendants. The story of Pemaquid, Maine, and in

fact of all New England, for the period of 1600-20, remains, like other portions, to be written. In connection with this period it is too often forgotten that at the time the Pilgrims were starving at Plymouth free representative government had been established in Virginia, in May, 1622.

² Bradford's Journal, "Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society," S. 4, Vol. III., p. 12.

³ See, on this subject, "Bradford's History," pp. 148-168, 149-154, "Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Society," 1878, p. 195.

mente, not finding the state of things hear to answer his quallitie and condition." It has generally been supposed that after his departure the people at once left Wessagusset, and that the remnant, with Morrell, took up their abode at Plymouth. Bradford, however, says, "The people dispersed them selves, some went for England, others for Virginia, some few remained, and were helped with supplies from hence." Bradford says that Morrell was in the country "about a year after y^e Gov^t returned," and finally sailed for England from Plymouth. Bradford, as Governor of Plymouth, was, *ex-officio*, a member of Gorges' Council, and the people of Plymouth, many of whom, being attached to the Church of England, were led as well by brotherly sympathy as by a common humanity to aid the people at Wessagusset.

The length of Morrell's sojourn at Plymouth is not known. Bradford gives a curious piece of information concerning him, saying, "He had I know not what power and authority of superintendancie over other churches granted him, and sundrie instructions for that end; but he never showed it, or made any use of it; (it should seeme he saw it was in vaine;) he only speake of it to some hear at his going away."¹

The language of Bradford is peculiar. He says that Morrell had a superintendency over *other* churches. Did this commission refer to the "other churches" in Virginia, whither a portion of his flock went, or was the commission drawn in accordance with the fourth of the Seven Articles of Leyden, in which the intending colonists acknowledged it "lawfull for his Majesty to apoynt bishops, civill overseers, or officers in authoryty onder hime . . . to oversee y^e Churches?" It would appear to include the latter, as we infer, from Bradford's statement, that Morrell saw that any attempt to exercise his functions would prove "in vaine." Bradford, possibly, like some moderns, was not acquainted with the existence of the Articles.

Of the general services rendered by Morrell in Massachusetts we cannot speak. His special performance was the composition of a Latin poem descriptive of the country. This poem was printed in a pamphlet upon his return to England, Morrell describing himself in the dedication as "late preacher with the Right Wor: Capt. Rob: Gorge late governor of New England." It would appear that either at Plymouth or Wessagusset he found little to do, especially in his character as commissioner. In his address to the "Vnderstanding Reader" he says that it was during his "melancholy leasure" that he "conceived these rude words," which his "conscious muse censured." The phrase "melancholy leasure" may, perhaps, be understood as referring to the dark days of the winter of 1623-4, when he sought to warm himself by the green logs of the block-house fire; though life there may not have been so melancholy, after all, since Morton, of Merry Mount, resorted thither sometimes in the winter for "the benefit of company," and was arrested there in 1628.—a circumstance which has been used to prove that the second settlement of Wessagusset did not come to an end in 1624, when Morrell left. Of the

¹ Bradford's Journal, p. 154.

truth of the latter conclusion we cannot well judge at present, but it is certain that Morrell was much discouraged, and resigned his semi-episcopal jurisdiction, seemingly with little regret.

Morrell's preliminary address to the lords, knights, and gentlemen who had undertaken the colony at Wessagusset, like most documents of the kind, is more or less diffuse and wordy, besides being sprinkled with Latin, in common with the dedication and postscript. His purpose in writing was to furnish correct information concerning the country and the natives. The work of founding new colonies he considered royal and religious employment.¹

There is nothing in the poem to indicate that the colony at Wessagusset was a failure; though it is clear, even if its continuity was preserved, that it lost its episcopal character by its close proximity to independency. That there was always a certain number of inhabitants around Boston from 1624 to 1631 is evident from an entry in Winthrop's journal. Of the causes which led to the failure at Wessagusset we need not speak, though it would appear as though Robert Gorges, not acting in the spirit of brave old Sir Ferdinando, was largely responsible. If he had persevered a flourishing episcopal community might have been formed on the south side of Boston harbor, and possibly decided the ecclesiastical character of Massachusetts.

About this period we find at Weymouth an ex-clergyman of the Church of England, the Rev. Robert Hull, who was complicated in affairs connected with that place. Yet too little is known about him at present to warrant any attempt to give his story.² If space allowed, it would be of interest here to repeat the story of Thomas Morton, of "Merry Mount," who, about the year 1622, established himself at Wollaston, in the present Quincy, Massachusetts; in the autumn of 1630 being banished to England for the second time on false and malignant charges; and who, upon his return to the country in 1644, was apprehended, and condemned without law, finally dying at Agamenticus, the modern York, from the effects of the privations which he suffered in prison at Boston. The persecution of Morton by the authorities ended in judicial murder. Morton was a man of talent, a lawyer by profession, and, according to Samuel Maverick, "a gentleman of good quality." Morton lacked discretion, and was an unmerciful satirist, in the Third Book of his "New English Canaan" making his enemies wince. The worst of charges were brought against him, but in no case could they offer any proof. His crime consisted chiefly in his opposition to Separatism. The cruel and illegal treatment which he received will blacken the memory of his persecutors so long as New England history is read. He had a patent for his land; he violated

¹The Massachusetts Historical Society has a copy of Morrell's book, though it lacks the title-page. We give the title from the British Museum copy:—

"New England or A briefe enumeration of the Ayre, Earth, Water, Fish and Fowles of that Country. With a Description of the Natures, Orders, Habits and Religion of the Native; in Latine and English Verse. *Sat breve, Si sat bene.* London, Imprinted by L. D., 1625."

The Dedication is signed William Morrell. The poem is reprinted in the "Mass. Coll.," 1792, p. 123.

²On this person see the "Congregational Quarterly," April, 1877. Also Freeman's "History of Cape Cod." Hull was evidently discountenanced by the powers at Boston, to whom eventually he succumbed; though it would appear that he came to New England to aid in rendering the people obedient to the Church.

no law; he lived apart by himself, attending to his own interests; yet, being an enemy to dissent, a successful trader and an advocate of common prayer, it was decreed that he must not be tolerated. What to some may appear the more singular is the fact that they objected not only to his use of Common Prayer, but to the Bible, which the leaders among the non-conformists in New England did not regard with the favor now taken for granted. They were afraid to trust the people publicly with any considerable portion without its being expounded. A curious illustration is found in the case of the Rev. Mr. Beach, who left the Congregational ministry at Newtown, Connecticut, after alarming the people by reading "whole chapters of the Word of God."¹

His enemies charged Morton with selling fire-arms to the Indians, against which there was no law; but the most dangerous things, after all, were the Bible and Prayer Book; and hence it was declared that he must go. To add to the cruelty of their proceedings his house was burnt before his eyes, and every indignity was shown him that malice could devise.²

Another prominent churchman was Samuel Maverick, who, at a subsequent period, performed in New England the part of Royal Commissioner. Maverick was the first white inhabitant of "Noddle's Island," now East Boston.³ Josselyn says that he was the son of the Rev. John Maverick, the dissenting minister of Dorchester, who came over in 1630; but this, perhaps, is hardly certain.

Samuel Maverick

In the side discussions, where the name of Maverick, or Mavericke, is occasionally found, it is the custom either to speak of the date of his arrival in Massachusetts as unknown, or to fix it at 1623, associating him with the Weymouth colonists brought over by Gorges. Some testimony on this point appears to have escaped notice; for, in 1669, he wrote to Sampson Bond that he was in New England from "the first settling." In the same letter, however, he speaks more definitely, saying "it is 45 years since I came into New England." His memory, perhaps, was accurate respecting dates, as may be inferred from his statement of 1640, that he had had ten years' experience of the colonists at Boston, who came over in 1630. If Maverick's statement of 1669 is perfectly exact, it follows that he came in 1624, and, therefore, had nothing to do with those who came with Robert Gorges in

¹ History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, by Wilberforce. London, 1836. p. 118.

² See the Story of Morton, in the "Magazine of American History," February, 1882; and Charles Francis Adams, in the "Atlantic Monthly," May and June, 1877. The "Clarendon Papers," in the "New York Historical Collections," 1869, p. 40; together with Morton's book, "The New English Canaan," which forms such a bibliographical puzzle. For a testimony respecting the reality of Morton's Patent, see a rare publication

entitled, "New England's Vindication," printed for Henry Gardener, 1660. This shows that Wollaston, Morton's associate, also had a patent. See The Prince Society's edition of "The New English Canaan," edited by Charles Francis Adams, Boston, 4to, 1883; with a favorable review of the same in "The Nation," June 7, 1883. Consult, also, a review of an opposite character in "The Churchman," August 18, 1883; reprinted, revised, as "A Few Observations," etc., New York, 1883.

³ See Sumner's "History of East Boston."

1622 and 1623. At all events it may be regarded as certain that he was on the ground in 1624; while the question of his supposed connection with Gorges, who came in September, 1623, must be decided by other testimony, the discussion of which is of more importance than some suppose. It may, nevertheless, be observed, that it has been argued that Maverick came with Gorges in 1623, because, in 1629, in connection with Blackstone and others, he was empowered by the authority in England to put Oldham in possession of certain territory in Massachusetts. We find, however, that Blackstone, also concerned in that transaction, was empowered, in 1631, to put Hilton in possession at Dover. If the latter fact were the only one known concerning Blackstone, it might be concluded that, because thus empowered, he also came over with Gorges. The evidence that Maverick came with Gorges in 1623 is presumptive and weak, which is equally true with respect to Blackstone. If either had come over with Gorges, Morrell, the chaplain of the expedition, might not have written, that "Gentlemen or Citizens" were "too high and not patient enough of such services" to make good colonists. Blackstone and Maverick were gentlemen, yet eminently practical, hard-working, and successful. Maverick, as we first find him in his fortified dwelling, literally proving that an Englishman's house is his castle, does not impress us as a refugee from the dismantled colony at Weymouth, but appears in his strong keep as a man of original ideas, possessing resources sufficient for a large and independent undertaking. This leads us to quote the earliest known reference to him, which is in Johnson's "Sion's Saviour." Referring to the people who came to Boston in 1630, Johnson says, —

On the north side of *Charles River*, they landed neare a small island called *Noddell's Island*, where one *Samuel Marcreck*, then living, a man of very loving and courteous behavior, very ready to entertain strangers, yet an enemy to the Reformation in hand, being strong for the Lordly Prelatical power one [on] this Island; he had built a small fort with the help of one Mr. *David Thompson*, placing therein foure Murtherers to protect him from the *Indians*.¹

Maverick was a young man of superior talents and education, and seems to have been in some respects a reflection of the romantic baronial chief, whose halls were open to all friends, while his frowning cannon was ready to salute the foe.

It is said, on fair authority, that the Thompson referred to came to Boston harbor in 1626, and that he died about 1628. This places the building of the fort near 1627. It is, nevertheless, argued that Maverick could not have been at Noddle's Island then, for the reason that he was not taxed in 1628 in connection with the rate raised for the purpose of expelling Morton of Merrymount. Those who have thus treated the subject do not appear to have known anything of Maverick's statement, that he had been in New England forty-nine

¹Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour, in New England. Edited by W. F. Poole. Andover, 1867. In this work an attempt is made to injure the reputation of Maverick in connection with slavery. Maverick, in some respects, was no better than his neighbors. As late as

1716, Chief Justice Sewall vainly tried to have the slaves taken out of the rates applied to Cattle and Hogs. See his diary, "Mass. Hist. Coll.," Series v., Vol. VII., p. 87. *Vide, also, Coffin's "Hist. of Newbury,"* p. 188.

years, nor do they appear to have been acquainted with another fact, namely, that he sympathized with Morton and denounced his enemies.

In 1638, when Josselyn arrived at Boston, he described Maverick as "the only hospitable man in the countrey, giving entertainment to all comers *gratis*."¹ Still, his course was necessarily one of conflict with his neighbors, who, in various ways, confessed his impotence and worth. Winthrop's colony, which arrived in 1630, was hardly seated at Boston, when Maverick came forward to aid them in procuring corn at Narragansett, as they were in danger of famine. His co-operation in secular affairs was often indispensable, and his mercantile operations were conducted far and wide. In 1630 he was admitted a freeman. Nevertheless the later enactment confined the privilege to members of "the Church." In 1634-5 his lavish hospitality to strangers excited such apprehension that the court decreed that he should "remove his habitation for himselfe and his family to Boston, and in the meantyme shall not give entertainment to any strangers for a longer tyme than one night, without leave from some Assistant, and all this to be done under the penalty of £100." At this time men at home were taking measures to dissolve the non-conformist power, which was so outrageously abused. Hence, every stranger was jealously watched, and Maverick, being strong for the "Lordly Prelaticall power," was suspected. Maverick was evidently a whole-souled, jovial Briton, and a staunch churchman, who despised the narrowness and intolerance of the non-conformists. He was sympathetic, and, perhaps, not always prudent, since in 1641 he was fined £10 for sheltering two convicted evil-doers. Yet the times were sometimes quite of the nature of black-mail, and appeared all the more odious from the fact that Maverick contributed so liberally to the public defence. For years he thus suffered a series of petty persecutions. Affairs reached a climax, however, in 1646, as a movement, which had been commenced in more liberal Plymouth, was transferred to Boston, when, in common with a number of others, Maverick signed "A Remonstrance and Humble Petition" to the General Court, asking for a settled form of government, according to the fundamental law of England, together with liberty to worship God as their consciences dictated. The petitioners were summoned before the court, and told that they were arraigned for contemptuous and seditious expressions, and not for using the right of petition. It was well for Boston that the home government was not then prepared to defend the churchmen in that city, as it might have been done too thoroughly. Some of the petitioners were fined, and Maverick was made to pay ten pounds. The condemned men then claimed the right to petition the Commissioners of Plantations in England. Several of the petitioners were seized, but others escaped by sea. In his Thursday lecture, before the ship sailed, Master John Cotton warned all going over of the danger of carrying petitions, as any such document would prove a *Jonas*; recommending, in case a storm arose,

John Cotton

¹ An Account of Two Voyages to New England and London, 1674, p. 12.

that the trunks of the passengers should be searched, and that, if any such document were found, it should be thrown overboard. The storm came, and a woman who had heard Master Cotton's lecture began to rave. Going to Mr. Vassal, one of the petitioners, she called him up at midnight, accusing him of possessing "some writings against the people of God." She was accordingly accommodated with a copy of a petition drawn up by the Bostonians themselves, which, with all due ceremony, was thrown overboard. At the end of fourteen days the ship arrived, when the *true Jonas* was cast up in safety at London. Nevertheless, John Cotton's wisdom was duly applauded, and the safety of the ship was attributed to the drowning of the unhallowed document devised by Maverick and his brother churchmen.

In 1687 Maverick's daughter, in a petition to Governor Andros, referred to a petition which her father and others addressed to "King Charles the First, of blessed memory," in which they requested several liberties, amongst others, that of "the baptizing of their children." This is the petition that made the trouble, and cost Maverick twelve days' imprisonment, with a fine of £100. Such was the treatment measured out to a man, who, as Drake confesses, "Boston could not do without." Though compelled to help support the Congregational preachers, he was deprived of the ordinances he valued, steadily refusing to join "the Church."

Eventually, being weary of contention, Maverick sold Noddle's Island, and went to England. "The Clarendon Papers" show that, soon after the accession of Charles II., he was laboring most earnestly to direct attention to the abuses from which he had suffered. Cromwell was dead, and, as the new power sympathized with him, he sought to have episcopacy established in New England by law, and proposed to make all alike pay church-rates; but he argued in favor of toleration as regarded "fundamentals," his plan providing that the people should be left to use the Prayer Book or not, as they pleased. He did not understand Toleration in Blackstone's sense, and was strong for "the prelati-
cally power," but he was in advance of the men of the times, and especially those of New England. His letters to the Earl of Clarendon show that he miscalculated the temper of the people, in supposing that it would be an easy matter to set up the establishment in New England. With his plan for New England, he urged another for the conquest of New York. The plan suggested was followed, securing the predicted results. He argued that, upon the appearance of the

James.

English at Manhattan with a suitable force, the Dutch would surrender without a blow; which event transpired under his own eyes, in 1664, when he returned to America as a Royal Commissioner. At Boston his mission was a failure, the commissioners being resisted; but in New York the Church was planted, the Dutch and the English amicably using the same chapel, the rights of the Dutch being scrupulously observed.¹

¹ See the "Clarendon Papers," in the "New York Hist. Coll.," 1870. Also consult general index of "New York Colonial Papers" for notices of Maverick.

In October, 1669, he received from the Duke of York the gift of a "house in the Broodway," and, though we occasionally hear of him as visiting Massachusetts, he appears to have died in New York, prior to May, 1676.

The well-known story of the brothers John and Samuel Browne may here be treated briefly. They came in 1629 to Salem, as members of Endicott's Council, expecting that the Church would be adhered to in good faith. But when they found that the most of the people were untrue, they commenced services themselves, using the "Book of Common Prayer." Hence we read in Nathaniel Morton's book that Endicott "convented the two brothers before him," when "they accused the ministers as departing from the orders of the Church of England, that they were separatists, and would be anabaptists, &c. but for themselves, they would hold to the orders of the Church of England. The ministers answered for themselves, that they were neither separatists nor anabaptists, they did not separate from the Church of England, nor from the ordinances of God there but only from the corruptions and disorders there; and that they came away from the common prayer and ceremonies, and had suffered much for their non-conformity in their native land; and, therefore, being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them, because they judged the imposition of these things to be sinful corruptions in the worship of God." After this attempt to meet the charge of being Separatists, the Governor told them, that "New England was no place for such as they; and therefore he sent them both back for England, at the return of the ships the same year."¹ In other cases, the action of these people is susceptible of some explanation, but here we can refer their course to no respectable consideration, it being characterized by flagrant dishonesty. Yet, in the face of this treatment of the Browne brothers, we are told that Thomas Morton was not persecuted because he advocated the Episcopal order and the "Book of Common Prayer."²

¹New England's Memorial: or a Brief Relation of the most memorable and Remarkable Passages in the Providence of God, manifested to the Planters of New England in America: With Special reference to the first Colony thereof called New-Plimouth. By Nathaniel Morton, Secretary to the Court, for the Jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. Cambridge, printed by S. G. and M. J. for John Usher, of Boston, 1669. We quote from the Fifth Edition, Boston, 1826, p. 148.

²Salem appears to have been the stronghold of that violent dissent which finally shaped the policy of Massachusetts. Skelton was the leader, and he boldly refused the Sacrament to the Governor and others of the Church party. When Winthrop arrived, in 1630, the conservative element was strong, but the Separatists were decided. Smith says that Winthrop and his council were put "to their utmost wits." The struggle was so hot that, according to Smith, "some two hundred of the colonists went home." Winthrop recognized the gravity of the situation and speaks of "the no small company left out of church fellowship and civil office and freedom." Under the circumstances we need not make any mystery of the change effected in everything relating to the Church, nor to argue that the Separatists organ-

ized "in no hostile spirit to the Church of England." Their action was predicted at home, and it was necessary for men to acquiesce or leave the country. Rather than to allow the whole movement to miscarry Governor Winthrop acceded. In fact, he had come out to New England to stay, and if originally he was an Erastian, so far as he may have been concerned the setting up of religion in a new form was sufficiently logical. As for the real leaders, men like Skelton, they claimed to act on different principles. See the paper on this point by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, in the "Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Society, 1881," p. 288. In Felt's "New England," i., p. 143, we find some light on the means employed to persuade those who stood aloof for a time from Skelton. John Cotton writes from England to Skelton at Salem: "It hath not a little troubled me that you should deny the Lord's Supper to such Godly and faithful servants of Christ as Mr. Governor, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley and Mr. Coddington. . . . My grief increased upon me when I heard you denied baptism unto Mr. Coddington's Child, and that upon a reason worse than the fact. And that which added wonder to my grief was, that I heard you admitted one of Mr. Lothrop's Congregation not only to the Lord's supper but his Child to Baptism, upon

Another character to be mentioned is Thomas Walford, of Charlestown, the ancient Mishawam, who established the first English home on that peninsula. How and when he came over we cannot say, though it may be taken for granted, perhaps, that he came with Maverick and Blackstone.

It is evident that a serious purpose was entertained by this trio in taking possession of three separate, yet contiguous and important positions, like those they occupied at the junction of the Mystic and Charles rivers. Walford's name is in the list of those registered in 1629, when Mishawam was "brought into the denomination of an English towne." He is described by the new-comers as "Tho. Walford, smith, y^t lived heere alone before." In 1630 he found a person capable of sympathizing with him. This was the Rev. Francis Bright, who came with Winthrop's company. Hubbard confesses that Mr. Bright was a "godly minister;"¹ but, upon favoring episcopacy, he was obliged to leave and go back to England, his associates at once playing false. Dudley shows that Mr. Bright was not the only one to protest against the abandonment of the Church by the Winthrop party, as others went back to England, or else resorted to the settlement in Maine. Possibly, Winthrop, himself, yielded at last to the defection, to save his influence with the people. It is certain that Roger Williams charges him with going with the stream for his banishment.² After the return of Bright and his friends, Walford was the only churchman left in Charlestown. He, however, was destined to go, as a charge was soon trumped up against him. From the records of the General Court, May 3d, 1631, we learn that, "Tho: Walford, of Charlton, is flyned XL^s, and inioyned, hee and his wife, to depte³ out of the lynits of this pattent before the 20th day of October nexte, vnder paine of confiscacōn of his goods, for his contempt of authoritie & confrontinge officers, &c." One may readily imagine what contempt of authority might mean, as well as the "so forth." It is clear, however, that he did not pay his fine, as seven years later the court, in attempting to save its own dignity, discovered that Walford had paid his fine "by Killing a Wolfe."⁴ Sir Richard Saltonstall's fine was remitted at the same time, showing that the "erimes" they committed were inconvenient, rather than discreditable. Walford, no doubt, was a worthy

right of Testimony from his Church, whereas Mr. Coddington bringing the same from the chief of our congregation, was not accepted. Two things I conceive herein to be erroneous; first that you think no man may be admitted to the Sacrament, though a member of the Catholic Church, unless he be a member of Some reformed Church; secondly, that none of the Congregations of England are particular reformed churches but Mr. Lothrop's and such as his. . . . You went hence of another judgment, and I am afraid your change hath sprung from the Plymouth men." Cotton refutes Skelton, defends the Church of England, and says: "Till Christ give us a bill of divorcement, do not you divorce yourselves from us." Nevertheless, Cotton went to Salem himself, in 1636, and formally recanted his sound doctrine and joined the revolt, thus divorcing himself.

¹A General History of New England, from the Discovery to MDCLXXX. pp. 112, 113.

²Williams says in his letter, "The Rhode Island Tracts," No. 14, that "John Winthrop, the grandfather, "was carried with the stream for my banishment." Personally they were friends.

It is quite as reasonable to infer from the kindly relations he sustained to Maverick, that he was "carried with the stream" in that case, also. Evidently the course of his associates did not really have his approval, and when Ratcliff's ears were cut off, Winthrop stayed the sentence of banishment decreed by the court.—*Mass. Rec.*, I., p. 88.

³Records of Mass., Vol. I., 1628-41, p. 86.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 243.

man, though they drove him out before he could pay his debts.¹ When he had gone they seized his effects. The refugee went to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, then known as Strawberry Bank, where loyal members of the Church of England were free, and where, in 1640, he became warden of the church.

In this connection we may notice the minister of the church at Portsmouth, who, in 1642, is described by Winthrop in his journal as "one Richard Gibson, a Scholar, sent some three or four years since to Richman's Island to be a minister to a fishing plantation there belonging to one Mr. Trelawney of Plimouth [England]. He removed thence to Pascataquaek, and this year was Entertained by Fishermen at the Isle of Shoals to preach to them. He, being wholly addicted to the hierarchy and discipline of England, did exercise a ministerial function in the same way, and did marry and baptise at the Isle of Shoals."²

Gibson was denounced by the non-conformist minister, Larkham, of Dover, as a "hireling;" whereupon, Gibson wrote him an open letter. Afterwards, when passing through Boston, Gibson was seized and fined, it being understood that he was to leave the country. In those days contempt of authority consisted in standing upon one's manhood.

We now turn to another and very different character, the Rev. William Blaxton, or Blackstone, who, with Walford and Maverick, early found a home near the same spot. About the year 1624 this man might have been found living alone in a little cottage on the peninsula of Boston. Of his personal history we have few details, though we know that he took his master's degree at Cambridge in 1621, and soon after came to Boston, sequestering himself in the wilderness. It is not probable, as already indicated, that he came over in 1623 with Gorges and Morrell. The first mention we have of Blackstone is that June 9, 1628, he was assessed twelve shillings towards the expense of arresting Thomas Morton, though there is nothing to prove that he paid the tax, while even if forced to pay it he could not have sympathized with the proceeding.³ In 1630 Winthrop and his party arrived at Charlestown, where the water was not good, and, accordingly, Blackstone invited the people to cross over to Shawmut, as Boston was then called. By what authority he acted we cannot say; yet it appears that, April 29, 1629, he had been empowered by Gorges to put Oldham in possession of lands near Boston; while in 1631 he performed a similar act in connection with Hilton, at Dover. Winthrop immediately began to organize a government, and the Court of Assistants decreed, August 7, 1630, that "Tri-Mountain be called Boston." October 19, 1630, Blackstone was admitted a Freeman,—a privilege accorded to Maverick. But the following May the reaction came, and men who had expected toleration found themselves struggling hopelessly in what Roger Williams called "the Stream." Hence it was voted that none should be freemen, except those who joined

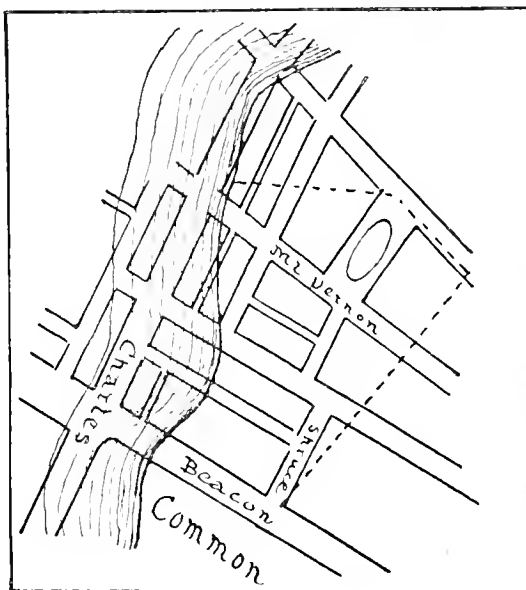
¹ Mass. Records, p. 167.

² The Hist. of New England from 1630 to 1649. Edited by Savage. Boston, 1826. Vol. II., p. 66.

³ It would be a grave reflection upon such a man to suppose that he had any sympathy with the persecution of Morton. See "A Few Observations."

"the church."¹ Thus, soon did they recede from their first principles. This was a high-handed act; and even Hutchinson declared it a law which, if enacted by Parliament, might well have been "the first in the roll of grievances." Hubbard sneers at Blackstone and his "Canonically Coate;"² but Mather, in his "Magnalia," speaks of him as one of the "godly Episcopalians." This worthy also says that Blackstone explained his position as follows: "I came from England because I did not like the *Lord-Bishops*; but I can't join you, because I would not be under the *Lord Brethren*!"³ In the end he was obliged to leave the

rising town on the peninsula, which he had found a dense forest. It was about the year 1635 that he plunged into the wilderness, taking his course southward, to find a new home in Rhode Island, of which State he was the first English inhabitant. He built a house in what is now the town of Cumberland, where he lived and died; though, in 1659, he returned to Boston to marry Mistress Sarah Stevenson, the ceremony being performed by Governor Endicott. His death took place in 1673.



BLACKSTONE'S LOT.⁴

Blackstone was an earnest and devout churchman, gentle and

genial in his manners, retiring and studious in his tastes, and altogether unfitted to struggle with the violent non-conformists with whom he

¹ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. III., p. 41.

² General History, p. 113.

³ Magnalia, III., Chap. II.

⁴ It is known that Blackstone, in 1634, reserving only six acres, sold out to the colonists his right to the remainder of the peninsula, and that at this date he removed to an estate, which he named "Study Hill," situated near the railroad station in the present town of Lonsdale, Rhode Island, where he became, as stated in the text, the first white inhabitant of that State. The six-acre lot is here bounded by Beacon street, the dotted line, and the original shore line. In 1684, Francis Hudson, ferryman, aged sixty-eight; John Odlin, aged eighty-two; William Lytherland, aged seventy-six; and Robert Walker, aged seventy-eight, — all made deposition as to the purchase of the peninsula from Blackstone.

This document is indorsed, "John Odlin, &c., their depositions abt Blackston's Sale of his

Land in Boston," and is printed by Shurtleff, "Desc. of Boston," p. 296, as follows: —

"The Deposition of John Odlin, aged about Eighty-two yeares; Robert Walker, aged about Seventy-eight yeares; Francis Hudson, aged about Sixty-eight yeares; and William Lytherland, aged about Seventy-six yeares. These Deponents being ancient dwellers and Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, in New England, from the time of first planting and settling thereof, and continuing so at this day, do jointly testify and depose that in or about the yeare of our Lord One thousand Six hundred thirty and four, the then present Inhabitants of s^d Town of Boston (of whom the Hon^{ble} John Winthrop, Esq^r Govern^r of the Colony, was Cheife) did treat and agree with M^r William Blackstone for the purchase of his Estate and right in any Lands lying within the s^d neck of Land called Boston: and for s^d purchase agreed that every householder should pay Six Shillings,

came in contact. He was moderate in his opinions, and no doubt found the extreme prelacy of his times distasteful. Hence his preference for a life in the wilderness, where he could enjoy the charms of nature, and indulge in those simple pursuits that he loved so well. A fondness for children was one of his marked characteristics, while the story of his old age suggests the last years of the disciple St. John. Blackstone, however, is not yet appreciated, and inferior names have been set forward to obscure his fame, both in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. There is, however, Drake's prophecy on record, that Boston will yet "build his monument."

In closing, it is hardly necessary to characterize, as a whole, the treatment meted out to the men of the Church of England by non-conformists. The illegal measures used to stay the advance of church principles need not be dwelt upon, though it may be observed that in this respect Boston achieved preëminence, while Plymouth showed the more tolerant mood. Leaving out Bradford, the course of Plymouth was often kindly and hospitable. As a rule, however, no churchman could live comfortably, especially if he possessed marked individuality and refused to temporize, or go "with the stream." Mauliness and outspoken conviction were signs of a contempt for authority. Culture and refinement, godly simplicity and unobtrusiveness were of no avail, and Blackstone left Massachusetts to seek a new home in the pathless woods.

Mather affords the somewhat singular example of a public man recognizing the fact that members of the Church of England might possess claims to religious character. The statement that Blackstone was one of the "Godly Episcopalians" evidently indicates that, in his opinion at least, there were others.

Beyond question these early churchmen around Massachusetts Bay had an influence, though public worship according to the forms of the Church was proscribed, freedom of conscience at this period being restricted to Rhode Island and Maine, where churchmen were free. It is probable that the Prayer-Book was largely employed in private, though, from the extreme rarity of early copies of the "Liturgy," it has been argued that no one cared for the book, and that it was left to perish by decay. This point has been pressed with considerable animation, notwithstanding the fact that copies of the early "New England

which was accordingly Collected, none paying less, some considerably more than Six Shillings, and the s^d sume Collected was delivered and paid to M^r Blackstone to his full content and satisfaction; in consideration whereof hee Sold unto the then Inhabitants of s^d Town and their heires and assignees for ever his whole right and interest in all and every of the Lands lying within s^d neck, Reserving onely unto himselfe about Six acres of Land on the point commonly called Blackston's Point, on part whereof his then dwelling house stood; after which purchase the Town laid out a place for a trayning field, which ever since and now is used for that purpose and for the feeding of Cattell. Robert Walker & W^m Lytherland further testify that M^r. Blackstone bought a Stock of Cows with the Money he rec^d as above, and removed and

dwelt near Providence, where he liv'd till y^e day of his death.

"Deposed this 10th of June, 1681, by John Odlin, Robert Walker, Francis Hudson, and William Lytherland, according to their respective Testimonye.

"Before us,

S. BRADSTREET, *Gou^r n^r*.
SAM. SEWALL, *Assist.*"

Shurtleff notes that Odlin was a cutler by trade, and died Dec. 18, 1685. Hudson was the fisherman who gave his name to the point of the peninsula nearest Charlestown. Walker was a weaver, and died May 29, 1687. Lytherland was an Antinomian, who removed to Rhode Island and became town clerk of Newport, and died very old.

Primer," once as plenty as leaves in Vallombrosa, are now so rare that of the first two editions not a single copy is known, while the earliest copy yet pointed out — an imperfect one — bears the late date of 1727. Yet at the best the early period was for the Church a day of small things, brute force being employed to suppress whatsoever was opposed to the will of the majority, until a power beyond the sea, brushing aside the pretence of separatism, that toleration was fraught with danger to the body politic, gave liberty of conscience and freedom of worship to all.

B. F. DeCosta

MONOGRAPH III.

PURITANISM IN NEW ENGLAND AND THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

BY THE REV. THOMAS WINTHROP COIT, D.D., LL.D.,
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THE attitude of the Puritans towards the Episcopal Church cannot be understood, cannot certainly be appreciated, unless one has a vivid idea of what may be styled the *genius* of Puritanism. Many of its advocates claim that Puritanism is no new thing, and never should have been treated by the Church of England as if a novelty, and uprearing its head as an intruder. They claim antiquity for it, nay, high antiquity. They say it has had its succession, indeed, its apostolic succession, as well as Episcopacy, and so should have been regarded by Episcopacy as a coequal, and not as an upstart and an interferer.

Well, if it be true, as Sir Thomas Overbury said (and he was one who knew it thoroughly; he died in 1613), that the genius of Puritanism consists in opposition and contradiction; and if his judgment has been affirmed by very many others, who have had experience of its qualities, then this genius consists in the sturdy and unyielding assertion of the right of private judgment.¹ And if this be so, then undoubtedly the very highest antiquity can be conceded to Puritanism without a moment's hesitation.

But to abstain from researches amid what may be called preformative Puritanism, which would require the history of self-assertion from the days of Cain, and to come to its acknowledged beginnings in England, and its direful conflicts with England's Episcopal Church; we are glad to discover in Dr. Dexter's bibliography, that he places them fairly and squarely in the person of Robert Browne, who died in 1631, "eighty years old or more." Modern and timorous Puritans are apt to be nervous over Browne's eccentric history, as not very glorifying to the professions they are apt to make, when comparing themselves with other people. But Dr. Dexter prides himself on his Puritan spirit, and does not hesitate to say of him, as follows: "It is very clear, that Browne's mind took the lead, and that here at Norwich, following the track of thought which he had long been elaborating, he thoroughly discovered and restated the original congregational way, in all its simplicity and symmetry. And here in this, or the following year [about 1580], by his prompting

¹ The well-known Owen Feltham, who died about 1678, gave this as *his* experience of a Puritan: "As he is more generally in these times taken, I suppose we may call him a church-rebel; or one that would exclude order, that his brain might rule."—*Resolves*, ed. 1840, p. 8. Twelve editions of the *Resolves* were published by 1709.

and under his guidance, was formed the first church in modern days of which I have any knowledge, which was intelligently, and as one might say philosophically, congregational in its platform and processes; he becoming its pastor."¹

The plague-spot in this bold and foremost champion of English Puritanism, however, is, that he was not true to his colors. He recoiled, and died the rector of an Episcopal parish! But Dr. Dexter summons good old Thomas Fuller to the rescue, to show that Browne held fast to his Puritanism, and died changed only *on the outside*. Let the decision stand. If it is a true one, then Browne was a miserable hypocrite; and with this stain on his escutcheon, the originating, the inaugurating, the polemical defender of Puritanism in England may be passed by without further comment.

The cause survived, no doubt, its recreant champion; and one of its worst and most intolerable features it now becomes necessary to bring forward. Perhaps the worst and most intolerable feature of Popery is its assumption, that not the Church only, but the state also, must be subject to, and conformed unto, itself; that there is no such thing as a legitimate civil authority unless sanctioned by itself; and that, in consequence, it has a perfect right to excommunicate any civil government which will not comply with its demands; and thus deprive its officials of their accredited rights and personal safety, delivering them over to ruin in this world, and perdition in the world which is to come. Now, in this respect, in these claims, Puritanism and Romanism are complete, though by no means intimate, parallels. The explanation comes from the old adage, that, "Two of a trade cannot agree;" or, as the philosophical historian of Rome explains the matter, "Cruel the wars of brethren are."²

It must be carefully understood that it was not bare endurance, or simple toleration, which the Puritans asked of England in the sixteenth century. Unquestionably it is the opinion of multitudes that it was so, and that such consideration was *all* which the Puritans desired, or wanted. And this impression has been prolonged and deepened by those who knew better, because it was for their interest and their gratification to have it so. The Pope is denounced and upbraided without stint, because he undertook his uttermost, and excommunicated the Queen of England. But if the Puritans did not do as much actually, they claimed the full authority to do so. "The presbytery and eldership may for some causes, after admonition, if there ensue no cause of reformation, excommunicate the Queen."³ Now surely this was claiming (just what the Pope did) the right to subvert and prostrate the actual constitution of England, and to erect their own upon its humiliation and extinction. They without flinching carried their theory out, says Dr. Nichols, in his defence of the Church of England, for they proceeded to "anoint Hackett, in the name of the Lord Jesus, with the Holy Ghost, the Queen having forfeited her crown, and being worthy to be deprived; and in the same manner, as is used in the inauguration of princes, he is proclaimed by

¹ Dexter, p. 70.

² Tacitus's Hist., IV., Chap. 70.

³ Coit's "Puritanism," p. 58.

his followers through Cheapside, not only king of this nation, but of all Europe"!! True enough, this seems a freak of solemn madness, as the good divine proclaims it. But the issue was tremendous. The freak became a bloody reality, when, on the 30th of January, 1648, the head of Charles I. fell from a block, and the old government of England was for a time extinguished. And it might have been extinguished for all time, if the advice of the shrewd Hugh Peters to those who condemned and slew him had been accepted. Peters proposed the burning of the national records in the Tower. "Let us," said he, "rub out, and begin anew." And, if the conflagration had followed, old England would have encountered her funeral pile.¹

The rubbing-out process was begun by Pius V., in 1570, and was followed up, with a full intention of carrying it on unto perfection, by Philip II. with his "invincible Armada," in 1588. It was begun by the Puritans in 1580, and finished (as was triumphantly hoped and boasted) by Cromwell and his minions, in the execution of Charles I. in 1648. The parallel is singularly complete, and the two histories run side by side; the one being the quicker failure, and that is all. Had Philip II. been successful, Puritanism, though it looked on with secret aspirations, would have found itself "rubbed out" on the rack, or in the dungeons of the Inquisition. Yet it would have suffered with grim contentment, had the government of England, and its "detested hierarchy," been companions in its desolation. For, as Dr. Dexter contends, the founder of Puritanism in England was no democrat,² although ten pages previously he had admitted that he was.³ Doubtless he was a much better churchman than his portrait-painter, who ignobly compares the Church to a great hulk cut across by water-tight diaphragms.⁴ He believed in a spiritual monarchy as stiffly as an ultramontane Romanist; and, if his own monarchy could not be uppermost, he was content that a parallel should take its place, for he could not endure the bastard monarchy of the Church and state of England.

All this became clear enough as soon as Puritanism could open its mouth widely. Browne, *e.g.*, went to Scotland, to see if he could find shelter under the wings of Presbyterianism. "Alas!" he was inspired to say, "I have seen all manner of wickedness to abound much more in their best places in Scotland than in our worser places here in England." He added, if Presbyterianism should become ascendant, "that then, instead of one Pope, we should have a thousand, and of some Lord Bishops, in name a thousand, lordly tyrants in deed who now do disdain the names."⁵ That is to say, Browne's experience with Presbyterianism was precisely that of William Blackstone's with the New England Puritans of a later day; who said (honest, outspoken soul) that he fled to Massachusetts to escape the Lord Bishops, and then fled to Rhode Island to escape the Lord Brethren! Wherefore there was no salvation for Puritanism unless it took to itself a kingdom, and wielded its own sword. Accordingly it had to do as Romanism does, proclaim the right to

¹ Life by Samuel Peters, p. 71.

² Dexter, p. 106.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 79.

persecute, — a doctrine which is avowed by even the amiable Leyden Pilgrims.¹ And their aptitude in wielding this formidable instrument was so unsparing, that Dr. Dexter wincingly confesses it had in it, and about it, "a severe minuteness," and an "inquisitorial flavor." They split, he says, upon this rock. We were not aware before, that Puritanism, by its own confession, had gone upon the breakers.²

So Puritanism started with a platform as stern and frowning as if it had come out of the school of St. Dominic in Spain. But it succeeded badly in its pugnacious warfare. The government had fines and imprisonments for open and threatening opposition. And therefore it tried, what the infidels do (as our own country's history illustrates) when they cannot put down Christianity by "bodily exercise." It tried lampoons and ridicule; and this brings us to the Martin Mar-prelate controversy. Such a controversy needs but the naming of it for its ample condemnation; though it may be well enough to add, that the Church had some champions as able as its remorseless enemies. These satellites, agreeably to Solomon's counsel, answered fools according to their folly; and Puritanism was defeated in her campaign of libels.

Finally, when rebellion and ridicule were both found insufficient, it tried petition and not uncourteous remonstrance. These efforts made their appearance in 1604, when Queen Elizabeth had passed off the stage, and high hopes were entertained of James I., since he came from a Presbyterian zone, and was considered as leaning half-way towards "The Pure." But King James, though he had had a tolerable Presbyterian schooling, was sufficiently awake to see that men who cried out lustily, "We will have no bishops," would soon cry out full loudly, "We will also have no king;" and they were wofully disappointed in him. He would not listen to their cant about the relics of Popery, strewed all over the prayer-book. "Why," exclaimed he, in good vernacular, "if we must have nothing whatever in common with Roman Catholics we must go barefoot, for Roman Catholics wear shoes and stockings!"

Yet he was complaisant enough about matters open to reasonable reformation. He allowed "The Short Catechism" to be lengthened, and to have something in it about the sacraments. Strange that churchmen who are supposed to magnify sacraments unduly, should have neglected them in their catechetical instructions, and that their remissness should be corrected by Puritanic criticism! But *Plus est ab hoste doceri*; only some may think it fully good Bishop Hall's "hard measure" to have one's ancestors chastised roundly for want of churchliness, and then be chastised himself for laying in a stock of the same commodity. However, this is the self-consistency of Puritans; for they openly declared, in their "Apologeticall Narration"³ that they would not be bound to-morrow by the opinions of to-day.

Then as to the Bible itself. It needed a revised translation.

¹ Dexter, p. 85.

² *Ibid.*, p. 108.

³ Edwards's "Antapologia," p. 85. It was an old trick of the heretics, according to St. Basil, to be always changing and rechanging, and professing a liberty of future changing. — *Epist.* 72.

Perhaps "the Saints" were not without hope of interweaving many a thread into a new translation, from the Bible concocted at Geneva, and which was circulating in England, though not permitted "to be read in churches." Yet the king again, and with royal grace, submitted, and inaugurated the time-honored volume of 1611. If Puritans now disavow this, they should have the grace to remember, that they lower a work to which their own ancestry virtually gave birth. May be there was a sting in the dedication to King James, the smart of which still survives, and rankles in their memories. They are alluded to in the words, "self-conceited brethren, who run their own ways, and give liking unto nothing but what is framed by themselves, and hammered on their own anvil." The description may be too life-like; but the dedication has been abandoned in America, and its causticity ought to be forgotten.

Not to speak of other matters, condescension as to a catechism, and the Bible itself, ought to have satisfied reasonable men that by pursuing a course of moderation they could obtain enough to meet desires proper to be gratified; especially when they had a champion in the very highest position in the Church of England,—the Archbishopric of Canterbury. George Abbot, a Puritan to his bones and marrow, was Archbishop of Canterbury nearly a quarter of a century, from 1610 to 1633. And if he had made Puritanism as attractive and winning as he might have done, and especially if he had been as judicious and courteous as he might have been, such a sharp corrective for his failures as was supplied in the person of his successor, William Laud, quite probably would not have been wanted or attempted; and then the mountainous heap of calumny which has been cast upon this notorious name might have been unborn forevermore. But Puritanism was impracticable, and Laud was impracticable too; especially when he discovered that he could not rely on Puritanical veracity. Irascible and impatient, if he were, he was eminently truthful. But he said Puritans paltered with him, like so many Jesuits; and he became as intolerant as they were insincere. *Tho. Shepard.* Thomas Shepard, afterwards the minister of Cambridge, near Boston, Mass., admitted that Laud made this one of his specific grounds of discipline against his Puritanic brethren, and that, open-mouthed as well as open-hearted, he charged this fault upon them to their very faces. Perhaps the archbishop was not over-much mistaken; for, at a later day, the colony of New Haven actually enacted a law against the sin of lying; and it must have been sadly prevalent to require civil interference, since we have heard a lawyer say in open court that, at common law, lying was no offence whatever.

Even before Laud's time, and he was not archbishop till 1633, Puritanism was so uncomfortable and fidgety in England that it sought a refuge across the British Channel, and nestled down in Holland. And there, if toleration and spiritual freedom were all it wanted,— "freedom to worship God," as the hackneyed phrase goes,— it had them to overflowing. If Calvinism was what it languished for, the Synod of Dort had supplied it, incorrupt and undefiled. And why,

then, was it not content and restful among the pacific and good-natured Dutch? It had a congenial home among them, and had it been disposed to keep the golden rule, and treat others as it would itself be treated, it might have retained that home for generations. Why, then, were the Puritans not quiescent and submissive, not to say grateful and affectionate? Did the old notion of ascendancy and a spiritual monarchy, with themselves as kings therein, return; and did they pant to establish such a government on a soil totally their own? We cannot comprehend their dissatisfaction with Holland on any other supposition, for their aspirations were indescribably lofty. They meant to regenerate revelation itself. As Robinson, their viceroy, said, in his farewell address, neither Luther nor Calvin had reached theology's wide circumference, and there was yet more truth to break forth out of God's holy word. They meant to have a territory and a religion over which they might rule as absolutely as the pretended autocrats of the terraqueous globe reclining in the chambers of the Vatican.

And their behavior, the moment they could claim anything like governmental independence, proved this to demonstration. They came to this country ostensibly under a charter, which made them nothing but a commercial company, like that of the East Indies. That charter's legitimate home, like the charter of the East India Company, was the central city of London. But they smuggled it out of London, brought it across the ocean, and converted it at once (one might say transubstantiated it) into a charter of civil and churchly independence. They claimed under it, as lawyer Lechford said in his "Plaine Dealing," "the power of Parliament, King's Bench, Common Pleas, Chancery, High Commission, and Star Chamber, and all other courts in England," and under it had proceeded, "for ecclesiasticall and civil offences," to fine, to imprison, to whip, to cut off ears, to banish, to put to death, "without sufficient record." This last item of Lechford's is most momentous, and genuinely Popish; for Romanists well understand the art of putting telltale records out of sight.¹

Unquestionably these matters would have been looked into by careful eyes, and that charter vacated by a writ *quo warranto*; but the commotions of the rebellion intervened, and the charter lived an unexpected age. That they were endowed with such an instrument certainly did not show that the English government was disposed to treat them with contempt, or inconsideration, or a spiteful charity. They professed that the charter was an enormous boon, and a sort of irrevocable privilege. Have they ever shown one particle of gratitude for the princely endowment?

Not a pennyworth of thanksgiving ever reached a royal ear for such a priceless, yet unbought, gift. But now we are to see something of the *avowed* temper with which they hid themselves away from England, with a jewel fit to adorn a royal diadem in their good custody. Why, they almost cried their eyes out over their self-exile from Britain's maternal shores, as the famous (so called) Arbella letter, written on board their barque, pathetically testifies: "We

¹ Plaine Dealing, Trumbull's edition, p. 63.

desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals and body of our company, as those who esteem it an honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother, and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart and many tears in our eyes; ever acknowledging, that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom and sucked it from her breasts. We leave it not, therefore, as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there, but, blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body, shall always rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her; and, while we have breath, sincerely desire and endeavor the continuance and abundance of her welfare, and the enlargement of her bounds in the kingdom of Christ Jesus.”¹

One might easily suppose that people using such a yearning dialect, were actually emissaries of the Church of England, to establish her in a foreign land, as the most lovely and sacred benediction which they could possibly bestow upon it. If they established a religious body in “these goings down of the sun,” that body should have been part and parcel of the Church of England, — an offshoot from the parent stock, but still belonging to its formal jurisdiction. One could hardly conceive the possibility of *speaking* of the Church of England, in the tenderly filial tone of this eloquent epistle, and then of an *acting* in fearful contravention to it, by honest and Christ-like men.

But we are now to see how the Church of England was treated in the persons of those who joined in that epistle with undoubted earnestness of heart. Unsophisticated men, like the Brownes of Salem and their associates, ventured to worship God in a city whose name was peace, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, and, too, in an humble and unpretending way, not at all faulting or discountenancing those who chose to treat those rites and ceremonies with open neglect, not to say absolute disdain. Of course they might reasonably expect to receive the treatment which Puritans in England bitterly complained they did not receive from the government of England. Alas, the old Horatian adage —

“When o’er the world we range,
’Tis but our climate, not our minds, we change.” —

would seem, in their case, to have been read backwards. For when the Puritans had put a broad, and then hardly passable ocean, between themselves and those whom in words they glorify, it is manifest that a change has come over them, such as Papists would call a very change of substance. They lost their homebred character entirely, lost the temper which was so tender and touching in the cabin of the “*Arbella*,” and became as un-English and as unchurchly as if they had never known the country which brought them forth, or the Church which had put upon their foreheads the seal of baptism. They were anti-English in their civil tastes, anti-Church of England in their

¹ Hubbard’s “*New England*,” pp. 126, 127.

tastes ecclesiastical. They were a kingdom and a church exclusively and sovereignly their own.

Wherefore, the Brownes, and their prayer-book (for, of course, they had no ministerial aid) were despatched back to England, as utterly unfit for an atmosphere too pure for schismatical intrusion. Their very letters (*proh pudor!*) were broken open, as if they were spies or traitors.

And not only did they presume to be supreme, and beyond the brook of contradiction, in matters ecclesiastical; they aspired to the same ascendancy in matters temporal and civil. Roger Williams did not construe the famous charter as broadly as they presumed to do, according to the testimony of Thomas Lechford, an eye and ear witness who listened with a lawyer's practised faculties. Williams strenuously maintained that it gave them no territorial rights. They were not, he contended, the original proprietors of the soil, and could not be made such by a piece of royal parchment. The King of England could no more give away North America to Englishmen than the Pope of Rome could give away South America to Spaniards. Accordingly Williams was treated with summary severity, as a conspirator or a vile incendiary. He had to flee for his very life, and beyond the outermost limits of their presumptive jurisdiction. He had to go, too, in the dead of winter, and bury himself among the more compassionate savages of Rhode Island.

It is perfectly clear then, it is as demonstrably clear as history can make it, that the Puritans came to these far-away shores not for mere liberty to worship God, agreeably to their own modes and fancies, but to establish a church and a state which should be exclusively and potentially their own. We say church and state, after the old European and Romish fashions; because, while they prated loudly about the tyranny of popes and kings, they followed popes and kings implicitly in putting the Church *before* the state in rank, and *above* the state in authority and power. We are almost talked deaf about this matter by their valorous eulogists, who contend that they are the absolute founders of civil liberty. Why, it was one of their earliest laws that no one should be permitted to cast a vote who did not belong to their church-communion. And it was one of their famous one hundred elementary decretals that the man who attempted to change or reform their government should pay for his presumption with his life. It was a law levelled, no doubt, against such desperate logicians as Roger Williams. This dauntless Anabaptist taught them its indispensable necessity for their governmental safety. And the old crime of lese-majesty was as virtually, if not as technically, embodied in their statutes as in the codes of the Roman emperors.

The formal inauguration, it may be, of Puritan supremacy and infallibility was made by James Cranford, who, while the Long Parliament and the Westminster Assembly were in vigorous action, preached a high-toned, trenchant sermon in St. Paul's (or Paul's, as the printed title is), London, as the mouth-piece of *both*, Feb. 1, 1645. He called it "Haereseo-Machia; or, The Mischiefs of Heresy." In that inaugurating sermon, after declaiming against what he pro-

nounced heresy, with every possible argument, he solemnly appealed to magistrates to join in the eventful battle against a hideous foe. He told these congregated authorities of England, sitting within the compass probably of a ringing and penetrating voice, — and told them, too, full plainly, — “That there was never in the world any godly emperor or king, that can be produced, but thought the care of religion did appertain to him, that it was his duty to suppress idolatries, HERESIES, SCHISMS, and accordingly hath been acting more or less to this purpose.”¹ And again, heightening his appeal: “That those emperors and kings who are recorded *voluntarily* to have tolerated all religions, or *carelessly* to have neglected the growth of heresies and schisms in the church, have been, the former, apostates, atheists, heretics; the latter, branded for their neglect.”¹ While he crowned his Demosthenian philippic, and tried to palsy any commiserating tongue, by adding that, “Never did any orthodox divine constantly deny this power to the magistrate, or plead for a TOLERATION of all sects.”¹

This was all which New England wanted to justify the hail-storm of persecution which had been rained upon the hapless opponents of Puritanism on this side of the Atlantic. And one of the governors of Massachusetts — one, too, of her most eminent and admired ones — echoed the positions of Master Cranford; not to say that the echo was, if possible, louder than the prototype. Cranford preached in 1645; this governor (Thomas Dudley) died in 1653, and after his death a sonnet was found upon his person, from which we quote the following lines: ² —

“Let men of God in courts and churches watch,
O'er such as do a *toleration* hatch,
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
To poison all with heresy and vice.
If men be left, and otherwise combine,
My Epitaph's I died no *libertine*.”

Said President Oakes, of Harvard University, in an election sermon before an assembly of Massachusetts magnates, “I look upon toleration as the first-born of all abominations.” Mr. Ward, author of “The Simple Cobbler of Agawam,” surpasses President Oakes. First, he calls toleration “room for hell above ground;” and then takes a flight, the match of which probably history cannot produce, unless she brings it from the records of the Inquisition: “To authorize an untruth by a toleration of State is to build a sence against the walls of heaven to batter God out of his chair.” And it would be a very easy task to multiply such blighting, blistering examples. No wonder that John Selden, whom some have ventured to pronounce a Puritan, but who was sometimes one of their keenest critics, should sum up the aim of Puritan pastors in the following predictive sentence: “The people must not think a thought towards God but as their pastors will put it into their mouths. They will make right sheep of us.”¹

¹ Hubbard's “New England,” p. 49.

² Mather's “Magnalia,” I, p. 122. Hartford, 1820.

³ Table Talk. Prayer No. 8.

Selden knew them, to "the joints and marrow." At one time they were his butt, and, at another, his mockery. Now he scarified, and now he scorched, them.

Still, even such openings admit a climax; and, if so, they had it in two books, written by John Cotton, on the power of the keys, and the absolute righteousness of persecution. The first ought to have been published at Rome, with the Pope for an editor. The second, which claimed to wash white, in the blood of the Lamb, "the bloody tenet" of persecution, should have been published at Madrid, with (had he been living) Philip II. for an editor. A man who delighted to see heretics burning at the stake, and put his own son to death because tainted with Protestantism, would have gloried in this volume, and perhaps have recommended its author for the honors of canonization.

Having opened a holy war, a crusade against all opponents to their sacred and inspired Commonwealth, the Puritans proceed to carry out the programme of Cranford, and to stigmatize every sentiment they could not sanction with their infallible approval. They went to such enormous lengths that, says one of the profoundest jurists New England skies have ever covered, "The arm of the civil government was *constantly* employed in support of the denunciations of the Church; and without its forms the Inquisition existed in substance, with a *full share* of its terrors and its violence."¹

I cannot, however, dwell upon their envenomed hostility against Quakers, whom they styled "cursed" even in their statute law; against Baptists; against even old-fashioned Presbyterians; and the poor Indian, whom their idolized charter bound them to commiserate and Christianize, and whom they might have easily got along with, had they treated them as they were treated by the inhabitants of one of their own townships, well named Concord!²

My immediate business is to show how they demeaned themselves towards the representatives in New England of that church, towards which, so far as words went, they most filially and loyally paid homage in the Arbella letter.

And, even with such a plan in view, so broad is the ground which might be covered, that it is necessary for me to restrict my observations, and then to take up illustrative cases for a multitude of others, leaving long details unmentioned. Characteristic facts, sufficient to sustain my positions, must answer; and those positions are the following: First, the treatment which Episcopalians received when they remonstrated with Puritan authorities for decent, if not courteous, consideration. Next, the contempt and disparagement manifested by Puritans for English ordinations. Lastly, their efforts to suppress English missions, and to stave off an American episcopate.

(1.) Their treatment of Episcopal remonstrances.

On the other side of the ocean it was taking too low a stand for Puritanism to deal in simple remonstrances. It took higher, immensely higher, ground. It *admonished* those with whom it came in contact

¹ Story's "Miscellanies," p. 66.

² See Shattuck's "Concord;" also, "Mass. Hist. Coll.," 1st Ser., I., p. 241.

as its civil and ecclesiastical superiors. And if it aimed at an individual, and wrote such a folio as William Pryme did, styling it "Canterbury's Doom," and endeavored to extinguish an ecclesiastic as fiercely hated as William Laud was, we might not have been much astonished. But it took a loftier, a much more daring, flight. It *admonished* Parliament! It took to most serious task the supreme authority of England itself, as a law-maker. It talked to sovereign England as if it were the contriver of a Justinian code, or the compiler of a national constitution. The demeanor of these admonitions became so truculent, that the judicious Hooker felt called upon, in the preface to his elaborate "Polity," to show the sweeping temper they enkindled and deepened. "Under the happy reign of her Majesty which now is, the greatest matter a while contended for was the cap and surplice, till there came Admonitions directed unto the High Court of Parliament, by men who, concealing their names, thought it glory enough to discover their minds and affections, which were now bent even against *all* the laws and orders wherein this Church is found unconformable to the platform of Geneva."¹ The Puritans, in Hooker's estimation, had *at last* become root and branch men. To speak in their own adopted rhetoric, not a hoof of England's body politic was to be left behind.

Now, surely, if such dashing *admonition* were admissible in Old England, a moderate remonstrance at least might be endured in New England. So reasoned the churchmen of New England, who, somehow or other, had clustered together, after the ignominious expulsion of the Brownes. The sermon of Cranford had perhaps made its appearance in the latitude of Boston, and was thought by the timid "a token of perdition." Wherefore, in the year after its delivery, in 1646, sundry Episcopalians ventured to indite a petition to the General Court (as it was called), begging for a trifle of Christian forbearance and toleration. They "prayed that civil liberty and freedom might be granted to all truly English, and that all members of the Church of England or Scotland, not scandalous, might be admitted to the privileges of the churches of New England; or, if these civil and religious liberties were refused, that they might be freed from the heavy taxes imposed upon them, and from the impresses made of them, or their children, or servants, into the war."²

It will be seen that the petition covered the case of Presbyterians as well as Episcopalians. And now let us remark how those who could scold Parliament received, not a harsh tale of grievances, and a demand for overturning reformation, but a moderate and harmless request to bethink themselves as Christian men for Christians *generally*. Did they receive the petition? Oh, yes; they did as much as that. Did they answer it? Oh, yes; as we might have been thoroughly assured. They had not to deal with Martin-Mar-Prelate libels, but with a regular and respectful legal document; for the right of petition is one about which New England once thundered at the doors of Congress, in days when the abolition of slavery was a burning theme. They turned it over and over, shuffled it backwards and forwards, weighed

¹ Pref., Ch. 2, § 10.

² Hutchinson's Hist., I., p. 137.

it in the balances of prudence and of policy, for four long months. But even then they could not get cool enough to brook it. Their consultations over it seemed to fester like a cancer, and at last threw out their attainted venom. The petition was treated as factious and rebellious; or, as Dr. Morse said, in one of the early editions of his "Geography," "The colony was disturbed by some of its principal inhabitants, who had conceived a dislike of some of the laws and the government. Several of these disaffected persons were imprisoned, and the rest compelled to give security for their future good behaviour." People put under bail or imprisoned for exercising the inalienable right of petition! And this, too, when to ward off sundry remonstrances from England, about their treatment of Anabaptists and Presbyterians, they appoint a committee to proclaim, as with the thunders of Niagara, "their utter disaffection to arbitrary government."¹ If they had belonged to the old colony of New Haven, could they have been indicted under the statute against fibbing?

(2.) The next point is their estimate of English ordinations.

If there be one matter in regard to which Congregationalists and their parallels are sensitive beyond all others, it is the matter of ordination. And this sensitiveness is easily explained. When a man is liable to censure for a particular weakness, any censure directed against that weakness touches him, rouses him, inflames him, ten times more than censure levelled against him on a side where he is invulnerable. Our neighbors are heavily displeased at our inappreciation of their ordinations, because they know we have good reason for it. If the general practices of antiquity may be a guide about disputed questions, we know there is world-wide testimony to show that in the days of the Council of Nice, Episcopacy was the church government of Christendom; and if all who believe the doctrine of the Trinity is now, as it was then, the great central doctrine of Christendom, and consider this fact as one of its grand historic proofs, — if all such would accept the Episcopal discipline which went along with it, there would be such a prospect of unity as has not dawned on us for many a weary, disheartening century.

But, to turn from such a vein of thought, however inevitable, could it *à priori* be deemed a possibility, that those who could not endure for a moment any cheapening of their own ministerial standing would turn around and cheapen the same thing in those whose ministerial standing is unquestionable? Should I be credited, if I said openly and broadly, that Congregationalists neither believed in, nor would acknowledge as valid, Episcopal ordinations? Nay, should I not be told that my assertion was a gross and palpable, not to say a highly discreditable, error? Nevertheless, whatever may be the present state of Congregational opinion, "from the beginning it was not so." They, doubtless, had some qualms about the formidable step, as the ordination of a Mr. Wilson demonstrates, but their spirits were soon clarified, and made full strong. They then disavowed the ordi-

¹ Felt's "Salem," I., pp. 172-176.

nations of England, *on principle*, because the laity had no share in them. And now for the proof of this stout allegation.

Many instances rise to my recollection, but one is as good as twenty, and especially such an one as it is proposed to quote. John Cotton wrote that awful book, in which he professed to have washed white in the blood of the Lamb, "the bloody tenent" of persecution, and made it as clean as the white linen of the saints in glory. Cotton Mather, in his "Magnalia," slips by the treatise in half a line! And yet, say Morse and Parish, in their compendious history of New England, "Mr. Cotton is said to have been more useful and influential in settling the civil as well as ecclesiastical policy of New England than any other person."¹ Notwithstanding, this foremost personage, though an ordained clergyman of the Church of England, was ordained over again, when, after "flying from the deprivations of Europe to the American strand," he found himself at home. And, what is very surprising, he is ordained with a formality not surpassed in the forms of the Church which was repudiated! The account may be found by the curious in Governor Winthrop's journal.²

Great and incessant complaint is made of the prayer-book, because a bishop says, when a presbyter is ordained, "Receive the Holy Ghost."³ But it appears, from the Cottonian ordination, that a Puritan pastor, laying on hands with *a couple of laymen*, can do the same thing (virtually, if not technically); nor so only, but they can claim an actual communication of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and a sanction of their act "as by a sign from God;" in other words, by an invisible, if not a visible, miracle! How any higher assumptions could be taken we cannot see. How it could be proclaimed more strongly that the official gifts of the Holy Ghost had not previously endowed a candidate for ordination we cannot see; but if there be the least doubt about the fact that any previous ordination was nullified with holy scorn, such doubt can be removed by the requisition, that the candidate for the prerogatives of a puritanic ministry should humble himself, and acknowledge any previous ordination as a sin!⁴ Could any device be a completer protest and denunciation against any previous (so-called) ordination? It treated such ordination as a sacrilege, and stigmatized it as a crime. In some of its flights of fancy Puritanism hooted at ordination by bishops as a forge of Popery, and blackened with the smoke of the bottomless pit.⁵

Certainly such a case will answer as a test-case, if any one can. It is the case of the foremost and most unblenching defender of Puritanic persecutions, and of a man whom his own satellites and admirers pronounce (to use a modern term) the evolver of New England's civil and ecclesiastical polity.

If anything could heighten this tragi-comedy to the uttermost it would be the marvellous fact that such a tissue of assumptions could

¹ P. 100.

² Savage's edition, 1825, Vol. I., pp. 114, 115.

³ Selden makes light of the phrase, and says the Jews used it in making a lawyer. Surely, then, Christians are not guilty of profane as-

sumption when they use it in communicating holy orders.--*Selden's Table-Talk.*

⁴ Savage's "Winthrop," I., p. 217. Felt's "Salem," pp. 104, 105.

⁵ Lechford's "Plain Dealing," p. 17, notes.

be gone through with, and be enacted by any *seven* individuals, and perhaps by *two*! The question about the fluxionary number necessary to constitute a religious society (or, as we now say, a church) is a radical one. It made trouble in New England as far back as 1635, at the ordination of Thomas Shepard, another unfrocked Episcopalian. After serious debate *seven* was selected as the critical figure, because Wisdom's house was erected with seven pillars.¹ Governor Winthrop says that Mr. Shepard and six others constituted an ecclesiastical body politic, which possessed as much inherent power as any diocese in Christendom; perhaps more, for those seven constituted an independent sovereignty.² And the descendants of such men, looking down upon the Church of England and her most solemn acts as farces or presumptions, nay, possibly sins, now turn squarely round and complain that Episcopals do not honor *their* ordinations as highly as *their own*.

"O Judgment! thou art fled to brutish beasts,
And men have lost their reason."

(3.) There is but one point more which can be embraced in these short sketches. This is the treatment of the missionaries of the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the efforts to stave off the establishment of an American episcopate.

As to the treatment of Episcopal missionaries, as good an idea as the case admits can be obtained from a notice of the first resident Episcopal clergyman in the city of Boston, and his reception in the centre of a Puritan dominion. It was not till the old charter was annihilated, and a royal governor gained foothold in Massachusetts, that an Episcopal clergyman could safely follow. Most graphically does the poetic Mr. Greenwood, in his "History of King's Chapel," open this inauspicious era in the romantic history of New England's ecclesiastical "Remarkables": "The Rose frigate must have seemed to the greater part of the Bostonians, or Bostoncers, as Randolph called them, freighted heavily with woe, bearing, as it did, the Rev. Robert Ratcliffe, of the Church of England, with his surplice and his 'Book of Common Prayer,' to say nothing of the commission which appointed a president over them by the king's sole authority."³

It was, doubtless, Mr. Ratcliffe's inevitable fate to be made as comfortless as might be, by the denial of a pulpit, and even of a bell

to summon a congregation to offer that Litany which teaches churchmen to pray for "enemies, persecutors and slanderers," that God may pardon them, and turn their hearts into the ways of charity and peace.

The grievances of such people were ingeniously and industriously multiplied till they had to cry out for deliverance to William III.,

who, though a Dutchman from the purlieu of the Synod of Dort, was

¹ Prov. ix. 1.

² Savage's "Winthrop," i., p. 180.

³ P. 15

not given over to Calvinistic implacability. They soberly declared, in a petition addressed to him, that they had been "injured and abused both in their civil and religious concerns, our Church by their rage and fury having been greatly hurt and damnified, and daily threatened to be pulled down and destroyed, our minister hindered and obstructed in the discharge of his duty and office, and we now put under the burthen of most excessive rates and taxes, to support the interest of a disloyal prevailing party amongst us, who under pretence of the public good design nothing but ruin and destruction to us and the whole country."¹ The only wonder about this petition is, that it was not united in by Quakers, Baptists, Presbyterians, and others, who could have widened its arguments and deepened its lamentations. Perhaps churchmen were somewhat nervous about having others associated with them, lest their own chances of success be thereby lessened. The government might have hearkened to a clan when they would shrink from unloosing an army.

As to the efforts of Puritans to stave off the introduction of bishops, perhaps no better idea of them can be communicated than by introducing the name and fortunes of John Checkley, an individual whom, for his sleepless industry in relation to this subject, the Puritans accounted an emissary of the prince of darkness. Checkley was born in 1680, and died in 1753, in his seventy-fourth year. He was a Bostonian by birth, educated, it is said at Oxford, and later a traveller on the Continent, bringing home with him curiosities of art and valuable manuscripts. So he was a scholar and a cosmopolite, and his attainments ought to have made him worthy of notice and cultivation; but, alas! he was "destitute of vital piety."

Checkley, it is altogether probable, had intercourse with the ecclesiastical authorities of England, and kept them informed of the state of affairs on this side of the ocean. He published, in 1723, a pamphlet which was the forerunner of the Episcopal controversy in America. He followed it with Leslie's "Short and Easy Method," to which he subjoined a discourse concerning Episcopacy. This was quite too much; he was getting to be positively alarming, and accordingly the strong arm of law was laid upon him. He was arrested, and tried as a public libeller and peace-disturber, was fined fifty pounds and bonded in a hundred pounds to keep the peace, and doomed withal to pay the costs of his own prosecution. Hapless mortal! he was fined fifty pounds for defending the king's religion, and yet breaking the royal peace, and within earshot of Faneuil Hall, the cradle of liberty!

Checkley was not at all dismayed. With the assistance of Dr. Cutler, who gave up the Presidency of Yale College, and became an Episcopalian in 1723, he contrived to defeat the assembling of a Puritanic Council, which was to assemble in 1724-5. This atrocious crime was never forgiven or forgotten. When he afterwards went to England, to obtain holy orders, he was pursued by representations which pictured him out as a traitor to the House of Hanover.

Luckless, but unintimidated, he never remitted his efforts to

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll., 3d series, VII., p. 194.

become a clergyman, and was ordained a deacon, at last, at an age never known before for such promotion, — in his sixtieth year. He lived a minister, in Providence, R.I., some fourteen years; and if any names deserve inscription on our church's roll of honor, Checkley's should be among the foremost. It is deeply to be lamented that he left no "history of his own times." He had a lively imagination and a trenchant wit, as was evinced by his "Dissenter's Catechism;" and we should have had an "Apology for the Introduction of Bishops into British Colonies" as famous among ourselves as Tertulian's keen one in long-departed days.¹

The controversy respecting Episcopal missions between Chauncy and Mayhew on the Puritan side, and Abp. Secker, with Apthorp and Chandler, on the Episcopal side, cannot be reviewed for want of space; nor the cruel insinuation that zeal for the introduction of a monarchical Episcopacy was one of the causes of the American Revolution. That Episcopalians could be patriots, let this memorable proof be a sufficient attestation. "It is possible, also, that a majority of the signers of the Declaration of Independence are Episcopalians."²

And now, finally, to show that the Puritans, while endeavoring to uproot Episcopacy, and plant their theocracy in its stead, as the best possible of exchanges, made a huge effort and a corresponding failure, I will close with quotations from two distinguished Puritan authors, to prove that the elements of unsettledness, division, and theological uncertainty which we now see on all sides in Puritanical quarters, started and abounded in England before they developed themselves still further upon, as Cotton Mather calls it, "the American strand."

Though never overfond of the Apocrypha, the Puritans could justify its estimate of thoroughness:—

"There be spirits that are created for vengeance,
Which in their fury lay on sore strokes."³

And now, by the testimony of their own authors, let us see how much their "sore strokes" accomplished.

Here is a panorama of Puritanism, by Thomas Reeve, B.D., drawn out under the droppings of its primitive sanctuaries in London, the fostering home of the Long Parliament, and the "Most Sacred" Westminster Assembly:—

Every corporation hath a new brotherhood of believers, every pulpit new coin coming hot out of the mint, every secret meeting a secret rule of faith, and a secret form of worship. Oh, what variety of Saviours have we! Every man is for his particular Redeemer, his distinct messenger of the Covenant. Here is Christ, and there is Christ. Now who shall calm this troubled sea, raise up these ruins, new-joint these dislocated bones, reduce these mutineers?⁴

And, again, p. 146:—

God would be ashamed to walk before you in such ways, or to prescribe to you such paths. If your eyes be open, what repentance do ye see amongst us, but

¹ See Updike's "Narragansett," pp. 205-11.

² Updike, *ut supra*, p. 246.

³ Ecclus. xxxix. 28.

⁴ Reeve's "Plea for Nineveh," 1657, p. 16.

beating down of crosses, erasing of church-windows, demolishing a font, new-placing a communion-table, and plucking off that same abominable rochet? But hath this Reformation cleansed away one sin? Hath it made us more moral than Turks, or more pure than many Paynims and infidels? Are our evil motions, our evil lusts, and our evil ways gone? Is there not as much pride and riot, and covetousness and slander, and theft and craft, peevishness and perfidiousness, cozenage and contention, as there is this day among Seythians and Barbarians? A nimble voyage then that we have made, who are not sailed beyond the Land's End; a long journey that we have travelled, who are not gotten out of our old ways!¹

Once more, to show his close circumspection, and wonderful command of language, pp. 150, 151:—

For all the noise of our sermon-bells, and the mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven preached among us, here is nothing but shaying and fleecing, pinching and biting, catching and crushing, supplanting and circumventing, consuming and confounding, decocting and despoiling, slaying and flaying, prosecuting and persecuting, mingling and powdering, glozing and varnishing, sophisticating and adulterating, lengthening out of suits, and spinning out of quarrels, siding and shouldering, trampling and shivering, dreadful decrees in the Court of Conscience, and horrid orders divers times, in the best Court of Judicature, as if oppression were a science, and tyranny a trade. . . . Oh, if I should lead you into the forest itself, where all the wild beasts and ravenous serpents do range, ye would think this were the land of tigers and dragons! And for all this, yet are we the just Nation?

One is tempted to give his full-length portrait of Puritan parsons, on p. 104; but the fear it may be considered the work of a mechanic, dealing in "untempered mortar," induces me to pass it by. Reeve's folio, of more than 350 pages, will richly repay a laborious explorer.

And now, lastly, let us listen to a few words from Richard Baxter, one of the choicest of Puritanic saints. His work on "Catholic Unity" will be the one quoted, since, to do him but justice, he knew how to use the word "Catholic" in a non-Roman sense, — no mean attainment for his day, and especially amid his surroundings. He gave a pitiful list of the sects which thrived in the rebellion, till he cried out, mind-sick and heart-sick, "I am weary of mentioning these desperate errors;" so he wound up with the following burst of Baxterian rhetoric: "The Anabaptist hath a scab, and the Separatist hath a wound; but the common ungodly multitude have the leprosy and plague-sores from top to toe. Profaneness is a hodge-podge and gallimawfry, of all the heresies in the world in one." No wonder that Henry Foulis, M.A., who could produce according to Isaac d'Israeli, "an extraordinary folio," who was once inclined to be a Puritan, and who knew his old comrades *ab ovo usque ad malum*, should describe them in rhetoric quite as peculiar as Mr. Baxter's, only rather more scholarly: "The Teneriff or Pico shall sooner shrink to mole-hills, the name of the Escorial be forgotten, and the great tun at Heidelberg filled with Rhenish wine be a draught to a pigmy, than a non-conformist cease from being disobedient, or our disciplinarians from hating and persecuting our lawful government of Bishops."² Perhaps one

¹ Compare Reeve's "Plea for Nineveh," pp. 74, 75. 2d ed., 1674, p. 145, with some language left out, which might be thought harsher than that

² Foulis's "Plots of our Pretended Saints," which is quoted.

cannot better close than in the language of Roger Williams to John Cotton: "Oh that it may please the Father of Lights to awaken both himself, and other of my honored countrymen, to see how, though their hearts wake, in respect of personal grace and life of Jesus, yet they sleep, insensible of much concerning the purity of the Lord's worship, or the sorrows of such, whom they style brethren and beloved in Christ, afflicted by them!"¹

S. W. Lord

¹ Answer to Cotton on the "Bloody tenent of persecution." Hanserd Knolly's Society ed., 1848, p. 383.

MONOGRAPH IV.

DEAN BERKELEY'S SOJOURN IN AMERICA, 1729-1731.

By THE REV. MOSES COIT TYLER, LL.D.,

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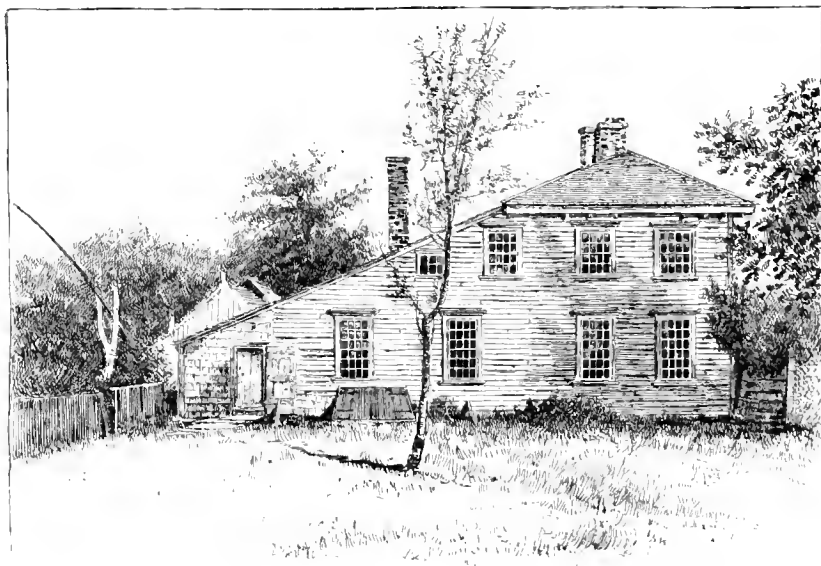
ON the 23d of January, 1729, a British ship of about two hundred and fifty tons was seen hovering off the coast of Rhode Island and making signals for a pilot. In response to these signals two pilots boarded the ship. It proved to be the hired vessel of an eminent English clergyman, the Rev. George Berkeley, Dean of Derry, who had with him his wife and a small party of friends, and was desirous of landing somewhere in Rhode Island. The pilots informed him that the harbor of Newport was near, and that in the town there was an Episcopal church, the minister of which was the Rev. James Honyman. At once the dean wrote a letter to Mr. Honyman, notifying him of his approach. What followed is best told in the picturesque narrative of a local historian of the event. The pilots took the dean's letter "on shore at Conanicut Island, and called on Mr. Gardner and Mr. Martin, two members of Mr. Honyman's church, informing them that a great dignitary of the Church of England, called Dean, was on board the ship, together with other gentlemen passengers. They handed them the letter from the dean, which Gardner and Martin brought to Newport with all possible despatch. On their arrival they found Mr. Honyman was at church, it being a holiday on which divine service was held there. They then sent the letter by a servant, who delivered it to Mr. Honyman in his pulpit. He opened it, and read it to the congregation, from the contents of which it appeared the dean might be expected to land in Newport every moment. The church was dismissed with the blessing, and Mr. Honyman, with the wardens, vestry, and congregation, male and female, repaired immediately to the wharf, where they arrived a little before the dean, his family, and friends."

On the day after this notable event a Newport correspondent of "The New England Weekly Courier" thus announced the news to the people of Boston: "Yesterday arrived here Dean Berkeley, of Londonderry, in a pretty large ship. He is a gentleman of middle stature, of an agreeable, pleasant, and erect aspect. He was ushered into the town with a great number of gentlemen, to whom he behaved himself after a very complaisant manner. 'Tis said he proposes to tarry here with his family about three months."¹

Instead of tarrying there only about three months the dean

¹ Cited in Fraser's "Life and Letters of George Berkeley," p. 154.

tarried there nearly three years. He soon purchased a farm three or four miles from Newport, near the sea; and he built there a large house, which he named "Whitehall." He had brought with him, not only ample wealth in money and in personal and household goods, but a library of several thousand volumes. During the whole time of his sojourn in America he lived very quietly, and in almost unbroken retirement. He was kindly and familiar with people of all religious faiths in Newport. Occasionally he preached in the Newport church, or went with the faithful missionary, Mr. Honyman, among the Narragansett Indians. He was the highest officer of the



"WHITEHALL." THE RESIDENCE OF DEAN BERKELEY WHILE IN RHODE ISLAND.

Anglican Church who had ever been in America; and his coming hither and his long stay here were a mystery to the public, and to some of them, likewise, a source of alarm. It was said that he intended to found a college at the Bermudas; but, if so, why did he not go to the Bermudas, and set about it? There were some who suspected that he might be an emissary of the English Church, and that he had come to New England with the subtle purpose of laying some kind of prelatial mine for the blowing up and destruction of the ecclesiastical system already established there. Several years before Berkeley's arrival, Timothy Cutler, the president of Yale College, Daniel Brown, its tutor, together with two prominent Congregational pastors in Connecticut, Samuel Johnson and James Wetmore, had gone over in a body to the English Church. The event had produced no little con-

sternation. Was it not likely that the astute and plausible Dean of Derry had come out to America to entice others of the New England ministry into a similar defection? At any rate the proceedings of the dean would bear watching.

And, on his part, there seemed to be not the least objection to their being watched. He had nothing to conceal. It did appear somewhat strange that an ambitious and dangerous ecclesiastical emissary, instead of pushing out into the colonies, and making acquaintances among the people, should have retired to the solitude of an island on the coast, and should have spent his time there after the manner of a philosophical hermit. Certainly he was affable to all whom by any accident he fell in with; and he courteously received all, whether distinguished or undistinguished, who chose to call upon him; but he solicited no man's company; he interfered with no man's opinions. In the way of charity he gave much, but himself had no favors to ask. Excepting occasional missionary tours among the Indians, and a single visit to Boston for the purpose of taking ship for England, he made no journeys into the country that he was credited with the design of subjugating; and when at last he took his leave of America, and returned to England, he left after him here only a beautiful and gracious memory, — the memory of a blameless, wise, benignant, and helpful presence upon these shores. Here was born to him his eldest son, Henry; and here also was born, and here died, his second child, Lucia, and her body was laid tenderly in Trinity church-yard, at Newport; here he wrote his greatest and most famous literary work, the philosophical dialogue called "Alciphron;" and here, by the disinterested and catholic love which he manifested for America, by the stimulus he gave to philosophical and classical studies in this country, and especially by the magnanimous and inspiring faith he uttered in the destinies of the Christian Church and of the Christian commonwealth in America, he won for himself a title to our perpetual remembrance and gratitude.

As has been already mentioned Berkeley's visit to America, and his long and seemingly purposeless residence here, were not understood in his own time by the public on either side of the Atlantic; and it may be added that, though the materials for understanding the reasons both for his coming and for his going have at last been fully spread before the public,¹ there still lingers over the subject something of the mystery which invested it a hundred and fifty years ago. To persons who have not yet taken the pains to study carefully the materials just referred to, it still seems strange that a devout and earnest clergyman of the English Church, holding the high office of dean, in the prime of his life, and in the full vigor of his health, should have withdrawn himself from his duties at home, and with his wife, his household goods, his books, and a few friends, should have settled down in a secluded spot on the coast of America; should have there sauntered

¹ The chief depositories of materials relating to Berkeley are the following: "The Works of George Berkeley," edited by A. C. Fraser, 3 vols., Oxford, 1871; "Life and Letters of George Berkeley," by A. C. Fraser, 1871; "Berkeley," 1881, containing biographical facts brought to light since 1871; and the series of admirable historical and biographical works produced by the Reverend E. E. Beardley, of New Haven, particularly his "Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D.D.," New York, 1874.

and loitered for nearly three years, and then, apparently without achieving, or trying to achieve, any visible result which he could not have accomplished as well by staying at home, should have gathered up his effects, and have sailed back to England.

In reality, however, Berkeley's American visit was, in its plan, its execution, and its fruit, much more than it seemed to the public eye, either at that time or since; and while it was a thing that could have been projected only by an idealist and a moral enthusiast—such as Berkeley was—it must be pronounced, even on cool survey, a mission of chivalric benevolence certainly, but also of profound and even creative sagacity. In its boldness and its generosity it was dictated by an apostolic disinterestedness and courage, to which, of course, that age was unaccustomed, and which places it in the light of an almost comic incongruity with the spirit of the age in which it occurred. In the history of our colonial period it forms a romantic chapter. But, in order to understand it we need first to understand Berkeley himself, as well as his attitude towards the times he lived in.

George Berkeley was born in Ireland, County Kilkenny, on the 12th March, 1685, being descended from Cavalier English ancestry, and particularly related to the family of Lord Berkeley, of Stratton. He studied at the famous Kilkenny School, which has been called "the Eton of Ireland;" and in 1700 he entered Trinity College, Dublin, where he continued to reside as student and fellow for the next thirteen years, and where he achieved the highest distinction for scholarship, and especially for original philosophic thought.

From childhood he had been an unusual person. To his associates in particular he had been an object of wonder or of mirth, by the eccentricity of his enthusiasms, and by his marvellous fertility in the dreaming of gorgeous and impossible dreams for the improvement of mankind in knowledge, virtue, and happiness. As he ripened into manhood he became a person of extraordinary attractions. He was of singular beauty and geniality; his learning was great; he had uncommon genius for scientific and metaphysical speculation; as a conversationalist he was remarkable even in an age in which conversation was cultivated as a fine art: and all these brilliant qualities in him were crowned by the mildness, the tender and earnest charity, of a devout Christian. In 1709 he received his first ordination; and thenceforward to the end of his days, though he never had regular service as a parish priest, he was a frequent and a very impressive preacher; indeed, he was a great and an eloquent philosopher in the pulpit, taking his place in that illustrious line of mighty thinkers in the Christian ministry in which stand Butler, Cudworth, Barrow, Hooker, Fénelon, Malebranche, Aquinas, Augustine, Origen, and Saint Paul,—men to whom theology was "the highest form of philosophy, and the reverential spirit of religion its noblest consecration."

Even before his ordination, in 1709, Berkeley had begun to produce those philosophical writings in which he gradually unfolded his celebrated ideal theory of the universe.¹ This theory begins with a

¹The writings particularly referred to are 419-502; "An Essay towards a New Theory of 'Commonplace Book,'" in "Life and Letters," *Vision*, published in 1709; "A Treatise con-

negative proposition, — a denial of the existence of matter independent of spirit. But it at once proceeds to an affirmative proposition, involving a "truth of unsurpassed grandeur, simplicity, pro-



*most affectionately
your humble servant
George Berkeley*

cerning the Principles of Human Knowledge," is progressively stated and defended, and the 1710; "Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous," 1713. In these writings his theory of British metaphysical literature."

fundity, and weight," namely, that the only true substance is spirit; that the only true cause is an intelligent will; therefore, that whatever exists, or appears to exist, can be philosophically explained only through the powers and qualities of spirit.

The special use which Berkeley made of his theory was in refutation of the anti-religious philosophy of his time. He thought that a belief in the absolute existence of matter leads to atheism. Against this tendency he set his own theory, — one of great subtlety and logical power, — wherein the so-called material universe is but a vast system of symbols "through which the Deity makes His being and His attributes known to man. What seems, or is taken to be, the material universe is simply the manifested ideas of God."¹ Since our sensible perceptions "must be caused, and since they cannot be caused by non-causative, and hence non-existent, matter, they must be ascribed to the agency of God, the Supreme Spirit. The world is God's voice. His language, a set of symbols or signs. Physical science, neglecting the questions of essential being and causation, has but to ascertain and record these symbols in their observable order of coexistence and sequence. Philosophy shows that through them we are in communion with, and gracious dependence on, an omnipresent Deity."²

Thus, down to the year 1713, when he had reached his twenty-third year, the life of George Berkeley had passed in studious retirement, mainly in Trinity College, Dublin. He had got well acquainted with books; he knew little of men, of cities, of the ways of society in the great world outside the walls of his college. Now began the epoch in his life, nearly eight years long, in which he devoted himself to travel, and to the direct study of human nature and human society. He had already begun to reap some portion of his great fame as a metaphysician. Moreover, he had won the especial friendship of Dean Swift, who in the same year became dean of Saint Patrick's, and who was destined directly and indirectly to have a decisive influence on Berkeley's fortunes. Early in January, 1713, young Berkeley went over to London, in order, as he said at the time, to print his "new book of Dialogues and to make acquaintance with men of merit."³ From the first he was under the powerful patronage of Dean Swift, and by him was soon presented at the court of Queen Anne, as well as at the more illustrious court of the poets, wits, and philosophers who were shedding lustre upon that period. By his extraordinary conversational powers and by the indescribable charm of his character he at once made his way there into universal favor. Addison and Steele took him to their hearts. At Steele's request he wrote several papers for "The Guardian." By Pope and his troop of literary friends he was welcomed with affectionate admiration; and Pope himself formed for Berkeley that friendship which prompted him, years afterward, when Berkeley had risen to be Bishop of Cloyne, to pay to the prelate an immortal poetic tribute:—

¹ F. Ueberweg, "A History of Philosophy," of Berkeley's theory is given by Fraser in his edition of Berkeley's Works, i., pp. 118-121.

² George S. Morris, "British Thought and Thinkers," pp. 221-222. A condensed exposition

³ Berkeley, p. 97.

“ Even in a bishop I can spy desert.
 Secker is decent; Rundle has a heart;
 Manners with candor are to Benson given;
 To Berkeley — every virtue under heaven.”

One of the great figures in London society, at the time of Berkeley's entrance into it, was Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester. He had been hearing, on all hands, praises of the brilliant young Dublin philosopher and divine, who had made a sudden and brilliant dash into the elegant world of London, and he expressed a desire to see him. Accordingly, one day, the Earl of Berkeley introduced his kinsman to the bishop, and after the interview was over, the Earl said, “ Does my cousin answer your lordship's expectations?” The bishop, lifting up his hands, said fervently, “ So much understanding, so much knowledge, so much innocence, and such humility, I did not think had been the portion of any but angels, till I saw this gentleman.”¹

After a few months spent by him in these splendid scenes in London Berkeley's mind seemed eager to inspect still more of the life and manners of men; and accordingly, in the autumn of 1713, he accepted the position of chaplain and secretary to the Earl of Peterborough, who was then setting out as ambassador to the King of Sicily. Thus began Berkeley's long sojourn upon the continent, — first, for a single year, and afterward for four years, — a sojourn which gave him the opportunity of making profound and extensive studies into the condition of European society.

Upon his final return to England from the continent, in 1720, Berkeley found there nearly everything that could shock and grieve him. The famous South-Sea speculations had just before reached their summit of madness and corruption, and had fallen to the ground with a great crash, spreading almost inconceivable distress over England. The appalling spectacle of personal and social profligacy which then met the eye of Berkeley in his own country came to him as a dreadful sequel to all the revelations of folly and of crime which his life upon the continent had made to him; and upon his sensitive and meditative spirit this wrought an impression that fixed the direction of his thoughts for the next ten years of his life. It was amid these mournful scenes of misery and wrong in Europe that he conceived the magnificent project that thenceforward for a long time absorbed him, and that brought him at last to America to attempt its realization.

By a pamphlet of Berkeley's, published anonymously in London in 1721, and entitled “ An Essay towards preventing the Ruin of Great Britain,” we are enabled to ascertain that in that year he had become well-nigh convinced that the political and moral diseases of the Old World, and especially of his own country, had at last reached the vital organs of civilization, and were incurable. “ I know it is an old folly to make peevish complaints of the times, and charge the common failures of human nature on a particular age. One may nevertheless venture to affirm that the present hath brought forth new and portentous

¹ Life and Letters of Berkeley, p. 59.

villanies, not to be paralleled in our own or any other history. We have been long preparing for some great catastrophe. Vice and villany have by degrees grown reputable among us. . . . We have made a jest of public spirit, and cancelled all respect for whatever our laws and religion repute sacred. The old English modesty is quite worn off; and, instead of blushing for our crimes, we are ashamed only of piety and virtue. In short, other nations have been wicked, but we are the first who have been wicked upon principle. The truth is, our symptoms are so bad that, notwithstanding all the care and vigilance of the legislature, it is to be feared the final period of our state approaches."¹

These being his fears respecting the future of civilization in the Old World, he seems to have concluded that there was no hope for the human race except in a gradual transfer of itself from the Old World to the New, where, freed from the clogs and goads of evil tradition,—freed from the palsy and blindness and barrenness of society in its dotage, mankind might, at any rate, begin its career over again; and, avoiding the follies and crimes that had brought Europe to the verge of destruction, might build for itself a future higher, broader, nobler, than its past. Whatever we may now think of this brave scheme, it was the scheme of no sordid or commonplace nature: it was the scheme of a profound thinker and of a most benevolent enthusiast. As he brooded over this great thought his mind had to utter itself in some expression loftier than even such noble prose as he could command. In those years it was, probably, that he composed that curious and now celebrated poem, on the decay, the helplessness, the hopelessness, of the Old World, and on the approach of a new and a grander era for human nature in the world beyond the sea,—a poem which will last among us as long as civilization shall hold out in this hemisphere,—a poem that utters, perhaps, the most generous and the most inspiring word about America ever spoken by any European. In the light of our present narrative we may be glad to read once more these familiar verses, as now having for us, it may be, the force of a fresh and a richer meaning:—

“ The muse, disgusted at an age and clime
Barren of every glorious theme,
In distant lands now waits a better time,
Producing subjects worthy fame.

“ In happy climes, where, from the genial sun
And virgin earth such scenes ensue,
The force of art by nature seems outdone,
And fancied beauties by the true.

“ In happy climes, the seat of innocence,
Where nature guides and virtue rules,
Where men shall not impose for truth and sense
The pedantry of courts and schools.

“ There shall be sung another Golden Age,
The rise of empire and of arts,
The good and great inspiring epic rage,
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

¹ Berkeley's Works, III., p. 210.

“ Not such as Europe breeds in her decay ;
 Such as she bred when fresh and young,
 When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
 By future poets shall be sung.

“ Westward the course of empire takes its way ;
 The four first acts already past,
 A fifth shall close the drama with the day ; —
 Time's noblest offspring is the last.”¹

Such was George Berkeley's superb and generous dream. To his spiritual and prophetic genius it seemed to be revealed, like a picture painted on the air, that the next great shifting in the central seat of the world's civilization was to be from the eastern hemisphere to the western, — from Europe to America. But when that event should take place what was to prevent American civilization from going over the steps, and finally reaching the fatal end of civilization in Europe? In Berkeley's opinion nothing could avert this result but these two things: religion and education, — the two walking hand in hand. The Old World was advancing to its doom, because the people of the Old World had lost the old-fashioned virtues of faith, reverence, and simplicity; had, consequently, ceased to be a “religious, brave, sincere people, of plain, uncorrupt manners, respecting inbred worth rather than titles and appearances;” had ceased to be “assertors of liberty, lovers of their country, jealous of their own rights, and unwilling to infringe the rights of others;” had ceased to be “improvers of learning and useful arts, enemies to luxury, tender of other men's lives, and prodigal of their own;”¹ and had become idlers, gamblers, spendthrifts, mockers, libertines, and atheists. Of course, the only way to save the New World, when it should finally become the seat of civilization, from advancing to the same doom, was to save it from falling into the same degeneracy; and this could be accomplished in no other way than by the prompt, wise, and efficient organization in America, first, of religious training, second, of intellectual training, — in short, of the Christian Church, and of the Christian university.

The former had been already in some measure provided for, in Berkeley's opinion, by the partial establishment of the Colonial Church in America, largely through the efforts of the noble “Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.” It was to the second need of the New World — its educational need — that Berkeley resolved to devote his powers; and to this end he wrought out his scheme of a great American university. His idea was to establish this university at some spot that should be favorable to the health, industry, and morals of the students, and at the same time central and commodious for all the English possessions in the Western hemisphere, both insular and continental; and with this view, he fixed upon the islands of Bermuda. There he would begin by the erection of a single college, to be called “The College of St. Paul;” to be governed by a presi-

¹ Berkeley's Works, III., p. 232. In “R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.,” IV., p. 36, Professor Romeo Elton states that these verses “were written by Bishop Berkeley during his residence in Newport.” Elton gives no authority for his state-

ment; and it seems to have been carelessly made. All internal and collateral evidence points to the place and period suggested in the text.

¹ Berkeley's Works, III., p. 211.

dent and nine fellows, who were to form the corporation. His own life he would devote to the great work, by going out personally as president; and he hoped to take with him as fellow-laborers the requisite number of accomplished and earnest scholars, whom he might be able to enlist for the task. The Bishop of London was to be the official visitor to the college; and the secretary of state for the American Colonies was to be its chancellor. In the charter which he drew up, the college was declared to be "for the instruction of students in literature and theology, with a view to the promotion of Christian civilization alike in the English and in the heathen parts of America."¹ In a letter to his friend, Lord Percival, written in March, 1723, he revealed his purpose of giving his life to that object, mentioning, likewise, his reasons for preferring the Bermuda Islands; at the same time presenting "the bright vision of an academic home in those fair lands of the West, whose idyllic bliss poets had sung, and from which Christian civilization might now be made to radiate over the vast continent of America, with its magnificent possibilities in the future history of the race of man. Berkeley seemed to see a better republic than Plato's, and a grander Utopia than More's, as the issue of his ideal university in those Summer Isles."²

Of course, the realization of this scheme would require a large endowment. Berkeley himself had not sufficient fortune for the purpose; but he had what was more than equivalent to a fortune, — a wonderful power of imparting to others his own ideas, and even his own enthusiasms. Evidently his true course was to take such promotion in the Church at home as should come to him; and then, using all his opportunities for winning over men of wealth and influence, to keep steadily at work, and to bide his time. This course he took.

In the latter part of 1721 he had returned to Dublin, as chaplain to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and at once had resumed his old relations in Trinity College — in which he was soon made divinity lecturer, Greek lecturer, Hebrew lecturer, senior proctor, and university preacher. Early in the following year he had been made Dean of Dromore — a non-resident incumbency, the value of which was probably about fourteen hundred pounds. In 1723 Esther Vanhomrigh — the "Vanessa" of Dean Swift's love scandals — died, and in her will she surprised Berkeley by leaving him a legacy of about four thousand pounds. In 1724 good fortune still pursued him; for in that year he was given the deanery of Derry, which both he and Dean Swift described as "the best preferment in Ireland." Thus he was well advanced on the glittering highway of promotion in the Church; but, instead of pursuing that path, he was still swayed by his eager purpose of giving up all and of going out into the American wilderness to spend his life in founding a university there. He now thought that the time was fully ripe for him to go over to London, and to press for the accomplishment of his project. His success in London was promoted in no small measure by Dean Swift, who, among other friendly acts, wrote from Dublin on behalf of

¹ Life and Letters of Berkeley, p. 108.

² Berkeley, pp. 121-122.

Berkeley a letter to Lord Carteret, a statesman whose great influence Berkeley particularly wished to secure. This letter of Dean Swift's is an amusing revelation, both of his own character and of Berkeley's,—the one worldly, ambitious, and without enthusiasm, yet steady and hearty in friendship; the other, spiritual, self-forgetting, and lost in daring schemes of doing some great service in the world for God and man. After mentioning to Lord Carteret Berkeley's personal history, and especially his recent promotion to be Dean of Derry, Swift continues: "Your Excellency will be frightened when I tell you all this is but an introduction; for I am now to mention his errand. He is an absolute philosopher with regard to money, titles, and power; and for three years past has been struck with a notion of founding a university at Bermudas, by a charter from the crown. He has seduced several of the hopefulest young clergymen and others here, many of them well provided for, and all in the fairest way for preferment; but in England his conquests are greater, and I doubt will spread very far this winter. He showed me a little tract which he designs to publish; and there your Excellency will see his whole scheme of a life academico-philosophical, . . . of a college founded for Indian scholars and missionaries: where he most exorbitantly proposes a whole hundred pounds a year for himself, fifty pounds for a Fellow, and ten for a student. His heart will break if his Deanery be not taken from him, and left to your Excellency's disposal. I discouraged him by the coldness of courts and ministers, who will interpret all this as impossible and a vision; but nothing will do. And therefore, I humbly entreat your Excellency either to use such persuasions as will keep one of the first men in the kingdom, for learning and virtue, quiet at home, or assist him by your credit to compass his romantic design; which, however, is very noble and generous, and directly proper for a person of your excellent education to encourage."¹

On reaching London one of the first things that Berkeley did was to publish the "little tract" to which Swift had referred.² In order to raise the endowment necessary for the college therein described his original purpose probably was to depend on voluntary gifts rather than on an appropriation from the government. Had he steadily adhered to this plan it is likely that he would have succeeded, and would have saved himself the bitter disappointment that came in after years. No doubt the intellectual indifference of London society at that period, its frivolity, and its sordid spirit, would have been barriers to his immediate success in an appeal for pecuniary aid for such a project as his; yet even those barriers could not long have resisted the magic of his brilliant and contagious earnestness. Several anecdotes have come down to us illustrating the incomparable powers of persuasion with which he prosecuted his undertaking. For example, the famous club of wits, "the Scriblerus Club," met one

¹ Life and Letters of Berkeley, pp. 102-103.

² "A Proposal for the Better Supplying of Churches in our Foreign Plantations, and for Converting the Savage Americans to Christian-ity, by a College to be erected in the Summer Islands, otherwise called the Isles of Bermuda." — *Berkeley's Works*, III., pp. 213-231.

day for dinner at the house of Lord Bathurst, and before Berkeley came in the members agreed among themselves that they would rally him on his wild scheme of going out to Bermuda. Lord Bathurst says that they fully carried out their programme; but that "Berkeley, having listened to all the lively things they had to say, begged to be heard in his turn; and displayed his plan with such an astonishing and animating force of eloquence and enthusiasm that they were struck dumb, and, after some pause, rose up all together with earnestness, exclaiming, 'Let us all set out with him immediately.'"

He also captivated many other distinguished persons; and he raised by subscription more than five thousand pounds, — a sum which might have been greatly increased had he not been tempted to seek a government appropriation. He even made his way to the ear and the heart of King George the First; and, more difficult still, to the friendly forbearance of Sir Robert Walpole, from whom he got, not only a personal subscription of two hundred pounds, but the promise of not opposing in the House Berkeley's scheme of an appropriation. Besides a charter for his college Berkeley procured the introduction of a bill wherein a suitable portion of the proceeds arising from the sale of certain lands in the West Indies was to be bestowed upon the college. Evidently Walpole consented to this bill, fully believing that in the nature of things, and without any effort on his part, it would fail of passing the House of Commons. But he did not rightly estimate the energy and the persuasiveness of Berkeley. In May, 1726, the bill was carried through the House, "none having the confidence to speak against it, and not above two giving their negative, which was done in so low a voice as if they themselves were ashamed of it."¹

Accordingly, Walpole gave to Berkeley a promise of twenty thousand pounds. Thus far all seemed prosperous; but Berkeley had still to learn that it was one thing to get from a statesman like Walpole a promise of twenty thousand pounds, and quite another thing to get the twenty thousand pounds. He was, however, full of hope. He spent the next two years in completing his preparations for going, and especially in waiting for the promised grant. Berkeley's long delay in England began to be the occasion of a new embarrassment. "Had I continued there," he wrote, "the report would have obtained (which I had found beginning to spread) that I had dropped the design after it had cost me and my friends so much trouble and expense. . . . This obliged me to come away. . . . Nothing less could have convinced the world that I was in earnest."² Moreover, Walpole is said to have told him that the grant could not be paid until he had actually made some investment in America for the college.³

In this lies the secret of all his subsequent proceedings, and of his final failure. He had put his trust in Walpole, who had too much use for money at home, in adapting to members of parliament his favorite methods of political persuasion, for him to be willing to waste twenty thousand pounds in a fantastic educational project in the Bermudas.

Nothing was left for Berkeley but to start, to get to the other side

¹ Life and Letters of Berkeley, p. 125.

² Berkeley, p. 133.

³ Life and Letters of Berkeley, p. 153.

of the Atlantic, and to buy there land enough to constitute an actual investment for the college. He thought it best to go first to New England, and there to await the further proceedings of the prime minister: and his purchase of the farm near Newport and all his long delay there were due to the necessity of deferring to the inclinations of that great officer.

All this it was that gave to his movements an air of mystery, of incertitude, of fickleness; and all this could not at that time be publicly explained. Month after month passed over him in Rhode Island, as he waited for the fulfilment of Walpole's promise. He wrote letters of entreaty, of expostulation. Nothing was done. A whole year passed by. He then wrote to his friend, Lord Pereival: "I wait here, with all the anxiety that attends suspense, until I know what I can depend upon, and what course I am to take. I must own the disappointments I have met with have really touched me, not without much affecting my health and spirits. If the founding of a college for the spread of religion and learning in America had been a foolish project, it cannot be supposed the court, the ministers, and the parliament could have given such encouragement to it; and if, after that encouragement, they who engaged to endow and protect it let it drop, the disappointment indeed may be to me, but the censure, I think, will light elsewhere."¹ At last came a message from Walpole, which crushed out of him the last spark of hope for the success of his plan. The Bishop of London, who was a friend of Berkeley's, pressed upon Walpole the direct question respecting the payment of the money. "If," said Walpole, "you put this question to me as a minister, I must and can assure you that the money shall most undoubtedly be paid as soon as suits with public convenience; but, if you ask me as a friend whether Dean Berkeley should continue in America, expecting the payment of twenty thousand pounds, I advise him by all means to return home to Europe, and to give up his present expectations."²

This cruel word drove a dagger into the heart of Berkeley's hopefulness. Even to him it was now obvious that his beautiful project was dead. There was but one thing left for him to do, namely, to bury it, and then to turn to other tasks. After lingering a few months longer in the soothing quiet of his Rhode Island hermitage, Berkeley went back to London. This was in the autumn of 1731. In 1734 he was made Bishop of Cloyne. In 1753 he died.

Such is the true secret of Berkeley's celebrated visit to America,—an incident in his life which was misunderstood and ridiculed at the time, and was in some quarters the occasion of groundless suspicion and of needless alarm. Its real meaning, with what it contained of saintly enthusiasm, and of a wiser than worldly statesmanship, is made apparent by being simply and truthfully narrated. The years during which Berkeley was in personal presence upon these shores will be forever ennobled in our annals by that splendid and gracious memory.

Although Berkeley returned from his American visit he never

¹ Berkeley, p. 133. In the latter part of this sentence I have deviated from the text from which I quote, by venturing to correct two obvious typographical errors therein, which make nonsense of the passage.

² Life and Letters of Berkeley, p. 186.

recovered from it. He was a changed man ever afterwards. With the shattering of that gorgeous and eager dream of his against the rough touch of reality something of the bloom of being went from him,—something, too, of his old elasticity in hope and joy; and in their place came the sadness of a riper wisdom, and the sweetness of having drunken of a bitter cup. And if in him and his family and his best writings one can trace the effects of his contact with America, so still, in a hundred benignant ways, one can trace in America the effects of its contact with him.

But few written memorials remain of Berkeley's preaching anywhere; but by far the larger number of these memorials are the rough notes made for sermons preached by him in America.¹ In looking over these jagged memoranda, one cannot help reading between the lines Berkeley's own criticisms, always acute and delicate, and sometimes almost satirical, upon the tone of life and thought in New England in the first half of the eighteenth century; upon its prevailing dissent from the Anglican Church; upon the discordance and the pettiness of its sectarian divisions; upon its Puritanic moroseness; upon the incipient stages of that reaction which took place somewhat later in New England, from believing too much to believing too little; upon the duties of Christian masters in a relation of religious responsibility to their slaves; and especially upon the vices peculiar to a people distinguished for sobriety. The population of Newport, at the time of Berkeley's residence there, was probably even more variegated in religious opinions than were other towns in New England. It consisted, as Berkeley wrote, "of many sorts and subdivisions of sects. Here are four sorts of Anabaptists, besides Presbyterians, Quakers, Independents, and many of no profession at all,"—not to mention Moravians, Jews, and several other religious bodies which, doubtless, Berkeley had not then heard of as being there. "They all agree," he adds, "in one point,—that the Church of England is the second best."² And yet the manly, reasonable, and conciliatory way in which Berkeley met all these people, mottled as they were with their manifold badges of disagreement, won for him among them great liking and respect. "All sects," we are told, "rushed to hear him; even the Quakers with their broad-brimmed hats came and stood in the aisles."³ Evidently Berkeley found as much interest in studying them as they did in studying him; and, observing the several topics discussed by him in the sermons which he preached there, we can see how wisely, how frankly, with how catholic and gentle a fidelity, he adjusted his teaching to their spiritual and intellectual needs:—

"Divisions into essentials and circumstantial in religion. Circumstantial of less value (1) from the nature of things; (2) from their being left undefined; (3) from the concession of our Church, which is foully misrepresented."⁴

"Sad that religion, which requires us to love, should become the cause of our hating one another. But it is not religion, it is," etc.

¹ These are published in the volume of "Life and Letters of Berkeley," pp. 629-649.

² Life and Letters of Berkeley, p. 160.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 632.

"Joy in the Holy Ghost, not sullen, sour, morose, joyless, but rejoicing."

"Since we have so great things in view, let us overlook petty differences; let us look up to God our common Father; let us bear one another's infirmities; instead of quarrelling about those things wherein we differ, let us practise those things wherein we agree."¹

It is possible that he may even then have detected in Newport the early New England tendency toward Unitarianism; for he has left



DEAN BERKELEY'S FAVORITE RESORT AT NEWPORT, NOW CALLED
BERKELEY'S SEAT.²

the outline of a very careful and a very powerful sermon on the divinity of our Saviour.³ It is certain that he met there loose doctrines on church organization, and narrow doctrines on the rite of baptism: and that he chose to inculcate from the pulpit, with reference to both these subjects, higher and nobler conceptions of the truth.⁴

Two of the remarkable sermons which he has thus left us are significant of his penetrating study into the characteristic vices of a community neither sensual nor frivolous,—vices born of the ungenerous activity of a legion of unbridled tongues.⁵ These sermons furnish us with examples of his aptitude for social criticism,—criticism

¹ Life and Letters of Berkeley, p. 633.

² While sitting upon these rocks, tradition says, he composed his "Alciphron."

³ Life and Letters of Berkeley, pp. 634-636.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 636-640.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 645-648.

so finely edged as to culminate into something like satire. "Vices, like weeds, different in different countries; national vice familiar; intemperate lust in Italy; drinking in Germany; tares wherever there is good seed; though not sensual, not less deadly; *e.g.*, detraction: would not steal 6d., but rob a man of his reputation; they who have no relish for wine have itching ears for scandal; this vice often observed in sober people; praise and blame natural justice; where we know a man lives in habitual sin unrepented, we may prevent hypocrites from doing evil; but to judge without enquiry, to show a facility in believing and a readiness to report evil of one's neighbor; frequency, little horror, great guilt."¹ Satan "tempts men to sensuality, but he is in his own nature malicious and malignant; pride and ill-nature, two vices most severely rebuked by our Saviour. All deviations sinful, but those upon dry purpose more so; malignity of spirit like an ulcer in the nobler parts . . . ; age cures sensual vices, this grows with age; . . . more to be guarded against, because less scandalous; imposing on others and even on themselves as religion and a zeal for God's service, when it really proceeds only from ill-will to man, and is no part of our duty to God, but directly contrary to it."²

These passages from Berkeley's sermons are probably enough to indicate for that branch of his writings the reaction upon his mind of his American visit. But in his more elaborate compositions, especially in "Aleiphron" and in "Siris," the tokens of this reaction are far more distinct and impressive. Indeed, the former of these works, as it was begun and ended in America, so is it pervaded by allusions to his life in America, — to his home here, to his sea-side study, to the beautiful scenery about him, to the notable traits and customs of the people in the neighborhood, to his own daily employments, to the friends who visited him or whom he visited, and especially to the great and bitter disappointment which had overtaken him on these shores. The writing of "Aleiphron" was a wholesome diversion of his mind from the grief caused by that disappointment; and its first sentences are a tender and a manly acknowledgment of the grief from which his new literary task was to enable him in some measure to work himself free: —

I flattered myself, Theages, that before this time I might have been able to have sent you an agreeable account of the success of the affair which brought me into this remote corner of the country. But instead of this, I should now give you the detail of its miscarriage, if I did not rather choose to entertain you with some amusing incidents, which have helped to make me easy under a circumstance I could neither obviate nor foresee. Events are not in our power; but it always is to make a good use even of the very worst. And, I must needs own, the course and event of this affair gave opportunity for reflections that make me some amends for a great loss of time, pains, and expense. A life of action, which takes its issue from the counsels, passions, and views of other men, if it doth not draw a man to imitate, will at least teach him to observe. And a mind at liberty to reflect on its own observations, if it produce nothing useful to the world, seldom fails of entertainment to itself. For several months past I have enjoyed such liberty and leisure in this distant retreat, far beyond the verge of that great whirlpool of business, faction, and pleasure, which is called the world.³

¹ Life and Letters of Berkeley, p. 616.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 647-648.

³ Berkeley's Works, II., pp. 23-24.

In 1744, thirteen years after his return from America, Berkeley published his wonderful little treatise, entitled "Siris: A Chain of Philosophical Reflections and Enquiries concerning the Virtues of Tar-Water, and Divers other Subjects connected together and arising one from Another."¹ "On the whole," says the latest editor of Berkeley's writings, "the scanty speculative literature of these islands in the last century contains no other work nearly so remarkable. . . . There is the unexpectedness of genius in its whole movement. It breathes the spirit of Plato and the Neoplatonists in the least Platonic generation of English history since the revival of letters; and it draws this Platonic spirit from a thing so commonplace as Tar. It connects Tar with the highest thoughts in metaphysics and theology, by links which involve some of the most subtle, botanical, chemical, physiological, optical, and mechanical speculations of its time. Its immediate aim is to confirm rationally the benevolent conjecture that Tar yields a 'water of health' fitted to remove, or, at least, to mitigate, all the diseases of our organism in this mortal state, and to convey fresh supplies of the very vital essence itself into the animal creation. Its successive links of physical science are gradually connected, first, with the ancient and modern literature of the philosophy of fire, and, next, with the meditations of the greatest of the ancients, about the substantial and casual dependence of the universe upon conscious mind."²

Berkeley's confidence in the medicinal efficacy of tar-water thus became the master enthusiasm of the last twelve years of his life: and, as usual, the enthusiasm which he himself felt upon the subject he succeeded in communicating to the public. His book rose into instant celebrity. It ran through several editions in England. Translations of it into French, Dutch, German, Portuguese were published on the Continent. Tar-water "became the rage in England as well as in Ireland. Manufactories of Tar-water were established in London, Dublin, and other places in the course of the summer. The anger of the professional physicians was aroused against the ecclesiastical intruder into their province. Pamphlets were written against the new medicine, and other pamphlets were written in reply. A Tar-water controversy ensued. . . . The infection spread to other countries. . . . Tar-water establishments were set a going in various parts of Europe and America."³ All this was another of the effects upon him and his whole after-life produced by his American visit; for it was in America, and among the Narragansett Indians, that he had first learned of the invigorating and curative properties of tar.

There can be little doubt that when, in 1731, Dean Berkeley took ship in Boston harbor, and sailed out into the sea for England, he felt that his visit to America had been a failure, and that he was returning home a baffled man, — the golden hope of his life blighted. What gladness it would have brought to him could he but have had a glimpse into the far future, and could have seen how all along its unfolding centuries that seemingly baffled visit of his was to keep on bearing fruit in the innumerable benign effects it was to have upon civilization

¹ Berkeley's Works, II., pp. 341-508.

² *Ibid.*, II., pp. 313-344.

³ Life and Letters of Berkeley, p. 291.

in the New World,—upon the establishment of universities here; upon the cultivation of all liberal studies; upon the improvement of society in morals and in manners, and especially upon the upbuilding of the Church of God! He had not, indeed, accomplished the immediate object of his expedition—the founding of an American university in the Bermuda Islands; but, by methods different from those intended by him, and in ways more manifold than even he could have dreamed of, he has since accomplished, and through all coming time, by a thousand ineffaceable influences, he will continue to accomplish, the very results—the beneficent, beautiful, superb results—which he had aimed at by the founding of his university. It is the old story over again—the tragedy of a Providence wiser than man's foresight, God giving the victory to His faithful servant, even through the bitterness of overruling him and defeating him.

To trace with proper fulness of detail the direct and indirect effects which Berkeley's sojourn in America has wrought upon the intellectual life of this country, in philosophy, in literature, in learning, in the spirit and method of higher education, would require a chapter devoted to that single topic. A mere grouping of hints is all that can be attempted in this place.

Of course, in those days of difficult and dangerous ocean-travel, when the spectacle of a distinguished European visitor in America was something to awaken awe in the colonial mind, it was an immediate and an immense intellectual stimulus to have as an actual visitor among us for two or three years a ripe European scholar, of great genius, of exquisite accomplishments, of noble ideals, of fascinating gifts in expression. Naturally the cultivated society of Newport was the first to feel the intellectual effect of his visit; and from it sprang the philosophical society of that town, and ultimately the Redwood Library,—an institution at once the parent and the model of many others in America, and still prosperous and useful now in the second century of its existence.¹ Then, too, there soon began to come to Berkeley, in his new home, various American pilgrims to seek his counsel,—men of letters, like John Adams, the poet; and men of science, like Samuel Johnson, the metaphysician; all of whom seem to have found inspiration and guidance in the great man's brotherly and brilliant words. Johnson, indeed, became Berkeley's avowed disciple in philosophy; and for many years afterward, in his books, his sermons, his academic lectures, he kept alight and he held aloft, in this land, the torch of Berkeley's radiant and consoling idea.² Moreover, during those years of Berkeley's sojourn in Rhode Island there was in a frontier western parish in Massachusetts a young theologian, trained only in a small colonial college, already beginning to droop under the burdens of poverty, of public care, and of ill-health, but endowed with a philosophical genius not unworthy to be matched with that of Berkeley himself. We have no evidence that Jonathan Edwards ever made the rugged journey from Northampton to Newport to see George Berkeley;

¹ W. Uplike, "Memoirs of the R. I. Bar," pp. 61-62; "Public Libraries of the U. S.," Part I., pp. 15-16.

² E. E. Beardsley, "Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson," pp. 67, 70, 75, 77, 82, 131, 132, 169.

but the Northampton pastor had already, several years before, worked his way, perhaps by an independent process, to Berkeley's very doctrine; and it can hardly be doubted that the celebrity of Berkeley's visit here, and the keen attention to his philosophy which his visit awakened among thoughtful New Englanders, were felt as a boon of intellectual sympathy by that lonely student in the wilds of Western Massachusetts, and may have helped somewhat to strengthen him for his service as a "defender of Berkeley's great philosophical conception in its application to the material world."¹

Undoubtedly the great influence of Berkeley on the intellectual life of this country is seen most conspicuously in the stimulus which he gave to higher education here. The mere fact that such a man as Berkeley, with such inducements as he had to remain in his place at home, had been willing to give up time, and wealth, and chosen studies, and official advancement, and the charms of an ancient society, and had brought hither across the sea into the wilderness nearly all that was sacred and precious to him in the world, and that he here stood ready, year after year, to devote his life, his genius, all his energies to the promotion of higher education in America, was itself a dramatic demonstration, at least of his own sense of the vast importance to America of higher education. Though he did not succeed, in his own person, in founding an American college, that spectacle of his noble failure to found one stands for all time in its pathos, bearing witness to an imperishable and an unsurpassable duty.

Moreover, almost as soon as Berkeley touched land, he began to give out sympathy and counsel and help to the men who were already working in American colleges, or who were working for them. It did not hinder him that the colleges nearest to him were under the control of dissenters from his church; and yet, even in his purpose to befriend these colleges, he found himself the object of some sectarian suspicion. "Pray let me know," he wrote to Samuel Johnson in March, 1730, "whether they would admit the writings of Hooker and Chillingworth into the library of the college in New Haven."² Two years afterward, when Berkeley had returned to England, and had sent thence to Yale College a munificent gift of books, a famous Boston preacher, Benjamin Colman, wrote to the president of the college urging that the gift be not accepted, if it be "clogged with any conditions that directly or indirectly tend to the introduction of Episcopacy."³

But tokens of suspicion like these — not unnatural under the circumstances — did not chill the flow of Berkeley's kind feeling toward the New England colleges, or his desire to help them. When he was upon the point of embarking for England he sent to Johnson some Greek and Latin books to be given, if it should seem best, to Yale College; and he accompanied the gift by the promise of still trying to help, even after his return to the Old World, the cause of education in America. "My endeavors shall not be wanting, some way or other,

¹ Life and Letters of Berkeley, p. 182; George P. Fisher, "Discussions in History and Philosophy," pp. 229-234. See, also, the author's "History of American Literature," II., pp. 82-183.

² Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, p. 75.

³ E. Turell's "Life of Benjamin Colman," pp. 59-61.

to be useful; and I should be very glad to be so in particular to the College at New Haven."¹ This promise was not forgotten. In less than a year after his departure he transmitted to the President of Yale College a deed² conveying to that institution his farm in Rhode Island; "the yearly rents and profits" from which were to be spent, not only for the purchase of books in Greek and Latin, as prizes for proficiency in those languages, but also as scholarships for the maintenance of three Bachelors who should be selected for their excellence in Latin and Greek, and should reside in the college in post-graduate studies for three years. It would be hard to enumerate all the effects of this gift in stimulating classical culture in this country. This single fact may be mentioned, however, that in the long roll of the Berkeleyan "scholars of the house,"³ from 1733 to the present, one finds many names that have become distinguished for classical learning, for literary talent, and especially for service in the higher educational work of the country: Eleazer Wheelock, the founder and first President of Dartmouth College; Aaron Burr, President of Princeton College; William Samuel Johnson, President of Columbia College; Naphtali Daggett and Timothy Dwight, Presidents of Yale College; Abraham Baldwin, founder and President of the University of Georgia; Samuel Austin, President of the University of Vermont; Jeremiah Atwater, President of Middlebury and of Dickinson Colleges; Sereno Edwards Dwight, President of Hamilton College; Joel Jones, first President of Girard College; Edward Beecher, President of Illinois College; besides jurists, statesmen, scholars, and writers, like Jared Ingersoll, James Abraham Hillhouse, Silas Deane, John Trumbull, Joseph Buckminster, Abiel Holmes, James Murdoch, Norman Pinney, William Moseley Holland, and Charles Astor Bristed.

In 1733, the year following that of his gift of land to Yale College, Berkeley proved his undiminished remembrance of the struggling young colleges in America by sending over both to Yale and to Harvard valuable presents of books. The collection which he thus gave to Yale College was the larger one of the two. It consisted of about a thousand volumes, and included well-chosen works in Greek and Latin literature, in the Fathers, in church history, in divinity, in philosophy, in mathematics, medicine and natural history, in English and French literature, and in history, — altogether, according to an early historian of Yale, "the best collection of books which had ever been brought at one time to America."⁴

Perhaps it may be said, also, that his help to higher education in America was quite as effective in the form of sympathy and of good counsels as it was in that of good gifts. To the very end of his life he kept up his correspondence with America, and even handed down to his widow and to his children a legacy of American friendships; and in nearly all his letters sent hither there breathes the same glowing

¹ Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, p. 78.

² Given in full in "Life and Letters of Berkeley," pp. 193-194, note.

³ A list of these scholars from 1733 to 1851 is given in "The Yale Literary Magazine," for Feb., 1852, pp. 152-154.

⁴ President Clap, cited in "Life and Letters of Berkeley," p. 194. A copy of the invoice of the books sent by Berkeley to Yale College has been published by President Daniel C. Gilman in "New Haven Col. Historical Society Transactions."

and affectionate zeal for the cause of good letters in America, and, through that, of noble thinking and of noble living, to be promoted by the young colleges of the New World. So long as he lived tidings were regularly sent to him from Yale College respecting the progress of learning there, particularly under the impulse given by his endowment. In 1750 he writes: "I find also by a letter from Mr. Clap that learning continues to make notable advances in Yale College. This gives me great satisfaction."¹ In 1751 he writes: "I am glad to find by Mr. Clap's letter, and the specimens of literature enclosed in his packet, that learning continues to make a progress in Yale College, and hope that virtue and Christian charity may keep pace with it."² In the same year he writes to President Clap himself: "The daily increase of religion and learning in your seminary of Yale College gives me very sensible pleasure, and an ample recompense for my poor endeavors to further these good ends."³ And when, but a few years before his death, his advice was asked by Samuel Johnson, respecting plans for a college at New York, he wrote back a letter of wise and faithful counsel, which did much to mould the organization both of King's College⁴ and of the College of Philadelphia.⁵

Indeed, as respects King's College, we have documentary evidence that it was formed by its first trustees explicitly and consciously upon the model thus conveyed to them, through Samuel Johnson, from Bishop Berkeley.⁶ This fact has not been sufficiently known. The true spiritual founder of Columbia College was the Bishop of Cloyne. To one who loves the memory of that wise and saintly prelate, and who has been touched by the grief he suffered over the apparent discomfiture of his hope of founding "a college for the spread of religion and learning in America," it must give pleasure to learn that before Bishop Berkeley passed away from this earth he had the consoling assurance that the college at New York was to be founded upon the model furnished by him. So that, after all, the beautiful dream of Berkeley's life was granted to him, and in a way wiser than he had thought of. Not, indeed, in the Bermuda Islands, — which would have been too remote and too isolated a spot for a great American university, — but in the very heart of the future metropolis of the New World; not, indeed, by the labor of his own hand, and yet according to the express directions of his most mature judgment; not, indeed, under his own presidency, and yet under the presidency of his most beloved American friend and of his most devoted American disciple, was Berkeley finally permitted to establish a college for "the promotion of Christian civilization alike in the English and in the heathen parts of America." And there can be little doubt that from the first the college should have been named for Berkeley rather than for the king. And, without any doubt, when, just after the Revolutionary war, the original royalist name of the college was necessarily dropped, and a new name was sought for, nothing could have

¹ Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, p. 170.

² *Ibid.*, p. 171.

³ Life and Letters, p. 327.

⁴ Now Columbia College.

⁵ Now the University of Pennsylvania.

⁶ Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, pp. 154-155; 170.

been more appropriate than that the college should then have been re-christened with the beautiful and significant name of Berkeley.

But though Berkeley's own college in America has not been called by his name, Berkeley's effort for "the spread of religion and learning in America" has not been without tokens of commemoration among us. In the college at New Haven, of which he was so generous a benefactor, his name is woven into imperishable association with the noblest and the most stimulating studies; while from a memorial window in its chapel that name beams like a benediction upon all who, like him, unite sincere piety with sincere love of truth. In the oldest college-town in America a street has been named in honor of Berkeley, by an eminent writer¹ who was devoted to the studies which Berkeley loved, and to the Church of which Berkeley was an illustrious champion. In the cities of New York and Providence, in recent years, institutions for the higher secondary education had been named in memory of Berkeley, as "a missionary who crossed the seas to bring to this land the torch of knowledge."² And far away upon the western verge of this continent, — a continent which Berkeley believed to be the predestined seat of the last and most glorious act in the drama of Man's History upon Earth, — over against the very gleam of the Golden Gate of San Francisco, and almost within sound of the surf crashing upon the sands of the Pacific, a great State has founded a great university; and, while it has given its own name to the university, it has bestowed upon the university-town the name of Berkeley, in remembrance of "one of the very best of the early friends of college education in America." At Trinity College, in Hartford, — a college that was founded and has been faithfully reared in the very spirit of Berkeley's ideas upon education, — the president, at the annual commencement, sits in the chair in which Berkeley used to sit at Newport, in which Berkeley is believed to have written his "Aleiphron," and from which Berkeley must have dreamed many a dream and prayed many a prayer "for the spread of religion and learning in America." And, finally, we may hope that "The Berkeley Divinity School," at Middletown, will be for many ages a monument — and something more productive than a monument — to the sacred and dear memory of that apostolic scholar, who, in an age of sensualists and of self-seekers, gave up all earthly pleasures and gains, and came forth over the sea, that he might found in America a college of which the chief purpose should be to train up young men worthily for the service of God's Church in this New World.

Moses Coit Tyler.

¹ Richard H. Dana, the younger.

schools by President Gilman, of Johns Hopkins

² The name was given to the first of these University, whose words I quote above.

MONOGRAPH V.

THE NON-JURING BISHOPS IN AMERICA.¹

BY THE REV. JOHN FULTON, D.D., LL.D.,

Rector of St. George's Church, St. Louis, Mo.

THE subject of the non-jurors in America is rather of interest to the antiquary than of importance to the historian: because, whether it be asserted or denied that bishops of the non-juring sect did actually visit or reside in the colonies, it is certain that they exercised no episcopal jurisdiction and left behind them no perceptible influence in the Colonial Church. The antiquarian interest of the subject, however, which was always notable, has of late years been greatly increased by the publication, in 1876, of an elaborate and very valuable "History of the Church in Burlington, New Jersey," by the Rev. Dr. Hills, rector of St. Mary's, Burlington.² Dr. Hills has prefixed to his work an inscription or dedication, as follows: "To the Rev. John Talbot, M.A., founder and first rector of the church in Burlington, who, after twenty years of missionary toil, with ceaseless but ineffect-



EPISCOPAL SEAL BEARING
THE NAME OF TALBOT.³

¹ The origin of the non-jurors' schism may be briefly told. After the revolution of 1689, Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, Norwich, Gloucester, Chichester, Peterborough, and Ken of Bath and Wells, together with some four hundred clergymen and members of the universities, refused to take the legal oaths of allegiance to William of Orange. Hence their name of non-jurors. For a year the bishops were permitted to occupy their official residences though they refrained from the exercise of their episcopal functions. The government endeavored to conciliate them, offering to introduce a bill in parliament to excuse them from the oaths, provided they would consent to perform the duties of their office. This they refused to do because of their prayers, in almost every service of the Church, requiring the names of William and Mary to be mentioned as king and queen. They were thereupon deprived and others appointed to their sees, Tillotson being appointed primate. Ken thereupon retired to private life; but Sancroft and the deprived bishops of Norwich, Peterborough, and Ely maintained that they were the only true hierarchy of the Church of England, and that, the Church of England as by law established being schismatical, it was at once their right and their duty to extend their own episcopate and provide for its

continuance. They therefore proceeded to consecrate two other bishops in 1693. In 1713 three more were consecrated, in 1716 two, in 1720 or 21 two others, and then occurred the first disruption of the non-jurors, on the disputed question of the "Usages," some of them desiring, and others refusing, to adopt the *mixed chalice*, *prayers for the dead*, and the *invocation and oblation* in the Eucharist. From the first the sect was small; it was never sustained by more than a handful of lay people; it was rent by division after division, and dwindled away until it totally disappeared. The last survivor of the non-juring episcopate is said to have died in obscurity in 1805.

² Trenton, N.J., William S. Sharp, Printer, 1876. Though the writer of these pages cannot adopt the opinions nor admit the conclusions of Dr. Hills in certain matters, he can bear personal testimony to the accuracy with which the "History of the Church in Burlington" reproduces the documents it contains. Without exception all of these relating to John Talbot have been carefully compared with original authorities, to which the references—few of which are given in the history—are all given in this paper. Dr. Hills' monograph, read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, gives no references.

³ From an enlarged photograph.

ual entreaties that a bishop might be given to America, was induced to receive consecration from a line of non-jurors in England; and returned to Burlington, where, after three years more of ministration, followed by two of inhibition, he died, and was buried within the walls of the church which he had built,¹ A.D. 1727." In November, 1878, a mural tablet was erected in St. Mary's, Burlington, on the upper part of which appears the enlarged figure of a seal bearing a mitre. Under the mitre is a monogram in script characters which shows the letters "T. A. L." interlaced with the letters "T. O. B.," so that by reading the first syllable of the monogram forwards and the second backwards we discover the name TALBOT. Around and beneath the seal is this inscription: "ENLARGED FAC-SIMILE OF THE SEAL OF JOHN TALBOT, founder of this church, 1703. A BISHOP by non-juror consecration 1722. Died in Burlington November 29th, 1727. Beloved and Lamented. St. John II., 17." Some two hundred and fifty pages of Dr. Hills' history are devoted to the life and labors of John Talbot, and it is assumed that the facts and documents presented are sufficient to support the very general tradition set forth in the inscription, and the briefer assertion of the mural tablet. The volume contains also a few documents concerning the residence in Philadelphia (1724-1726) of the rather notorious non-juror, Dr. Welton. Of Dr. Welton's irregular consecration, and of his visit to Philadelphia, there is no doubt; that a person bearing the surname of Talbot was consecrated at the same time as Welton, or shortly afterwards, is not denied; but that John Talbot of Burlington was in sympathy with the political principles, or an adherent of the schismatical sect of the non-jurors, can only be proved by admitting the unsupported accusations of a few malignant enemies, and at the same time rejecting the evidence of his friends and his own solemn protestations of loyalty to the sovereigns of the Protestant succession and fidelity to the Church of England as by law established, both of which asseverations are supported by the unbroken testimony of his whole life.

THE CASE OF DR. WELTON.¹

Dr. Welton, though a Jacobite, was not originally one of the non-jurors, but held preferment in the Church of England as rector of the important and populous parish of Whitechapel. At the time of the Sacheverell impeachment, in 1710, he made himself unenviably conspicuous by setting up as an altar-piece in his church a painting of the Lord's Supper, in which Dean Kennet's portrait, in gown and hands, appeared in the place of Judas Iscariot. It is said that Bishop Burnet was the person first intended to be vilified by this picture, but

¹ In a paper read by Dr. Hills, in 1878, before the Pennsylvania Historical Society, entitled "John Talbot, the first Bishop in North America," we find these words: "But where is the spot in which this holy pair repose? (*i. e.*, Talbot and his wife). Where is the decent, plain monument which Mrs. Talbot ordered in her will? Her assets were ample to cover its cost. But no monument can be found, and — no grave! Of Talbot

it may be said, 'No man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.'

² It is curiously suggestive of the imperfection of existing memoranda concerning the non-jurors that while Percival and Lathbury, and all who follow them, give Dr. Welton's Christian name as *Robert*, the Rawlinson MS., which contains the only contemporary list of non-juror consecrations accessible to the public, gives it as *Ric.*, *i. e.*, *Ricardus* or *Richard*.

that the painter, apprehending prosecution, preferred to select a less powerful opponent of Sacheverell.¹ Crowds are said to have flocked daily to examine the picture until its removal was ordered by the Bishop of London. Then, or shortly afterwards, Welton preached a seditious sermon, which led the government to interfere; he was deprived of his living of Whitechapel, left the Church of England, and became preacher to a congregation of non-jurors, thus, for the first time, uniting with their sect.² When the first disruption of the non-jurors took place on the question of the "Usages," each of the contending factions proceeded to continue its succession of bishops. In 1720 Ralph Taylor and, in 1720 or 1721, Hilkiah Bedford were consecrated by Spinekes, Hawes, and Gandy, who rejected the "Usages."³ Other minor disruptions rapidly ensued, and, in 1723-4, Taylor alone, and of his own sole authority, proceeded to consecrate Welton. This act was so manifestly uncanonical and so violently irregular according to the principles of the non-jurors themselves, that neither Taylor nor Welton was ever recognized as a bishop by any of the non-jurors in England; but Lathbury says that both of them "exercised the episcopal functions in the American colonies."⁴ That Taylor ever exercised episcopal functions in any of the colonies may be doubted in the absence of contemporaneous evidence, but it is possible that he may have spent a short time in some part of America. A rumor certainly prevailed that another non-juror besides Dr. Welton had gone to America,⁵ and concerning Welton there is no doubt whatever. He went to Philadelphia in June or July, 1724;⁶ and under date of August 3, 1724, Governor Burnet wrote to the Bishop of London: "I am informed that the present incumbent at Philadelphia is Dr. Welton, formerly rector of Whitechapel."⁷ From a memorial addressed by Peter Evans, a vestryman of Philadelphia, to the Bishop of London,⁸ it appears that on the credit of "English printed newspapers" the vestry were induced to believe that Welton had taken the oath of allegiance and had conformed to the government. As the church was then vacant, and no services had been held in it for some months, Welton was invited to officiate until a missionary should be sent by the Bishop of London. Though he had no license from the bishop,⁹ Welton complied, apparently against the governor's desire.¹⁰ He was naturally obnoxious to the governor and others,¹¹ and it was not long before he became involved in disputes with the clergy who were supposed to be in sympathy with his Jacobite views.¹² There is no evidence that Talbot and Welton ever met; but a correspondence which had been opened between them was broken off by Talbot, because of Welton's "rash and chimerical projects," long before the

¹ Lecky's "England in the XVIIIth Century," I., p. 62.

² Lathbury, pp. 256, 257.

³ Lathbury, p. 363; Percival (Am. ed.), p. 133.

⁴ Lathbury, p. 364.

⁵ Letter from Rev. John Berriman, of London, to the Rev. Sam. Johnson, of Connecticut, dated February 17, 1725, "We hear of two non-juring Bishops (Dr. Welton for one) who are gone into America." "Beardsley's Life of

Johnson," p. 55; see, also, Perry's "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church" (Penn.), p. 138.

⁶ Perry's "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church" (Md.), p. 243.

⁷ Hills's Hist., p. 188.

⁸ Perry's "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church" (Penn.), pp. 139-142.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 144.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 138, 148, 151.

¹² *Ibid.* (Md.), p. 255.

government had taken notice of them.¹ Whatever Welton's treasonable plans may have been, or however they were brought to the knowledge of the government, he was served, in 1726, with the King's Writ of Privy Seal, commanding him, on his allegiance, to return to Great Britain forthwith.² In March of that year he sailed for Lisbon, where he died of dropsy during the ensuing summer, refusing on his death-bed to commune with the English clergyman. After his death an episcopal seal, which he was thought to have used in America, was found among his effects.³ From the abundant references to contemporaneous documents which have been given, and to which more might be added, there can be no doubt of Welton's residence in Philadelphia from June or July, 1724, till March, 1726. It will be observed, however, that there is no evidence whatever that he exercised or claimed episcopal jurisdiction, or that he performed a single act pertaining to the episcopal office, during the time of his residence in America.

JOHN TALBOT OF BURLINGTON.⁴

John Talbot of Burlington, as he will always be known in the annals of a grateful church, was born and baptized in the parish of Wymondham, Norfolk, England, in 1645. His parents were Thomas Talbot, gentleman, of Gonville Hall, in that county, and Jone (Ione?), his wife, who was the daughter of Sir John Mede, of Loffts, in the county of Essex. He was educated at Elmden, Essex, and was admitted as a sizar in Christ's College, Cambridge, in February, 1660, matriculating in the following July. He passed B.A., 1663, became a Fellow of Peter House, 1664, and was admitted M.A. in 1671, by royal mandate from Charles II., as the Cambridge registry shows, though the reason why such a mandate was given or required is not known. In June, 1695, he was instituted to the rectory of Fretherne, Gloucestershire, as appears from the bishops' registers at Gloucester. His parish was very small, containing only twenty houses and about a hundred and twenty-five inhabitants. So small a field furnished but scant scope for a man of his energy, and we next find him mentioned in George Keith's Journal as chaplain of the "Centurion." Keith writes under date of "June 28, Sunday (1702). The Reverend Mr. *John Talbot*, who had been Chaplain in the *Centurion* preached there," *i.e.* at "the Queen's Chapel" in Boston.⁵ The chaplain, who was now fifty-seven years of age, became the missionary companion of Keith in the service of the S.P.G., travelling or coöperating with him till 1705, when Keith left America.⁶ Their journeys extended through nine or

¹ Perry's "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church" (Penn.), p. 149.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 146, 255.

³ Hills's Hist., pp. 205, 206.

⁴ It is not proposed in what follows to relate the labors of John Talbot. Neither is it intended to show the frequency with which he, like many other colonial churchmen, prayed for the erection of a colonial episcopate. The single matter to be investigated in this connection is, whether John Talbot of Burlington was a bishop by Non-Juror consecration. It will be believed that every relevant fact known to the writer is fairly pre-

sented. The facts concerning his parentage, education, institution as rector of Fretherne and loss of that rectory, now first printed in this country, are learned from a notice of Dr. Hills's History contained in the "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæol. Soc.," Vol. V.; and as they have been gathered from parochial, diocesan, and university records, they are undoubtedly authentic. For this information the writer is indebted to Dr. Hills.

⁵ Keith's Journal, in "Collections of Prot. Ep. Hist. Soc.," 1851, p. 6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

ten provinces,¹ and though they were mostly together, Talbot was often alone. His affection for Keith was very great. He writes to the secretary of Keith's "true and laudable service" in glowing terms; and, after Keith's departure, he writes to Keith himself: "Ah, Mr. Keith, I have wanted you but once, and that is ever since you left." When Keith returned to England, Talbot had eligible offers made to him to leave the society's service and to take easier duty, with twice or thrice the stipend,² elsewhere; but he could not be induced to desert his work. A flourishing congregation, mostly gathered from the Quakers,³ had been formed in Burlington. Talbot laid the cornerstone of St. Mary's Church there on Lady-day, 1703;⁴ and, the people desiring him for their permanent minister,⁵ he settled, in 1704, in a city, and in charge of a church, with which his name will be forever connected.⁶ When Talbot left England he had put his small parish of Fretherne in charge of a curate, and in July, 1704, it was sequestered on account of his non-residence, his curate being instituted to the rectory.⁷ Thenceforward John Talbot belonged exclusively to the colonial church.

From the very beginning of his missionary work Talbot saw that the vital necessity of the colonial church was the establishment of a colonial episcopate, and for nearly twenty years he continued, in season and out of season, to urge in earnest and sometimes very touching language that a bishop of their own, or, at least, a suffragan of the Bishop of London, might be given to the accephalous churches in the colonies.⁸ None of his letters betray the least thought of obtaining the episcopal office for himself; but one of them, addressed to Keith in 1705, warmly recommends another clergyman for suffragan.⁹ In the winter of 1705-6 he went to England as the bearer of an address to the queen praying for a suffragan bishop. He had no other business in England, and he was not successful in that.¹⁰ He was about to return home to his labors when he was hindered by some slanderous accusations¹¹ made against him, from which, however, he soon cleared himself. He was not alone in the persecution he endured. The Church had been so successful in regaining her people from the dissenters that her clergy for a time were bitterly assailed. On his return home he mentions four who had been "outed" or "scouted" from the provinces of New York and New Jersey.¹² There is every reason to believe that the "lies and slanders" raised against Talbot and his brethren included the charge of secret disloyalty. Nothing could be easier to allege, nothing more difficult to disprove, and hardly anything more damaging to a missionary working under a Whig bishop, than an imputation of Jacobitism. Slanders need only to be iterated and reiterated in order to do damage some time or other, and it is not

¹ Keith's Journal, in "Collections of Prot. Epis. Hist. Soc.," 1851, p. 58.

² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

³ *Ibid.*, xxx., pp. 49, 50.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xxxvi.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xxxi.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 59. See, also, a review of Dr.

Hill's History in "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæol. Soc.," Vol. v.

⁸ It is needless to multiply quotations on this point; the list of references would contain a list of nearly all John Talbot's letters.

⁹ Coll. of Prot. Ep. Hist. Soc. (1851), p. 58.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 59.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 61.

impossible, nor even improbable, that the evil seed sown in 1706 brought forth its bitter fruit in 1724.

The first distinct intimation of disloyal tendencies or practices attributed to Talbot is contained in a letter of Governor Hunter, which was written in February, 1711, under circumstances which have not heretofore been fully investigated. In the parish of Jamaica, N.Y., a controversy had arisen which led to serious complications, extending through several years.¹ The governor's course in this case was gravely objectionable to the rector of Jamaica and to clergymen elsewhere, who thought that the precedent established at Jamaica would have serious consequences for the Church throughout the colonies. A missionary called Henderson was discovered to have secretly circulated among the clergy some sort of "representation" against the governor to be transmitted to the home authorities. Talbot was at that time about to make a second voyage to England, and had requested Henderson to supply his place in Burlington. While he was in New York, the fact that Henderson's "representation" had been prepared became known to the governor, who, nevertheless, remained in ignorance of its contents, its signers, and the person or persons to whom it was addressed. Governor Hunter thereupon wrote to the secretary an energetic letter in which he mentions Talbot in connection with Henderson.² "Col. Quary," he says, "acquainted me that in his passage through Burlington he found that poor congregation all in a flame. Mr. Henderson it seems had thought fit in performing Divine Service to leave out that prayer in the Litany for Victory over all her Maj^{ty's} Enemies, and the prayer appointed to be said in time of War; the chiefs of that Congregation had took exceptions at this, but he gave them no other reasons for so doing but that Mr. Talbot had done so, they reply'd that having been long acquainted with Mr. Talbot's exemplary life they were willing to bear with his scruples, but he could pretend none having formerly never omitted them, & further that this would look as if that congregation could not bear any such prayers, which was a thing very far from their hearts. Mr. Quary desired me to speak to Mr. Talbot upon this head; I begg'd of him first to do so, and then if there was any necessity I wou'd; he did so, and the result was that Mr. Talbot went back to Burlington and Mr. Henderson came hither to go for London in his place, having in charge the secret Repⁿ mentioned." It does not appear that Mr. Talbot ever heard of this letter, and hence we do not know what he might have said in reply to the statement it contains concerning him; but, to say the least, that statement appears to be hardly credible. In the first place it is very unlikely that the "poor congregation" of Burlington should be "all in a flame" because a visiting clergyman read the service precisely as they were accustomed to hear it read by their own minister. In the next place the prayer appointed by the English Church for use in time of war is couched in such terms that it might have been used by the most scrupulous Jacobite even during a war between Queen Anne and the Pretender; "save and deliver us . . . that *we* may be preserved,"

¹ Doc. Hist. of N.Y., III., pp. 224-304; Col. Hist. of N.Y., v., pp. 310-319.

² Col. Hist. of N.Y., v., p. 401; Doc. Hist. of N.Y., III., pp. 250-256.

etc.; — such is its phraseology; the sovereign is not mentioned in it at all. In the third place it is difficult to conceive how any Englishman, even a Jacobite, and much more an Englishman who, as will presently be seen, professed to have been a Whig from the beginning, could have any scruple at that time in using the supplication in the litany which prayed that the queen might have “victory over all her enemies.” For the war then waging, and which had been waging ever since Talbot settled in Burlington, was the war of the Spanish succession, in which England, Holland, Austria, and the German Empire were contending against France. It was a war, not between Anne and the Pretender, but between Europe and England’s hereditary enemy. Still further, if Hunter had positively known, or if he had thought himself able to prove, that Talbot had been mutilating the service of the Church in a disloyal way, it is much more likely that a man of his violent temper and strong anti-Jacobite views would have demanded Talbot’s dismissal by the society than that he should send him quietly back to his cure. It seems more reasonable to suppose that the governor, not knowing at the moment whether or not Talbot had been concerned in the “representation,” very adroitly availed himself of a story, about which he was careful not to converse with Talbot himself, and wrote of him to the secretary in a way which made it easy to attack or defend him at a future time as subsequent events might require. It turned out that Talbot actually had signed the “representation,” but hastily, when travelling, and without having read its contents or knowing, as it seems, that it contained an attack upon the governor.¹ He at once disavowed all responsibility for it, and was indignant at the clergyman by whom he had been induced to sign it when he was “taking the boat.”² The governor forthwith took Talbot into his good graces. “Mr. Talbot,” he wrote to the secretary on the 7th of May, “I have found to be a perfect honest man, and an indefatigable Laborer: If he had less warmth he might have more success but that’s the effect of constitution.”³

Mr. Talbot did not long retain the governor’s good opinion, for his regret at having been misled into signing the representation of the Jamaica case without due consideration did not prevent his joining deliberately with other clergymen in a second memorial concerning the same case. The second memorial was drawn up in the month of November, 1711, and was signed by Poyer, rector of Jamaica; Vesey, rector of New York; Bartow, rector of Westchester; Evans, rector of Philadelphia; Talbot, of Burlington; Henderson, minister of Dover Hundred; McKenzie, of Staten Island, and Thomas, rector of Hempstead.⁴ This elaborate document narrates the Jamaica case in a manner which must have been exasperating to the governor; and the fact that Talbot was one of its signers sufficiently explains Hunter’s subsequent enmity to him.

If Talbot had no opportunity to deny the governor’s statement concerning him in 1711, he was destined to have ample occasion, four

¹ Col. Hist. of N.Y., v., p. 324; Doc. Hist. of N.Y., III., p. 249.

² Col. Hist. of N.Y., v., p. 324.

³ Hills’s Hist., p. 101 (no reference).

⁴ Doc. Hist. of N.Y., III., pp. 224-233.

years later, to repel a virulent attack made upon him by the same person. On April 9th, 1715, Governor Hunter, who had mightily changed his former favorable opinion of him, wrote to the secretary as follows: "Mr. Talbot has incorporated the Jacobites in the Jerseys under the name of a church, in order to sanctify his Sedition and Insolence to the Government. That stale pretence is now pretty much disussed. . . . If the Society takes not more care for the future, than has been taken hitherto, in the choice of their missionaries, instead of establishing Religion, they'll destroy all government and good manners."¹ An extract from this letter was at once communicated by the secretary to Talbot,² who wrote to the Bishop of London saying: "I am sorry I should be accused of sedition in my old age,³ after I have travelled more than anybody to keep the peace in Church and state. My lord, please to ask Mr. Secretary Hall and he will tell you that *I was a Williamite from the beginning.*"⁴ Let them consult the admiralty office and they will find that *I took all the oaths* that were necessary to qualify me for the service which I have performed faithfully abroad and at home. As soon as I have time I will call the church together to answer for themselves and me too to the illustrious Society for propagating the Gospel. Meanwhile, *the Lord rebuke the evil spirit of lying and slander* that is gone out against the Church."⁵ Jeremiah Bass, warden of the church in Burlington, who was clerk of the council, secretary of the province, and prothonotary of the supreme court, also wrote expressing his amazement at the charge of Governor Hunter, which he declared to be "*entirely false.*" He protested that the minister, churchwardens, and vestrymen of Burlington were "no Jacobites," and he affirmed that they prayed daily in their families *and in their churches* for the king's prosperity.⁶ No less indignant is the address of the churchwardens and vestrymen to the society.⁷ They pay the highest tribute to Mr. Talbot as a "pious and apostolic person" whose exemplary life and labors "are the best recommendation of the religion he professes;" they affirm that they have "never heard either in his public discourses or his private conversation anything that might encourage sedition;" and they dismiss the governor's accusation with this contemptuous denial: "What could induce this gentleman to endeavor to fix *so barbarous, so calumnious, so very false and groundless a scandal* is to us altogether unaccountable, to which we think the shortest answer that can be given is that of Nehemiah to Sanballat, 'There are no such things done as thou sayest, but thou feignest them out of thine own heart.'" Then Talbot himself addressed the society,⁸ thanking them for the opportunity of defence which had been afforded to him. In this letter he betrays some of that warmth of constitution which Governor Hunter had observed some years before. "To be an accuser," he says, "is bad, to be a false accuser is worse, but a false accuser of the brethren is liter-

¹ Collection of Prot. Epis. Hist. Soc., 1851, p. 75.

² *Ibid.*, p. 75.

³ At that time he was about seventy years of age.

⁴ At the time of the Revolution of 1689 which brought William to the throne, Talbot was forty-four years of age.

⁵ Perry's "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church" (Penn.), pp. 93, 94.

⁶ Hills's Hist., p. 140, 141.

⁷ Col. of Protestant Episcopal Historical Society, 1851, p. 76.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

ally a Devil. I make no difference, for *I call God to witness, I know no soul, in the Church of Burlington, nor in any other Church I have planted, but is well affected to the Protestant Church of England and present Government in the House of Hanover*; therefore he that accused us all for Jacobites hath the greater sin. I can compare it to nothing more or less than Doeg, the Edomite, who stabbed the Priests' characters and then cut all their throats." After a due consideration of these documents it will hardly be possible to give credence to either of the accusations of Governor Hunter. Both of them are more than sufficiently answered by the replies to the second.

Mr. Talbot was suffering from slanders with which others of the clergy were equally assailed. In the following year accusations were sent to the society charging the Rev. Messrs. Ross and Humphreys, the only missionaries at that time in Pennsylvania, with disloyalty and with omitting the prayers for the king appointed in the prayer-book. The society at once made these charges known to the missionaries. Mr. Ross replied giving hearty thanks to "the Venerable Society for their generous and above-board dealing with their Missionaries." He said that Mr. Humphreys and himself were alone in Pennsylvania, except that Mr. Talbot, though of a distinct government, "resides now mostly at Philadelphia" (assisting them, Mr. Humphreys said).¹ Ross continued: "Now as to our affection to the Government of King George, our demeanor we think has been such at all times and in all places, that our loyalty and love for King George cannot be questioned or complained of. If it is, we are ready to answer whatever may be alleged to the contrary. We have never presumed to vary from the prayers of the Church by adding or curtailing in one jot or tittle; and if any complaints are made, they are false and groundless."² While these charges were pending, the society requested Col. Gookin, Lieut.-Governor of Pennsylvania, to give information of any disloyalty on the part of missionaries, and at the same time to give a copy of any such accusation to the accused party.³ Col. Gookin in reply forwarded a charge that Talbot was disaffected and had refused the oaths of allegiance, though it is to be observed that he preferred no charge against him of mutilating or omitting any of the prayers of the Church. The secretary, in August, 1717, forwarded a copy of Col. Gookin's charges to Talbot, requiring of him an immediate reply, and demanding that, if he had not already taken the oaths of allegiance, he should forthwith transmit to the society an authentic certificate of having so done.⁴ Talbot's reply is not known, but it requires little ingenuity to conceive that it would be in the form of an authentic certificate that he had taken the required oaths at his proper domicile in the province of New Jersey, when the law required him to do so on the accession of King George, three years before. If he had not taken them at that

Chas: Gookin
Governor

¹ Perry's, "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church" (Penn.), p. 103.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 102, 103.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 104. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

time the fact would have been officially reported to his enemy, Governor Hunter, who would certainly have alleged so conclusive a proof of disloyalty in his attack on Talbot in 1715. There was no reason why Talbot should not take the oaths when lawfully required, since he called God to witness that he was well affected to the House of Hanover. And there is direct evidence that he did take the oaths; for the letter of Secretary Bass, already quoted, contains a sentence which amounts to a declaration that Talbot, whom he was defending, was well known to have taken them. "God grant," he says in that letter, "that he (the king) had none worse inclined amongst his (Gov. Hunter's) most intimate friends, one of w^{ch} to my knowledge *has refused the oath* when tendered."¹ If Talbot himself had refused the oath, it is very certain that Secretary Bass would not have alluded to such a refusal as evidence of disloyalty. The truth seems to be that Talbot, having promptly taken the oath of allegiance to King George when it was lawfully required at the time of his accession to the throne in 1714, had very properly declined to submit to the imputation of disloyalty which was implied in its being tendered to him a second time three years afterwards, when the law did not require it, and when he was temporarily resident in another province. At all events, his answer to Col. Gookin's charge must have been entirely satisfactory to the society, since nothing more seems to have been said on the subject. Even in Pennsylvania he was not injured by Col. Gookin's accusation; for, within a few months, we find that he was one of the clergymen nominated by Governor Sir William Keith to supply Christ Church, Philadelphia, which was then vacant.²

Talbot's excellent standing in the estimation of the society and of his bishop was signally proved a few years later. In the latter part of 1720, being then seventy-five years of age, he went to England and applied for the interest on "Archbishop Tenison's legacy" of £1,000, which that prelate had bequeathed towards the settlement of bishops in America, and, till such time as bishops should be lawfully appointed, to the maintenance of deserving missionaries of the province of Canterbury. In April, 1721, the interest which had already accrued on this legacy, and, at a later date, the income derived therefrom, were directed by an order in chancery to be paid to Mr. Talbot on account of his long service as a missionary of the society, the true pains he had exhibited in his holy function, his zeal, his exemplary life and conversation, and his great service to the Church.³ Testimonials to this effect must, of course, have been presented by the Bishop of London and by the society before such an order could have been issued. Talbot remained in England nearly or quite two years, and it is during this time, when he was seventy-six or seventy-seven years old, that he is said to have received consecration from the non-jurors. Indeed, it is the only time at which he could possibly have received such consecration. It is not denied that a person surnamed Talbot (Christian name unknown) was consecrated in 1723 or 1724, that is, a year or two years after Talbot's return to America; but even supposing that the consecration of that person had taken place in 1721 or 1722, it would require the

¹ Hills's Hist., p. 141.

² Col. of Prot. Ep. Hist. Soc. (1851), pp.

³ Dorr's "Hist. of Christ Church," pp. 44, 45, 79, 80.

strongest evidence to identify him with John Talbot of Burlington, an original Williamite and Hanoverian, at the very time when he was seeking and obtaining from the Hanoverian government, through the Bishop of London and the S.P.G., a sum of money in lump and a pension for life besides. Independently of the duplicity towards the government, the bishop, and the society which such a proceeding would have involved, it is obvious that the instinct of self-interest alone would guard a man so old as Talbot was from a course which was not only contrary to his principles, but likely to involve him in very serious difficulties.

Towards the end of 1722¹ Talbot returned to Burlington full of zeal for his work, and evidently happy in it. His letters to the secretary (at that time) are bright and chatty, showing his cheerful assurance of his good standing with his correspondent.² Incidentally, too, he furnishes evidence that he had no apprehension of trouble from colonial authorities. Governor Burnet, son of the famous bishop of that name, and equally pronounced in his Whig principles, spent some three months in Burlington while Talbot was temporarily absent in Philadelphia. "Mr. Burnet," he writes, "has been here this quarter almost, & he says 'tis more pleasant than Salisbury in England." Thus far there was no sign of the storm which was soon to break upon the old man's head.

But the storm was about to break, nevertheless, and it was brought about very simply, as will appear on a critical examination of the facts. No such examination has heretofore been satisfactorily made. After the death of the Rev. Mr. Vicary, Christ Church, Philadelphia, was filled by the Rev. Mr. Urmston, a clergyman whose character had apparently been disreputable in North Carolina and elsewhere. His conduct in Philadelphia was described by a member of the vestry as "not proper to be mentioned or allowed in any sober society."³ He had no license from the Bishop of London except his former license for Carolina, and no testimonials from that province;⁴ and on account of his scandalous behavior the vestry dismissed him, as they had a perfect right to do. He was not easily got rid of. Though the vestry refused to support him, they were obliged at last to pay him to go away.⁵ He removed to Maryland,⁶ where he was drunk at a convocation of the clergy,⁷ and was deprived for ill conduct by the Bishop of London's commissary. He was at length accidentally burnt to death in 1731, while in a state of intoxication.⁸ Such was the man whose enmity wrought the crowning sorrow of Talbot's days.

When the vestry of Philadelphia had dismissed Urmston, a convocation of the clergy was held at Chichester, Pennsylvania, in October, 1723,⁹ at which the missionaries present appointed a deputation to the vestry of Philadelphia to express their readiness to concur in the dismissal of Urmston if the matter should be properly brought before them. Talbot was one of the deputation, and his name appears at the

¹ Col. of Prot. Ep. Hist. Soc. (1851), p. 80.

² Perry's "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church" (Penn.), pp. 133, 134; Collections of Prot. Ep. Hist. Soc. (1851), pp. 180-84.

³ Perry's "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church" (Penn.), p. 141.

⁴ *Ibid.* (Md.), p. 296.

⁵ *Ibid.* (Penn.), p. 133.

⁶ *Ibid.* (Md.), p. 296.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 296.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

⁹ *Ibid.* (Penn.), p. 141.

head of the list of signers of the memorandum of the convocation concerning Urmston. The vestry were much gratified, and requested the clergymen who had thus sustained them to supply the church until a settled missionary should arrive.¹ Shortly afterwards Talbot was taken ill while performing services at Burlington; and, for a time, his "head-quarters" were in Philadelphia.² While regaining his health he supplied the vacancy in Christ Church. Urmston's wrath was boundless. He declared that Talbot had "caused him to be turned out of Philadelphia to make room for himself." His "ravings," as Dr. Hills rightly calls them,³ betray the most malignant spirit of revenge. The previous charges against Talbot by Governors Hunter and Gookin readily suggested the one point of attack against a man whose general life and conversation had extorted commendation even from his enemies. The old charges of disloyalty, of refusing oaths of allegiance, and of omitting or garbling prayers, were revived and renewed. Urmston wrote repeatedly to Dr. Bray, of London, representing himself as a loyalist persecuted by a malicious and unscrupulous Jacobite. It seems to be probable that he wrote in a similar strain to Governor Burnet, and that Burnet then very naturally explained Talbot's absence from Burlington during the governor's three-months' visit to that place, and on other occasions, by supposing that the disloyal missionary was anxious to avoid him. To these stories, however, Urmston added a new feature in June, 1724. "Some of his (Talbot's) confidants," he wrote, "have discovered that he is in"⁴ orders, as many more rebels are. I have heard of no ordinations he has made as yet; but doubtless he'll persuade all the clergy who are his creatures to be ordained by him." A month later Urmston's drunken malignity quickened his invention, and his accusations became more specific and circumstantial. Referring to the convocation of clergy which had sustained his dismissal from Christ Church ten months before, he said that Talbot "convened all the clergy to meet, put on his robes, and demanded episcopal obedience from them; one wiser than the rest refused, acquainted the Governor with the ill consequences thereof, the danger he would run of losing his Government, whereupon the Governor ordered the Church to be shut up." This absurd statement is sufficiently contradicted by a letter of Sir William Keith, the governor, dated July 24, 1724. "It is confidently reported here," he says, "that some of these non-juring Clergymen pretend to the authority and office of bishops in the Church which, however, *they do not own.*"⁵ It would have been impossible for Sir William to write in these terms if a formal accusation had been laid before him by a clergyman and an eye-witness that Talbot had both declared himself to be a bishop, and had demanded canonical obedience from the other clergy; therefore this letter of the governor is a peremptory denial of Urmston's foolish story. The Rev.

¹ Dorr's "Hist. of Christ Church, Philadelphia," pp. 51, 52.

² Perry's "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church" (Penn.), p. 133.

³ Urmston's extant letters are dated June ult., 1724, and July 29, 1724, but he had written others previously. Extracts from his letters were forwarded to the Bishop of London by Mr. Stubbs, in April, 1725. Mr. Stubbs communicated

these extracts by "command" of the bishop, and without a word of indorsement of their contents.—Perry's *Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church (Md.)*, pp. 236-238; (Penn.) 142, 143. *Col. of Prot. Ep. Hist. Soc.* (1851), p. 89.

⁴ A blank occurs here in the manuscript.

⁵ Perry's "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church (Penn.)", p. 138.

Mr. Henderson, however, writing from Maryland, and evidently on the credit of Urmston who had gone to Maryland after his dismissal from Philadelphia, writes, in August, 1724,¹ that "Mr. Talbot, minister of Burlington, returned from England about two years ago in Episcopal orders, though his orders till now of late" (*i.e.* till the time of Urmston's removal to Maryland) "have been kept a great secret."² In the same month Governor Burnet wrote that Talbot had "had the folly to confess to some that have published it that he is a Bishop."³ Henderson and Burnet were evidently repeating Urmston's slander, so that Urmston alone is absolutely the only contemporary witness to prove that Talbot ever pretended to be, or ever admitted that he was, a bishop by non-juror consecration. Even Urmston did not pretend to be an original witness, and the only circumstance alleged by him in support of his malignant calumny is clearly disproved by the evidence of Governor Keith, whom Urmston declared to have been a principal party to the alleged transaction. A flimsier or more disreputable support for a malicious slander against a venerable man it would be difficult to conceive.

Unfortunately for Talbot, the true character of Urmston was not yet known to any of his correspondents. Unfortunately, too, the Bishop of London, under whose patronage Talbot had received the Tenison legacy, was dead. Still more unfortunately, the members of the board of managers of the S.P.G. were new men, unacquainted with his previous history, and ignorant of his previous vindication from false charges of disloyalty.⁴ It was the old story amplified: "Another king arose which knew not Joseph." The allegations against Talbot went to the new bishop, and from the new bishop to the new board, with all the startling freshness of novelty. The hearsay evidence of Burnet and Henderson, which was really based upon Urmston's slanders, seemed to be confirmed by Urmston himself as an independent and competent witness; and Urmston's representation that he was the victim of a Jacobite intrigue was apparently sustained by the authenticated fact that Welton had succeeded him, and was actually officiating as minister of Christ Church, Philadelphia. The society acted somewhat hastily. *To the charge of Talbot's non-juror consecration it paid no attention*, the members of the board probably considering the notion that a man of nearly eighty should seek or obtain Episcopal consecration too idle to be seriously entertained; but, on October 16, 1724, they recorded the following order: "The Society being informed that their Missionary at Burlington, in New Jersey, would never take the oaths to the king, and never prays for him by name in the Liturgy — Ordered, that the Secretary acquaint him that the Society have received the said information from a person of very good credit, and therefore have suspended payment of his salary till he can clear himself of these facts laid to his charge." At the same session the board took steps to prevent any further payment

¹ Perry's "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church" (Md.), p. 243.

² *Ibid.*

³ Hills's Hist., p. 188.

⁴ This is evident from a memorandum of the

then existing board, dated Dec. 18, 1724, stating that the charges then made were "the first intimation they received of Mr. Talbot's disaffection to the Government."

to Talbot of the interest on the Tenison legacy.¹ This action of the venerable society may be justified on the ground that if Talbot were really guilty of the charges against him, he was not entitled to receive a salary from the society he had been deceiving, and had no claim whatever to the Tenison legacy; but, to say the least, the course pursued contrasts unfavorably with the "generous and above-board dealing with their missionaries" which had characterized the previous administration at a much more critical time. Then the secretary presumed the innocence of their missionaries in the face of very influential representations made against them. On this occasion the board presumed that Talbot was guilty. They proceeded on the presumption of his guilt, and, in the matter of the Tenison legacy, they took steps which implied an entire prejudgment of his case.

It does not appear that Talbot had ever heard of the communication of Urmston's slanders to the Bishop of London. Indeed, it is very doubtful whether he ever heard of them at all, for they were propagated from Maryland and New York, not from Burlington or Philadelphia. In March, 1725, he was going on bravely and cheerily with his work,² reading daily morning and evening prayer in his church; making a deed of gift of land for its support; bequeathing his library to his parish; providing a parsonage and glebe for his successors, "they conforming to and complying with the rubrics and canons of the Church of England," and reading the "Book of Common Prayer" "as by law established,"—when he received the official letter of the

¹As the final action of the S.P.G. in the case of Talbot has not, so far as the writer knows, been published in any previous work, it is here subjoined, a certified copy from the minutes of the board having been kindly furnished for this work by the Rev. Henry W. Tucker, secretary of the venerable society.

"16 October, 1724."—"9. The Society being informed that Mr. Talbot their Missionary at Burlington, in New Jersey, would never take the oaths to the king and never prays for him by name in the Liturgy: Ordered that the Secretary acquaint him that the Society have received the said information from a Person of very good credit, and therefore have suspended any further payment of his salary till he can clear himself from the facts laid to his charge.

"10. Ordered that the Secretary wait on Mr. Bennett the Master in Chancery to know how far the said Mr. Talbot has received the interest of the £1000 left by the late Archbishop Tenison for the Establishment of Bishops in America, and to desire him to put a stop to any future payment of the same." [Journal 5, page 9.]

"29 Nov., 1724." "The Secretary acquainted the Board . . . he finds that Mr. Talbot has received the interest of the £1000 . . . to Midsummer last, and that Mr. Bennett has promised that no further payment shall be made to him. . . ." [Journal 5, page 12.]

"18 Dec., 1724." "6. Upon reading the Minute of the Society at last Meeting relating to Mr. Talbot, and a letter without name to Dr. Bray dated Cecil County in Maryland 29 July 1724 sent to the Board by the Lord Bishop of London complaining of Mr. Talbot's disaffection to the present Government, etc., and the board being informed that Dr. Welton is arrived at Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania: Ordered that letters be wrote to the Governors of New York

and Pennsylvania acquainting them with the accounts the Society have received of the behaviour of Mr. Talbot and Dr. Welton and particularly acquainting Governor Burnet that the Society have, upon the first information they received of Mr. Talbot's disaffection to the Government, suspended the payment of his salary from this Board and stoped the further payment of the Interest of the late Archbishop Tenison's Thousand Pound bequeathed for settling Bishops in America." [Journal 5, page 19.]

"17 Sep., 1725." "6. The Secretary laid before the Board a letter from Mr. Edwards intimating what's necessary to be done to discharge the order in chancery for the payment of the Interest of the late Archbishop Tenison's legacy to Mr. Talbot: Agreed by the Society that they are of opinion that it is not proper any more interest should be paid to Mr. Talbot, and that Mr. Edwards be desired to proceed in the proper manner in the Court of Chancery for discharging said order." [Journal 5, page 57.]

"15 Oct., 1725." "2. A letter from Mr. Talbot dated Burlington 8 July 1725 was read praying that he may be paid his salary to Lady Day last for which he hath drawn a Bill payable to Mr. Thomas Tovey: Agreed that this matter be suspended till the Society can be informed where his residence has been and how he has performed Divine Service since Lady Day 1724 and that Mr. Tovey to whom his bills are payable be acquainted that the Society expect before any money be paid to Mr. Talbot he should transmit proper certificates of such his residence and performance of Divine Service." [Journal 5, page 58.]

²Perry's "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church" (Penn.), pp. 133, 134; Col. of Prot. Ep. Hist. Soc. (1851), pp. 80-84.

secretary advising him of his virtual dismissal by the society in whose service he had spent nearly quarter of a century, equalled by few and excelled by none in the abundance of his labors and the exemplary piety of his holy life. Shortly afterwards his draft for the amount of his salary was returned protested. The action of the society having been taken on the complaint of the Bishop of London, Talbot wrote to the bishop a manly, but sorrowfully touching, letter of protest.¹ "I understand," he said, "from some friends in England that I have been discharged the Society for Exercising Acts of Jurisdiction over my brethren, the Missionaries, etc. This is very strange to me, for *I knew nothing about it, nor anybody else in all the world. I could disprove it by 1000 witnesses. . . .* As your lordship has done me the wrong, so I hope you will do me the right, upon better information, to let me be in *statu quo*,—for *indeed I have suffered great wrong for no offence or fault that I know of. A long, long penitence have I done for crimes, alas! to me unknown, but God has been with me, and made all things work together for my good; meanwhile I hope your lordship will hear the right, and do nothing rashly, but upon your authority, for the edification and not for the destruction of this poor Church.*"

Talbot's affecting remonstrances were of no avail; they seem to have received no reply, and without the favorable judgment of the bishop he knew it would be useless to remonstrate with the society. If he had really been a secret non-juror and a bishop he might have been expected to declare himself now at last when he had nothing more to hope either from the Church or from the government. He did no such thing. He rested meekly from his labors. He did not strive nor cry. Deeply as he felt his wrongs, he made no complaint, and he never dreamed of making a schism. He behaved, we are told, "very modestly, avoided talking very much, resolved to submit to the orders sent from England," and would not "set up separate meetings."² A touching petition in his favor was sent from Philadelphia, New Bristol, and Burlington, signed by all the wardens and vestrymen,³ in which they affirmed that they were not privy to the conduct by which he had become "disagreeable to his superiors." The Bishop of London's own commissary when he arrived could not resist the general importunity, but likewise wrote in Talbot's behalf, as a man "universally beloved even by the dissenters."⁴ It was all in vain; and in less than two years from the time of his dismissal the "American Weekly Mirror," for Nov. 23-30, 1727, contained the following notice: "Philadelphia, November 30th, 1727. Yesterday, died at Burlington, the Reverend Mr. John Talbot, formerly minister of that place, who was a pious, good man, and much lamented."⁵ By reason of great strength Talbot had come to fourscore and two years before he "fell on sleep."

The whole of the contemporary evidence that has ever been presented to prove that John Talbot asserted or confessed that he had been consecrated by the non-jurors has now been considered; and it must certainly be admitted that the evidence does not sustain the as-

¹ Col. of Prot. Ep. Hist. Soc. (1851), pp. 83, 84.

² *Ibid.*, p. 97.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁵ Hills's Hist., p. 211.

sertion. Talbot's consecration is not proved, but is emphatically denied out of his own mouth. Evidence of the fact, if fact it was, must be sought for elsewhere; and the justice of history must demand that evidence to prove that John Talbot's last years were years of habitual prevarication and duplicity, and that his last sorrowful letter to his bishop was a masterpiece of disingenuous paltering in a double sense, shall be indisputable in its authority and unequivocal in its declarations. No such evidence has been produced.

Dr. Hills's statement¹ is inexact. The only authorities cited by him, either in the text or in the foot-note of the single page devoted to this part of the evidence of John Talbot's consecration, are "Percival on the Apostolical Succession"² and Lathbury's "History of the Non-Jurors."³ On the credit of these writers Dr. Hills says: "Taylor, singly, consecrated Dr. Robert Welton — who had been deprived of the rectorship of Whitechapel, London, for his adhesion to the Non-Jurors⁴ — and *Ralph Taylor* and *Robert Welton together*, consecrated JOHN TALBOT."⁵ A glance at the works of Percival and Lathbury suffices to show that they do not say so. The Christian name JOHN does not appear in either of them. Percival's table of non-juror consecrations reads:—

NO.	NAME OF BISHOP.	Date of Consecration.	Names of Consecrators.
1	George Hickes, ob. Dec. 15, 1715.	February 24, 1693.	{ Thomas <i>Peterborough</i> . William <i>Norwich</i> . Francis <i>Ely</i> .
2	Thomas Wagstaffe, ob. Oct. 17, 1712. }		
3	Jeremiah Collier, ob. May 26, 1726.	June 3, 1713.	{ George Hickes, 1. Archibald Campbell. James Gadderar.
4	Samuel Hawes, ob. Sept. 22, 1722.		
5	Nathaniel Spinckes, ob. July 28, 1727. }		
6	Henry Gandy, ob. Feb. 26, 1733.	June 26, 1716.	{ Jeremiah Collier, 3. Samuel Hawes, 4. Nathaniel Spinckes, 5. Archibald Campbell. James Gadderar.
7	Thomas Brett, ob. March 5, 1743-4. }		
8	Hilkiah Bedford, ob. Nov. 25, 1724.	April 6, 1721.	{ Samuel Hawes, 4. Nathaniel Spinckes, 5. Henry Gandy, 6.
9	Ralph Taylor, ob. Dec. 26, 1722. }	March 22, 1720.	
	Robert Welton,	1723-4.	Ralph Taylor, 9.
	—— Talbot,	1723-4.	{ Ralph Taylor. Robert Welton.

It will be readily seen that "—— Talbot" cannot be read JOHN TALBOT. It means a person surnamed Talbot, but of whose christian name there is no record. Lathbury speaks of the person consecrated simply as "Talbot." To suggest the identity of Percival's "—— Talbot" and Lathbury's "Talbot" with John Talbot of Burlington,

¹ Hist., p. 168.

² Am. ed., pp. 132-134.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

⁴ Error. Welton joined the non-jurors after he was deprived.

⁵ Hills's Hist., p. 168. The quotation is typographically as Dr. Hills prints it.

there is absolutely nothing except that Percival says that "Welton and Talbot both went to the colonies in North America . . . and exercised the episcopal functions;" while Lathbury says that "*Taylor* and Welton . . . both exercised the episcopal functions in the American colonies." Beyond these contradictory statements there is no evidence whatever that any of the three "exercised episcopal functions" in America. But the authority of historians who write a hundred and twenty years after an event, depends, of course, on the value of their sources of information; and Percival is careful to distinguish his "memoranda of the ecclesiastical history of the Non-Jurors" from the authentic history contained in the rest of his valuable work. His memoranda, he says, "are drawn partly from some curious printed documents in my own possession, and partly from information furnished by" two clergymen who were still living in 1839! Such memoranda are exceedingly valuable, but they are not conclusive; and it is not to be wondered that the documents and the information fail to agree, as Percival's notes show; nor is it surprising that the consecrations of Welton and "—— Talbot" should be said in the table to have taken place in 1723-4, while the sole consecrator of Welton is said in the previous line to have died in 1722. Which of these dates is erroneous is not of supreme importance in this connection. If "—— Talbot" was consecrated in 1723-4, it was a physical impossibility that he should have been John Talbot of Burlington, who was then in America. But, admitting that Ralph Taylor died in 1722, and that "—— Talbot" was consecrated in 1721 or 1722, it would still be impossible, in the absence of all evidence, and at the cost of denying the sincerity and veracity of a saintly man, to affirm that "—— Talbot" was John Talbot of Burlington.

One contemporaneous record, and that of very high authority, has been discovered in the MSS. of Dr. Rawlinson, which are preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. These MSS. contain a list of non-juror consecrations and ordinations. The Rev. W. D. Macray, who first published the list of consecrations,¹ remarks that "Dr. Rawlinson being himself one of the 'non-juring' episcopal college (although he appears to have taken all possible precautions to conceal the fact of his even being in orders) the memoranda he furnishes may be regarded as in the highest degree authentic." For the most part they agree with Percival's first table, though, in detail, more closely with Bowdler's MSS. to which Percival refers. But so far as John Talbot is concerned they throw no additional light on our inquiry. Rawlinson's entries concerning Welton and Talbot are as follows:—²

"Ric. Wilton, D.D., was consecrated by Dr. Taylor alone in a clandestine manner." " * * * Talbot, M.A., was consecrated by the same person, at the same time, and as irregularly."³

¹Notes and Queries, 3d Series, Vol. I., p. 225.

²*Ibid.*, p. 248.

³It will be seen that Rawlinson agrees with Percival and Lathbury in omitting the Christian name of Talbot. He differs from all of Percival's authorities, and also from Lathbury, in making Talbot and Welton to have been consecrated together. He varies from them in omitting the

date of consecration, in the Christian name of Welton, and also in adding M.A. to Talbot's name. The date, if it had been given, as it is in most of Rawlinson's list, would have been very valuable. The addition of the university degree to " * * * Talbot's" name is of small moment, since none of the non-jurors (whose clerical adherents were almost, if not quite, all univer-

There remains to be noticed only a curious incident which might (or might not) be of considerable weight if we knew more about it. The seal represented on the mural tablet recently erected in St. Mary's Church, Burlington, has been already described. The inscription on the tablet declares it to have been John Talbot's seal. This is not strictly correct.¹ It is needless to point out the circumstance that John Talbot is not known to have ever seen this seal, while it is morally certain that he never used it. But supposing him to have owned it, as is certainly probable, it does not follow by any means that it was his own official seal, or was intended to represent his own episcopal rank. At that very time there was living in England William Talbot, the only bishop of that name who had been elevated to the episcopate of the Church of England since the Reformation. He was appointed to the see of Oxford in 1699, was translated to Salisbury in 1715, was further promoted to Durham in 1722, and remained there till his death in 1730. Now, John Talbot was a man of gentle birth, and it is perfectly possible that he may have been a kinsman of the bishop. Even if he were not, it is very likely that he would seek some occasion to meet a bishop of his own name while he was in England; and it is also possible that the bishop may have given a seal-ring to his venerable kinsman or namesake as a memento of their meeting. If he did so, it would not, of course, be his official seal, which would have borne the arms of his see; but a private ring, such as that which Mrs. Talbot used, bearing simply a mitre with the monogram of the bishop's surname, TALBOT. Thus, without violating probability in the least degree, Mrs. Talbot's seal can be easily accounted for without assuming that her husband claimed episcopal rank.

To sum up the case of John Talbot:—

1. It is almost absurd to imagine that a man nearly eighty years of age would seek the episcopate, or that any sane man would consecrate him.

2. The evidence that John Talbot was ever a Jacobite is merely trivial when set against his own solemn declaration, confirmed by the unequivocal testimony of those who best knew him, that he was "a Williamite from the beginning," and "well affected towards the House of Hanover." Clearly he had nothing in common with the political principles which were the sole foundation for the non-juror schism.

If it be said that Talbot might, nevertheless, have sought non-juror consecration in order to obtain for the colonial churches the

city men) would have been likely to think of consecrating any man who had not a university degree. Nevertheless, to make the most of this limitation, it must still be said that unless it could be proved that no person of the name of Talbot was admitted M.A. in any of the universities of England or Scotland between the years of, say, 1666 and 1715, Rawlinson's "*** Talbot, M.A.," cannot be identified with John Talbot.

¹All that is known of the seal is that it was used by Talbot's widow in making her will three years after his death. In his history (p. 5), Dr. Mills says that the monogram on the seal represents "the full name, 'J. Talbot.'" In his paper read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, two years later, he says that it contains "all the letters of the name JOHN TALBOT." A careful examination of the engraving in the pamphlet,

and the cut in the history, shows that the monogram contains not one letter of the name "JOHN," not even the letter J, but simply the letters T, A, L, interlaced with T, O, B. It is true that the engraving in the pamphlet differs considerably from the cut in the history, by making part of the double initial letter resemble a J, while in the cut it is clearly a T. But if that letter is read J, there is not a stroke to suggest the final T of Talbot; the O is placed at hap-hazard; and the monogram is without method. Read as above suggested, every line is accounted for, and the idea of the monogram is clear and consistent. It represents TALBOT, neither less nor more.²

²Since this monogram left the writer's hands, the engraving of the seal, which is given on p. 541, has been correctly made for this work.

inestimable benefits of the episcopate, the answer is: (1st.) That he certainly carried no such plan into operation. We have his own emphatic declaration that he did not pretend to any sort of jurisdiction; and as to episcopal acts, there is not even a pretence of proof that he ever performed one.¹ (2d.) Such a plan would have been the scheme of a madman. The introduction of a schismatical non-juror episcopate into the colonies could have had but one of two effects: either to rend the feeble colonial churches into contending factions, or to bring about a general schism from the Church of England. What Talbot labored for was the unity of the colonial churches, and, therefore, he prayed for the establishment of a regular colonial episcopate. But he desired not less earnestly that the colonial churches should be and remain part of the established Church of England. He never contemplated anything else. At the very time² when Urmston was defaming him he was securing a glebe and parsonage to his successors with the stringent provision that each of them should be a "*presbyter of the Church of England, as by law now established,*" and that he should "perform Divine Service and other duties in the said church, according to the *Lyturgie of the Church of England, as is now appointed,*" "conforming to and complying with the *Rubrics and Canons of the Church of England, as aforesaid.*"³ It is plainly inconceivable that a man who was thus ensuring conformity to the Church of England in his own church after his own approaching death, should himself have been a non-conformist of the most dangerous kind, and actually engaged in a wild scheme, which, if successful, must involve a schism from the Church of England. (3d.) It may be briefly said that not one contemporary line or letter exists to show that John Talbot ever entertained such a purpose.

If it be said that Talbot might have received consecration from non-jurors without entertaining non-juror principles, the answer is that he could have done so only by deceiving his consecrators with a pretence of non-juror principles. It is very certain that Taylor, who could not maintain communion even with non-jurors from whom he differed, would not have consecrated a man who did not profess to agree with him; and it is no less certain that the violent Welton, who had been deprived of his preferments, and is said to have been imprisoned for his practices, and who, on his very death-bed, refused communion with a clergyman of the Church of England, would never have consented to the consecration of another man who did not unequivocally profess the principles for which Welton suffered. Thus, if this hypothesis were true, Talbot must have been guilty of deceit, not only towards the Bishop of London, but towards the very men whose consecrating hands were laid upon his head; an infamy too monstrous, surely, to be credited. Furthermore, he could not have so deceived Taylor and Welton. His very position as a missionary of the S.P.G., which he never resigned, proved him not to be a non-

¹ Dr. Hills, in his monograph, p. 26, says: "There is absolutely nothing that can be shown beyond question to have been, on his part, an Episcopal act." The qualifying phrase might be well omitted. "Absolutely nothing" of the kind has ever been discovered.

² July 17, 1724.

³ Hills' Hist., pp. 180-185.

juror; since the society required its missionaries to take the oaths,¹ and to be in communion with the Church of England.

3. The only source of the contemporary assertion that he claimed non-juror consecration was the malignant invention of the drunken Urnston, whose absurd slander is contradicted in its only circumstance by the testimony of Sir William Keith.

4. The meagre accounts of Percival and Lathbury, and of the later writers who have blindly followed them, are too late and of too uncertain authority to be conclusive; they are mutually contradictory in one important point; Percival's chronology contradicts itself in a matter of vital moment to this investigation; Rawlinson differs greatly from both Lathbury and Percival; and, if all these objections were disposed of, the identity of Rawlinson's " * * * Talbot," Percival's " — Talbot," and Lathbury's "Talbot," with John Talbot of Burlington would still remain to be proved.

5. The incident of the seal is too easily accounted for to be received as proof of an assertion not otherwise sustained.

Such, and such alone, is the evidence that this saintly man throughout the latter years of his life (and, if then, probably before) was a habitual prevaricator; a dissembler with the bishop to whom he owed and professed obedience; a deceiver of the society whose appointment he held; and a secret schismatic from the Church at whose altars he ministered. The hidden mitre of a short-lived schism would have been dearly purchased at such a cost of character; and to compel one to believe that a man of spotless reputation, of the highest standing, and of nearly fourscore years of age, secretly sought from the almost solitary representative of a schism within a schism the doubtful honor of a spurious and clandestine episcopate which he never had the courage to avow; to compel one to believe, moreover, that the last most touching letter of remonstrance to his bishop written by this venerable man was a tissue of disingenuous evasion, one would need to have some evidence more trustworthy than the slanders of declared enemies, the ravings of a disreputable priest, a contemporaneous record which leaves personal identification impossible, self-contradictory memoranda of unknown origin published more than a century after his death, or the impression of a seal which he never used and the significance of which cannot now be ascertained. Most assuredly the consecration of John Talbot of Burlington by the non-jurors has not yet been proved; and if the discovery of further evidence shall hereafter prove it to have actually been a fact, the world will be obliged thenceforward to admit the old French paradox that nothing is certain except the impossible.

John Fulson

¹ Perry's "Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Church" (Penn.), p. 104.

MONOGRAPH VI.

YALE COLLEGE AND THE CHURCH.

BY THE REV. E. EDWARDS BEARDSLEY, D.D., LL.D.,

Rector of St. Thomas's Church, New Haven.

THERE hangs in my study a small engraving, of cabinet size, presented to me twelve years ago by the Secretary of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. It is a portrait of the Rev. George Keith, the first missionary sent out in 1702, under the auspices of that society, to make observation and report the condition and prospects of the Church of England in North America. Keith was a native of Aberdeen, Scotland, of good talents and respectable attainments, "with whom," says Bishop Burnet, in his "History of his Own Time,"¹ "I had my first education." He emigrated to this country and appeared in 1682 in East Jersey, where he held the office of surveyor-general, and zealously maintained the religious tenets of the Quakers, among whom he was a bright luminary, and exercised his preaching faculty with much acceptance. Remembering the former persecutions of his people in New England, he made a visit to Boston, and, believing the champions of Puritanism to be teaching false doctrine, he boldly attacked them, and challenged them to a public disputation, which they declined, "having," as they said, "neither list nor leisure to attend his motions."

He afterwards removed to Philadelphia, and soon became involved in a more momentous controversy with the Quakers themselves, the great body of whom he accused of Deism, and of departing from the principles originally held by the Society of Friends. The final result of this controversy was a separation from his enthusiastic and bigoted brethren, with whom he had fellowshipped for upwards of thirty years; and in 1694 he went to England, when he conformed to the Church, was admitted to holy orders, and on the 28th day of April, 1702, sailed for America in the interests of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This society had been established by royal charter on June 16, A.D. 1700.

Landing at Boston, he proceeded in company with the Rev. John Talbot, who had been chaplain of the ship, to the work of his mission, and extended his travels from New Hampshire into New York and the provinces farther south, — presenting with evident vigor and earnestness the order and doctrines of the Church, and lifting up his voice against the errors of Quakerism and the evils of sect. He was in New London on Sunday the 13th of September, 1702, and was entertained

¹ Vol. iv., Oxford edition, 1823, p. 446.

by Gurdon Saltonstall, the Congregational minister of the place, who "expressed his good affection to the Church of England," and desired both him and his companion in labors to preach,—an opportunity which they never failed to improve when courteously tendered. Col. Winthrop, the governor of the colony, had his residence here, and also extended to them a generous hospitality. Keith is not known to have pressed his feet upon the soil of any other place within the limits of Connecticut, and this is believed to have been the first public occasion on which a recognized minister of the Church of England officiated in the colony.

It is a singular coincidence that while a few great and good prelates, divines, lords, and laymen were preparing in London to establish a society to provide for the care and instruction of English churchmen in the colonies first, and then for the conversion of Indian savages and the negroes, a number of the principal Congregational ministers in Connecticut gathered together to take the initiative steps towards founding a collegiate school, and obtaining for it a charter from the colonial legislature. There was no visible or necessary connection between the two movements. The parties who originated them dwelt three thousand miles apart, and acted on different lines of thought, and with different ends in view.

According to Keith, who kept a journal of his travels for the information of the society, the religious condition of the colonies was distracted, variable, and, under the umbrage of liberty of conscience, mixed up with great licentiousness in form and practice. The drift from the Church of England had carried the settlers, for the most part, beyond wholesome restraint; and her half a dozen clergymen in all North America could do little towards turning and keeping men in "the old paths and the good way." Where civil enactments required from the people the support of schools and public worship, the direction was in the hands of those who were unfriendly to the usages and religious instruction which prevailed in the mother-country. Many loving subjects of Great Britain, sighing for the ancient order of things, and the prayer-book, with its positive teaching, were ready, with some assistance from their friends at home, to welcome and support ministers of the Church of England, "learned and orthodox," who might be sent to them; and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was formed primarily to answer their appeals, and it did answer them according to the terms of its charter and the wealth of its resources.

The establishment of a college in the colony of Connecticut was intended to provide the advantages of a higher education and perpetuate the order of the Congregational ministry. "By this means," says Trumbull,¹ the inhabitants and churches "might educate young men, from among themselves, for the sacred ministry, and for the various departments in civil life and diffuse literature and piety more generally among the people. The clergy and people in general, by long experience, found the great inconvenience of educating their sons at so great a distance as Cambridge, and in carrying so much

¹Hist. of Conn., Vol. I., p. 472.

money out of the Colony, which otherwise might be a considerable emolument to the Commonwealth. A well-founded college might not only serve the interests of the churches in this government, but in the neighboring colonies."

The charter obtained from the General Assembly at its October session, in 1701, "ordained that the corporation should consist of ministers only," resident in Connecticut, which meant Congregational ministers, as no others were then to be found in the colony. A majority of the original number dwelt in the sea-side towns from Fairfield to Stonington, and met at Saybrook a month after the granting of the charter, where, "upon mature consideration," they decided to locate the college. They chose at the same meeting one of the board, Abraham Pierson, pastor of the Congregational church in the adjoining town of Killingworth, to be the rector, and prescribed rules and regulations for his guidance and that of the students. They took good care to guard and foster the Puritan system of religious belief by forbidding any other theological instruction to be given except such as might be directed and appointed by the trustees. Weekly recitations in the Westminster Assembly's Catechism, Ames' Medulla Theologia, and Cases of Conscience and expositions from the head of the institution were among the requirements prescribed and enforced.

The college was launched under these general conditions and privileges and began its eventful career, regulated and governed with the wisdom and learning of Pierson, a Harvard graduate, until his death in 1707. Then Samuel Andrew, another graduate of Harvard, one of the board and pastor of Milford, was appointed rector *pro tempore*, and a portion of the students, four in all, was transferred to his immediate oversight, and the remainder was left in charge of two tutors at Saybrook.

It is no part of the purpose of this article, and it would not become me, to detail the troubles which sprung from dissatisfaction with the location of the college and the efforts to remove it to a more central position in the colony. It will be enough to mention that complaint was made of the want of proper accommodations at Saybrook; and towards the end of the year 1715 a rebellion broke out against the tutors and the students from towns on the Connecticut river, — encouraged and led by Timothy Woodbridge and Thomas Buckingham, ministers at Hartford and trustees of the college, — collected together in Wethersfield, where instruction was dispensed to them, and in which place or in Hartford these trustees wished the institution to be permanently located. The agitation of the question stirred up a violent opposition in Saybrook, and the final decision, in the autumn of 1716, to establish it in New Haven, was followed by obstructions quite inconsistent with the principles of common law and order. The sanction of the General Assembly, which met shortly after this action, was invoked and obtained for the removal, and the trustees proceeded to choose Samuel Johnson, two years a graduate, to be one of the tutors, and with a view of conciliating the dissentients, Samuel Smith, who was a tutor of the Wethersfield party, was selected to be the other. But he declined the appointment, though

Johnson was commissioned by the trustees to wait on him and induce him to accept the office and bring his scholars with him to New Haven.

While the conflicting interests were yet unreconciled, a college building was erected, "that stupendous architectural monstrosity," says Professor Dexter,¹ "which stood till the Revolution," and Daniel Brown — a classmate of Johnson — was chosen to be his colleague; and now the institution found new friends, and was acquiring a good reputation. The interposition of the General Assembly was again sought, *componere lites*, and at last the differences were compromised in this way: the scholars should return to their duty and abide at New Haven; and, in case they did, the degrees which had been given at Wethersfield should be allowed good, "and a State-House should be built at the public expense at Hartford." Liberal donations of money and of books had been already received, and Governor Elisha Yale, born in New England, but emigrating early and making a fortune as agent or president — which gave him his title — of the East India Company of London merchants, chartered by Queen Elizabeth, had been so munificent in his benefactions that the trustees overwhelmed him with thanks and gave him immortal honor by fixing on the college the name it has ever since borne and gloried in.

Governor Yale was a churchman, if not of the most saintly kind, yet good enough to be a generous patron of religion and learning, and to find his charitable gifts peculiarly acceptable to those who were far from his way of thinking and acting. Jeremiah Dummer, agent for the colony of Connecticut, writing to Governor Saltonstall, from Middle Temple, London, April 14, 1719, said:² "I heartily congratulate you upon the happy union of the colony in fixing the college at New Haven, after some differences which might have been attended with ill consequences. Mr. Yale is very much rejoiced at this good news, and more than a little pleased with his being the patron of such a seat of the muses: saving that he expressed at first some kind of concern, whether it was well in him, being a churchman, to promote an academy of dissenters. But, when we had discoursed that point freely, he appeared convinced that the business of good men is to spread religion and learning among mankind without being too fondly attached to particular tenets, about which the world never was, nor never will be, agreed. Besides, if the discipline of the Church of England be most agreeable to Scripture and primitive practice, there's no better way to make men sensible of it than by giving them good learning."

Johnson and Brown appear to have carried on the instruction successfully together under the oversight of the rector *pro tempore*, but the former was ready to retire and devote himself to the work of the ministry; and the friends of the institution, now that its library and appointments were so ample, were desirous of seeing it placed under an active, efficient, and resident head. Timothy Cutler, of

¹ N.H. Colony Historical Society Papers, Vol. III., p. 241.

² State Library, Hartford, MS. Documents, Vol. II.

Massachusetts birth, and a Harvard graduate, had been settled nearly ten years over the Congregational church in Stratford. He was a man of varied culture and extensive acquirements, of commanding presence and dignity, and possessed the qualities of an instructive and popular preacher. Soon after his settlement in Stratford he married a daughter of Samuel Andrew, of Milford, the acting head of the college, and through his influence he was presented to the favorable notice of the trustees and elected to the office of rector in 1719. He "looked upon it as nothing less than a call of Providence," and accepted, to the great grief of the Stratford people, who were reluctant to part with him, and who demanded and obtained some pecuniary consideration for the disappointment and loss which his removal would occasion the town.

Mr. Cutler established himself with his family at New Haven in the autumn, and with the assistance of Daniel Brown, who was retained in the tutorship, began his classic career as rector of Yale College. Theology was the study to which Johnson had always intended to devote himself; and the people of West Haven, at that time an outlying village within the town of New Haven, earnestly desired him to become their pastor, and, yielding to their solicitations, he was ordained there in the Congregational way on the 20th of March, 1720, "having been," according to his own statement, "a preacher occasionally ever since he was eighteen." This position left him in the neighborhood of the college and of his literary friends, and afforded him easy access to the library, which contained the works of some of the most eminent writers of the Church of England in that day, both clergymen and laymen. A good man in Guilford, his native place, had given him a prayer-book, and this, in connection with the previous perusal of Archbishop King "on the Inventions of men in the Worship of God," weakened his prejudices against the Church, and confirmed him in the opinion that the use of precomposed forms in public worship was both more devotional and more edifying, and showed greater reverence for the Divine Majesty.

About the time of his settlement at West Haven Johnson commenced a catalogue of the books which he had studied carefully. And curiously enough at the head of this list stands the Liturgy of the Church of England, followed immediately by Potter on "Church Government" and Patrick's "Devotions," and then by "the Whole Duty of Man," Wall on "Infant Baptism," Echard's "Church History," and Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity." The shelves of the well-selected library—this was before the day of Berkeley's benefactions—contained other books in English theology, among them the works of Barrow, Beveridge, Ball, Burnet, Hoadly, Pearson, Sharp, Sherlock, South, Taylor, Tillotson, Wake, and Whitby, and all were included in the list of those which passed under his review and consideration during his settlement at West Haven.

Such a course of reading could not fail to affect and influence his candid and inquiring mind. It threw new light over subjects that had long embarrassed him, and he was unable to discover any sufficient support for the Congregational form of church government, or for the

rigid Calvinistic tenets in which he had been educated. He spoke his doubts to his literary friends, and they shared them with him; so that from first meeting in a fraternal way, at the residences of each other, or in the college library, and examining the doctrines and practices of the primitive Church, they had begun to be uneasy and anxious about the form and authority of their own discipline and worship. How to conduct themselves under the circumstances was a difficult and delicate question. There were six of these earnest inquirers, besides Johnson, and they occupied responsible positions in and around New Haven. Cutler and Brown carried on the college; John Hart was the minister at East Guilford, now Madison; Jared Eliot was the minister at Killingworth; Samuel Whittelsey at Wallingford, and James Wetmore at North Haven. With the exception of Cutler all were graduates of the college, and three of them were classmates who had been brought into very intimate association with each other. Their conferences and readings led them to the conclusion that the Church of England was the nearest to the apostolic model, and, if conformity to it had been an easy thing, they would undoubtedly all have relinquished at once their positions and made the change.¹

It is to be observed that these conferences were the spontaneous growth of self-directed investigations. At that date there was not a house of worship in the colony belonging to the Church of England, and no settled minister or missionary. The Rev. George Muirson, of Scottish birth, was ordained by the Bishop of London, in 1705, and sent over by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as a missionary at Rye,—a town originally included within the jurisdiction of Connecticut, but finally annexed to the province of New York. In company with a distinguished lay gentleman he set out, in the summer of 1706, to explore the sea-side towns from Greenwich eastward, but did not cross the Housatonic river, or go any nearer New Haven than Stratford. Here he found "a considerable number of professors of the Church of England" who desired him to repeat his visit, which he did the next year; and the society was importuned to appoint him a missionary to that place, but Muirson died in October, 1708, too soon to hear of his transfer, if not too soon for the Church in Connecticut.

It was in September of this year that "the Reverend Ministers and Messengers of all the Churches" in Connecticut met at Saybrook and adopted "a Confession of faith, Heads of Agreement and Regulation in the administration of Church discipline," which the general assembly fully approved and "ordained that all the churches within the Government that are or shall be thus united in Doctrine, worship and discipline for the future shall be owned and acknowledged established by law,"—provided that any society or church soberly differing or dissenting therefrom should be allowed to "exercise worship and discipline in their own way according to their Conscience." This proviso did not exempt the soberly dissenting bodies from the payment of taxes for the support of the established order.

The little handful of churchmen at Stratford was unfortunate in

¹ Author's "Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D.D.," pp. 13, 14.

the next missionary sent to them, and the first who pretended to reside in the place, and yet was away much of the time for the sake of his own indulgence. He proved to be unworthy of his office, and set things backward and not forward. But in the spring of 1722 there appeared among them a different missionary, in the person of the Rev. George Pigot, who was earnest, energetic, and consistent in his walk and conversation. He moved the people to proceed vigorously to complete the building of a church, which had been projected years before and was interrupted by various discouragements and embarrassments. But he suddenly became more deeply interested in the grander movement going on in New Haven. Johnson had made him an early visit and both surprised and gratified him by informing him of the direction in which some of the leading minds in the colony were drifting. After a private conference with the inquirers, held by special invitation at New Haven, "great expectations of a glorious revolution of the ecclesiastics in this country" were raised in Mr. Pigot. He was a little too sanguine perhaps as to the extent of the final result, but he had seen and heard enough to be convinced that a startling movement was near at hand. He found a majority of the inquirers determined to declare their conformity to the Church of England; and yet they complained much of the necessity which compelled them to cross the ocean to obtain the valid ordination which their course of reading led them to desire.

Johnson, who was the leader among them and the most active, appears to have kept himself open to conviction to the last moment, for, after making an entry in the catalogue of books before referred to of the works of Cyprian, he added immediately under it the words: "Which, with other ancient and modern authors read for the last three years, have proved so convincing of the necessity of Episcopal Ordination to me and my friends, that this Commencement, September 13, 1722, we found it necessary to express our doubts to the ministers, from whom, if we receive not satisfaction, we shall be obliged to desist."

Just twenty years to a day had passed since Keith was courteously entertained at New London by Gardon Saltonstall, then the Congregational minister of the place, but now in civil life, having laid aside the duties of the sacred office, and, from 1707, been chosen governor of the colony. He was present at the Commencement when the seven gentlemen made their declaration to the trustees in the library of the college, representing that they labored under difficulties in "relation to their continuance out of the visible communion of an Episcopal church," and "signifying that some of them doubted the validity, and the rest were more fully persuaded of the invalidity of the Presbyterian ordination, in opposition to the Episcopal." They desired "satisfaction," and opportunity was allowed for further inquiry and consultation, in the hope that they might get rid of their scruples, or at least become quiet and contented in their positions. No official action of the board was taken, but, as the General Assembly was to meet in New Haven the ensuing October, Governor Saltou-stall suggested that a debate should be held in the college library the

day after the session commenced for the purpose of discussing the whole subject and disposing of questions that had created serious alarm in the public mind throughout the colony.

Preparations for this debate were entered upon with great earnestness and not a little anxiety. Outside advice and help were solicited. One simple-minded man wrote to his clerical brother in Boston, and, confessing that he had not read much upon the controversy, said he would be "very glad to have some books that do nervously handle this point concerning ordination by Presbyters, whether good or not." The trustees at Norwalk and Stamford, Buckingham and Davenport, poured out their sorrows in a joint letter to the Mathers of the same city, "bemoaning the dark providence" which hung over them, and not only asking their Christian sympathy and prayers, but their "assistance in a conjoined testimony in the cause of Christ to the government and people" of Connecticut.

The debate was held according to appointment. If the ten trustees were all present, and the ministers directly concerned, and others who took a deep interest in the result, it is not difficult to bring to our minds a scene in the college library as exciting as it was singular. No nimble reporter was there to take down the words, as they fell from the lips of the earnest disputants. But we have two accounts of it; one by Trumbull, who says: "Governor Saltonstall was a great man, and well versed in the Episcopal Controversy, and the tradition has been that he judged it of such general importance, in the then circumstances of the colony, that the point should be well understood that he publicly disputed it with Mr. Cutler at the Commencement, and that he was judged by the clergy and spectators in general, to have been superior to him as to argument, and gave them much satisfaction relative to the subject. It was supposed that several other gentlemen of considerable character among the clergy were in the scheme of declaring for Episcopacy, and of carrying over the people of Connecticut in general to that persuasion. But as they had been more private in their measures, and had made no open profession of Episcopacy, when they saw the consequences with respect to the rector and the other ministers, that the people would not hear them, but dismissed them from their service, they were glad to conceal their former purposes, and to continue in their respective places."¹

The other account is by Johnson, which is in no sense traditional, but is the statement of an eye-witness and participant in the controversy. He is the only one of the number who has left a manuscript record of the proceedings; at least, no other has been brought to light; and he has detailed so minutely and faithfully his personal trials and conflicting interests, and the successive steps which led him to renounce Congregationalism and accept the Church of England, that he is to be believed in what he relates of himself, of his companions, and of the debate. Gov. Saltonstall, says he, "moderated very genteely" on the occasion; but the "gentlemen on the Dissenting side" had not directed their studies this way, and hence when they came to the debate they

¹ Hist. of Conn., Vol. II., p. 33.

were not so well prepared to cope with their opponents and answer their arguments. They rested their principal objection to Episcopacy on the promiscuous use of the words *bishop* and *presbyter* in the New Testament; but this objection was met by citing such Scripture facts as the evident superintendency of Timothy over the clergy and people at Ephesus, and of Titus in Crete, and of the angels of the seven churches in Asia. The history of the first and purest ages of Christianity was also appealed to, and "at length," he adds, "an old minister got up and made an harangue against them in a declamatory way to raise an odium; but he had not gone far before Mr. Saltonstall got up and said he only designed a friendly argument, and so put an end to the conference."¹ Johnson made a record of the state of his mind and heart three days before the debate took place, which shows that *he* did not expect any new light to rise from it and shine through his doubts.

The result was that of those who signed the declaration sent in to the trustees, on commencement day, four were inflexible in their purpose to go forward and pursue the path into which they had been led by their consciences and the light of Anglican theology. The other three, not being able to withstand the alternate displeasure and entreaties of their friends, and putting their scruples to one side, quietly settled back into their pastoral relations, and continued to the end of their days in the service of the Congregational ministry. Chandler says, in his *Life of Johnson*: "Amidst all the controversies in which the Church was engaged during their lives, they were never known to act or say or insinuate anything to her disadvantage."²

After the dispute in the college library, and all pleadings had been fully closed, the trustees met to deliberate and act. Mr. Cutler was "excused from further services, as rector of Yale College," and the resignation of Mr. Brown as tutor was accepted. To prevent the recurrence of a like sorrowful occasion, and "continue the repository of truth and the reservoir of pure and sound principles, doctrine and education," the trustees then voted, "that all such persons as shall hereafter be elected to the office of rector or tutor in this college, shall before they are accepted therein, before the trustees, declare their assent to the confession of faith owned and assented to by the elders and messengers of the churches in this colony of Connecticut, assembled by delegation at Saybrook, September 9, 1708; and confirmed by act of the General Assembly; and shall particularly give satisfaction to them, of the soundness of their faith, in opposition to Armenian and prelatical corruptions, or of any other of dangerous consequence to the purity and peace of our churches."³ The power was given to two trustees with the rector to institute this examination in the case of a tutor, when the whole board could not be assembled. And still further it was voted, "that upon just grounds of suspicion of the rector's or a tutor's inclination to Armenian or prelatical principles, a meeting of the trustees shall be called to examine into the case."

The displacement of Rector Cutler from his office after declar-

¹ Johnson MSS.

² P. 31.

³ Hist. of Conn., Vol. II., p. 34.

ing for Episcopacy was a natural proceeding to be expected under the circumstances; few will be bold enough to censure it even at this late day; but, as we look at it now, we are amazed that a century was suffered to go by before the law, which prohibited members of the faculty from entertaining "Armenian or prelatie principles," was completely eliminated from the statutes of the college.¹

The important step which was to follow ecclesiastical separation from their friends was taken without delay. On the 13th of October, not expecting then to get any satisfaction from the debate, and uninfluenced by "the frowns or applauses, the pleasures or profits of the world," Johnson made this entry in his diary: "It seems to be my duty to venture myself in the arms of Almighty Providence to cross the ocean for the sake of that excellent church, the Church of England; and God preserve me, and if I err God forgive me." Ten days later he and his two friends, Cutler and Brown, were on their journey to Boston to embark for the shores of the Old World. After a boisterous and uncomfortable voyage of five weeks and four days they arrived at their destination in England, where the knowledge of their affair had preceded them and prepared the way for a most cordial reception. Their errand served as an introduction to remarkable persons and places, and the many civilities shown them were both pleasant and encouraging. But mingled with these were unexpected trials and sorrows. That dreadful disease, the small-pox, fell first upon the eldest of the number, Mr. Cutler, and scarcely had he recovered and all been admitted to the priesthood by the Bishop of Norwich, acting at the desire of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, when Brown was taken with the same disease, and, after an illness of nine days, he died on the 13th of April, and was interred in St. Dunstan-in-the-West, his funeral being "attended by about thirty clergy of the town."

The constantly changing scenes through which they afterwards passed could not put this great disappointment and affliction from their minds, and especially from the mind of Johnson, who, as Brown's classmate and intimate friend, knew him best and loved him with a gentle and affectionate heart. Before the occurrence of this sad event it was the agreement of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that Brown should be appointed to a mission which was to become vacant at Bristol in Rhode Island. Cutler was to have the charge of a new church about to be opened in Boston, a scanty living for him with a wife and seven children, and Johnson was to go to Stratford in Connecticut, to fill the place which Mr. Pigot would vacate by removing to Providence. The annual income of the society at this time was about £2,000, and the usual stipend allowed to each missionary was £50 or £60 a year, sometimes less, according to the expensiveness and requirements of the field to which he was sent.

Almost the whole time of their sojourn abroad was passed in London, and after they reached the metropolis the longest journeys they

¹ It was repealed at a special meeting of the corporation of Yale College, held in Hartford, May, 1823, on the day before the petition for the charter of a second (now Trinity) College was

presented to the General Assembly. The establishment of a second college in the State was strongly opposed.

made out of it were to Oxford and Cambridge, where they were received with many demonstrations of kindly feeling, and each university conferred upon them its public honors.

On the morning of the 4th of July, 1723, Cutler and Johnson were surprised at their lodgings in London by the arrival of James Wetmore from New England. He stood up side by side with them in the college library, and firmly delivered his testimony for Episcopacy; but not having made suitable arrangements for the voyage, and relinquished his pastoral charge at North Haven, he was left behind when they embarked, and had now come to receive ordination and take the humblest duty which might be assigned him as a minister of the Church of England.

In just three weeks from his arrival he was admitted to holy orders, and was ready to return with them to America in the same ship. It was two months after leaving London, when they arrived at Boston, September 24, 1723, and Wetmore preached on the following Sunday in King's Chapel from the text: "Blessed is that servant whom his lord, when he cometh, shall find so doing."¹ He was sent as a missionary to New York, but at a later date was transferred to Rye, where he died of the small-pox in 1760, having faithfully served the church in that place for nearly thirty-four years.

Johnson reached Stratford on the 5th of November, and found the work of building a house of public worship for churchmen, which had been revived by Mr. Pigot, but little advanced towards completion. His coming inspired it with new life, and after many hindrances the edifice was opened for divine service on Christmas day, 1724. He made Stratford the centre from which he carried his ministrations to other towns in the colony. These ministrations were not called for in New Haven, and he did not, as the sole missionary of the Church of England in Connecticut, attempt by any aggressive steps to establish services where he knew he would encounter an opposition sharpened by the remembrance of recent and exciting events. He continued his interest in the college, however, which was still feeling the shock of its astonishment at the declarations for Episcopacy, and, so far as we can learn, the trustees manifested no particular hostility to him in view of the change in his ecclesiastical relations. They had done their best to reverse its influence, and probably thought that the Church of England, with a single representation in the clerical office, could make no perceptible gain upon the affections of the people of the colony as against the established order of religion.

At the Commencement in 1724, graduated Henry Caner, a son of the builder of the first college edifice, the "architectural monstrosity" before referred to; and for three years after leaving the institution he lived under the eye of Johnson and assisted him and did good service for the Church at Fairfield as a catechist and schoolmaster. His father, of the same baptismal name, was enrolled among the communicants at Stratford by Mr. Pigot, September 2, 1722, and evidently went to that place to commune, as many churchmen scat-

¹ Foote's "Annals of King's Chapel," I., p. 323.

tered in the neighboring towns were accustomed to do when the only Episcopal clergyman in Connecticut was stationed there. The son was enrolled by Johnson, Easter day, 1715. He went to England for holy orders, and returned in the autumn of 1727, with an appointment to Fairfield, where a church had been erected and was now awaiting the ministrations of a resident missionary.

From this onward for a century there was not an average of one graduate a year from Yale College who entered the ministry of the Episcopal Church. John Beach and Jonathan Arnold, whose names appear in classes of an earlier date, were settled as pastors over Congregational churches in Connecticut; but, subsequently, becoming dissatisfied with their ordination and form of church government, they surrendered their positions and went to England to obtain what seemed to them to be valid authority to preach the gospel and administer the sacraments. Their change, no doubt, was largely due to the instrumentality of Johnson, one of whom — Arnold — had been his successor in the pastorate at West Haven, and the other was a native of Stratford and a pupil of his during a part of the collegiate course.

It has been sometimes said that these men in relinquishing their connections and taking up new ones in the Church of England made no very great sacrifices. But not to mention other things, the voyage across the Atlantic, at that period, not in luxurious and palatial steamships as now, but in the close and narrow cabins of sailing-vessels, was a monotonous and awful undertaking. Business rather than pleasure impelled men to attempt it, and strong health was needed to bear the hardships of being tossed for weeks and months on the ocean. Surely a conscientious regard for what they believed to be the truth, and not ambition, or the spirit of adventure, must have been their governing motive. They took their lives in their hands when they went forth, and of those who embarked for England to obtain ordination prior to 1766 one in every five was lost at sea or fell by sickness. "How long, O Lord, holy and true!" was the pathetic exclamation of Johnson when tidings reached him of the death of two promising young missionaries returning to this country, and already nearing "the haven where they would be," — "How long shall the appointment of bishops for the American Colonies be hindered by the policy of secular rulers at home, and the Church be suffered to bleed and mourn?"

Yale College and the Church cannot be grouped and considered together without bringing prominently to view the benefactions of Bishop Berkeley. His scheme of founding an institution in the Bermudas, where not only English youth of the plantations might be trained to "supply American churches with pastors of good morals and good learning," but where a "number of young American savages might also be educated till they had taken the degree of Master of Arts," was projected with sanguine hopes of success; and he undertook to realize it by leaving the rich deanery of Derry behind and coming to America to set in motion the living machinery to work it. Thus he did not publish his scheme as the speculation of a benevolent philosopher for others to take up and act upon, if they thought best, but he put his resources and personal energies into it, and, besides a royal

charter and a government grant of £20,000, he obtained handsome subscriptions in England to carry it into execution. His arrival at Newport, Rhode Island, near the end of January, 1729, his purchasing a farm, building a house which he named Whitehall, and tarrying there for almost three years, only to be disappointed and mortified by the treachery of the prime minister, Sir Robert Walpole, who practically refused to pay the money which had been promised, are circumstances too well known to require repetition in this article. He was not, however, idle during his recluse life at Newport. It furnished him an opportunity to become personally acquainted with several of the clergy in New England; with men who studied his philosophy, imbibed his principles, and sympathized with him in his benevolent enterprise.

Johnson was so much of a convert to his system that he opened a correspondence with him, visited him at Whitehall, where not only great metaphysical questions were examined, but other subjects considered bearing on Christian education, and on the way to do something to repair in a fractional measure the injury occasioned by the failure of the Bermuda scheme. In the summer of 1731 he paid Berkeley a final visit, received from him several valuable books, and directed his attention to the good fruits that might flow from increasing the library of Yale College. The dean was then preparing to leave the country, and two months later, September 7th, he wrote him: "I am now upon the point of setting out for Boston in order to embark for England. But the hurry I am in could not excuse my neglecting to acknowledge the favor of your letter. . . . My endeavors shall not be wanting, some way or other, to be useful; and I shall be very glad to be so in particular to the College at New Haven, and the more so as you were once a member of it, and have still an influence there. Pray return my service to those gentlemen who sent their compliments by you."

Berkeley reappeared in London, February, 1732, and soon published his "Alciphron; or, The Minute Philosopher," a work in seven dialogues, largely written at Newport, and designed to meet the questionings of the freethinkers whom he had personally known, and to check, if possible, the growth of scepticism and irreligion. Having set himself right about the Bermuda scheme, and made a satisfactory disposition of the private subscriptions received in its support, he remembered his promise to Johnson, and in midsummer of this year wrote to him, enclosing "the instrument of conveyance in form of law," which deeded his farm in Rhode Island to the trustees of Yale College. Twelve months passed away, and he had interested some of the Bermuda subscribers to such a degree in the institution that, with their assistance, he was enabled to send a donation to the library of nearly one thousand volumes, valued at about £500; "the finest collection of books," according to Rector Clap, "which had then ever been brought to America."

Johnson, in his autobiography, mentions that "the Trustees, though they made an appearance of much thankfulness, were almost afraid to accept the noble donation," suspecting a design to proselyte, and thinking, perhaps, the gift might prove a Trojan horse, letting out new disasters over the quieted colony. President Stiles, who was

not disposed to credit Johnson with the sole agency in the matter, says, in his diary, he "persuaded the Dean to believe that Yale College would soon become Episcopal, and that they had received his immaterial philosophy. This, or some other motive, caused the Dean to make a gift of his Rhode Island farm, ninety-six acres, with a library of about a thousand volumes, to Yale College, in 1733."¹

The dust of a century and a half rests on the "motive," and if we could brush it away we would doubtless find nothing in the thought of Berkeley but a desire to promote the interests of religion and sound learning, mingled with a hope "to inform their judgment and dispose men to think better of the Church."² He wished to break down the inherited prejudices of New England people, and open a door for the attainment of "more liberal improvements of learning." A sharp religious controversy sprung up about this time, and was attended or followed by efforts of Congregational ministers in Connecticut and Massachusetts to depreciate the work of the missionaries of the Church of England. It was a day of persecutions when it was believed that the end would sanctify the means. In a letter to Archbishop Secker, written many years later, and referring to this period, Johnson said: "I maintained all along a very friendly correspondence with the chief men among them, and endeavored to do them all the good offices I could, and in particular I procured a noble donation from Bishop Berkeley for their college in land and books to the value of nigh £2,000 sterling. But behold the gratitude of these men. At the same time that I was doing them these good offices they were contriving and did send to the Bishop of London a long letter, full of gross falsehoods and misrepresentations, of complaint against us with a view to get all the church people deprived of their ministers, and then of their subsistence, which he laid before the society, and which I believe your Grace may find among papers of the year 1735. In reply to which the society gave them leave to produce evidence to make good their complaints against us, which they endeavored to do, but could make nothing of it."

After Berkeley was promoted (1734) to the see of Cloyne, a secluded bishopric in the southern part of his native Ireland, where he was almost as much out of the world as he had been at Newport, he did not cease to be concerned about the result of his benefactions or fail to keep up, by letter, a tolerably frequent intercourse with his congenial friend at Stratford. Johnson was faithful to inform him of the progress of the college, and Rector Clap occasionally sent him "agreeable specimens of learning," to show that the scholars on his foundation deserved the honors which they won. He intended "his great donation should be equally for a common benefit, without respect to parties," and that intention appears to have been fulfilled.

All this time the Church of England was steadily gaining in the colony; and when Whitefield arrived, and produced an excitement never before known in its religious history, the president and tutors of Yale College signed a declaration condemnatory of his principles

¹ See "Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson," pp. 79, 81.

² Anderson's "Hist. of the Colonial Church," Vol. III., p. 375.

and purposes; and, without expressing it, really sympathizing more with the sober and godly teaching of the society's missionaries than with the intentions and extravagancies of the great revivalist. Care was taken, however, not to encourage the growth of Episcopacy, but rather to perpetuate the established order of religion. So far from being favored in any way by the various acts of the General Assembly, modifying or extending the powers of the college under its charter, churchmen had reason to complain that their sons were denied the privilege of attending on Sundays the worship which they desired and conscientiously preferred. It was a hardship that they were obliged to ask leave for every attendance of this kind, — a hardship that, after a church had been erected in New Haven and a minister appointed to it, the law, with the penalty of a fine attached, still hung over them, which required them to worship in the college chapel on all Sundays, except Communion Sundays. So late as the beginning of the present century, when Bishop Jarvis was about to place his son at Yale, he called upon Dr. Dwight, then president, to settle the preliminaries, and among other things, said, "I shall expect my son to attend Church." — "Certainly," was the reply, "it is his right; only he will be obliged constantly to ask leave." — "If it is his right," said the bishop, "he ought not to ask leave." — "Oh," answered the president, "that is a measure of precaution. Young gentlemen might make their exemption a pretext to attend no public worship." The bishop was willing to trust his son, and insisted upon his not being required constantly to ask leave, and Dr. Dwight yielded the point. But every Monday morning, when the list of delinquents of the past week was called over, the requisition, "Jarvis, absent from the chapel on the Sabbath," was invariably followed by the response, "Sir, I was at Church." This is believed to be the first instance where the son of a churchman was allowed, as a matter of right, to absent himself from the services of the Congregational chapel on Sundays.¹ Students who came from what were called the "minor sects," if any such there were, made no sacrifice in going to the chapel, for they were not accustomed to the use of a liturgy, and found the form of worship near enough to their own to be content. Besides, there was no Baptist or Methodist meeting-house in New Haven prior to 1800.

The change of the charter, brought about under the administration of President Stiles, whereby, in 1792, the governor of the State, lieutenant-governor, and six assistants, or senators, were introduced into the corporation, was evidently intended to restrain the ecclesiastical power, and give civilians a chance to participate in the oversight and management of the interests and funds of the college. It did not cease to recognize the established order of religion interpreted summarily by what was known as the Saybrook Platform, nor did it modify the tests required of members of the faculty, or touch the religious predilections of the students.

Up to this time the degree of Doctor of Divinity had not been conferred upon any Episcopal clergyman; but at the Commencement

¹ See "Memoir of Bishop Jarvis," by his Son. Evergreen. Vol. III., p. 175.

in 1792, Richard Mansfield, the patriarchal priest, who held the rectorship of his parish in Derby seventy-two years, and died 1820, in the ninety-seventh year of his age, received the distinction, and was the first churchman honored in this way by his *Alma Mater*. The authorities had shown wisdom in not sprinkling the degree very freely among graduates who attained celebrity as learned Congregational divines,—a wisdom, be it spoken to their praise, which continues to mark their policy to the present day.

The political revolution in the state which resulted in the overthrow of the old charter of King Charles II., and the adoption of a new constitution in 1818, removed the last restriction upon the consciences of men, so that religion in every denominational form was thereafter left to the free acceptance or deliberate rejection of the inhabitants of Connecticut. The union of church and state, which had existed from the settlement of the colony, was broken, and taxation for the support of public worship was superseded by the voluntary system. The Episcopal Church felt the influence of this revolution at once, and, increasing in numbers and respectability, began to take and occupy a higher place in the social state. Of the fifty-eight graduates from Yale, in the class of 1820, four entered her ministry,—two of them being from Connecticut and the other two from South Carolina. The college could not afford to pursue an illiberal policy while the spirit of liberality was spreading so thoroughly in the commonwealth, and the repeal, by the corporation, of all religious tests for the members of the faculty, in 1823, was followed five years later by appointing to a tutorship a churchman, George Jones, who was subsequently admitted to holy orders by Bishop Brownell and served as a chaplain in the United States navy until his death in 1870. More than a century had elapsed since the trustees readily accepted the resignation of Daniel Brown, for the reason that he with others had declared for Episcopacy, and this graduate was the first churchman introduced into the faculty under a broader view of religious toleration. Among the officers of instruction at the present time are representatives of the principal religious denominations in the land, the Roman Catholic not excepted, and, according to Professor Baldwin,¹ "very possibly some who belong to no religious denomination at all."



¹ N.H. Colony Historical Society Papers, Vol. III., p. 435.

MONOGRAPH VII.

SOME HISTORIC CHURCHES. — NEW ENGLAND.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, PORTSMOUTH, N.H.

BY THE REV. HENRY E. HOVEY, M.A., RECTOR.

THE first public religious services of any kind held in Portsmouth, N.H. (then known by the fragrant name of Strawberry Bank) were those of the Church of England. In the year 1638 the Rev. Richard Gibson (A.B., Cantab., 1636) appears as the minister of the infant colony. He exercised his office with diligence and fidelity until 1642, when he was summoned to Boston by the General Court of Massachusetts to defend himself against the charge of baptizing infants and solemnizing marriages at the Isles of Shoals (off this harbor) according to the ritual of the Church of England. He never returned to Portsmouth, and for ninety years there is no evidence of the services of the Church of England being held in Portsmouth.

In 1732 the site of the present St. John's, on the crest of Church Hill, was given by a Mr. Hope, of London, and a wooden church erected, and named Queen's Chapel, in honor of Queen Caroline, consort of George II., who gave it several folio prayer-books, and a service of plate for the altar, consisting of two large flagons, a chalice, a paten, and a christening-basin stamped with the royal arms.

In 1736 the Rev. Arthur Browne (M.A., Trin. Coll., Dublin, 1729), a native of Drogheda in Ireland, was inducted as rector, and so continued until his death in 1773. His rectorship, of nearly forty years, appears to have been one of quiet and uneventful prosperity. In 1744 he writes to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, that "he has a large parish, who behave well, and show an uncommon regard to the Church."

In 1761 Major Mason, of the British Marine Corps, and his daughters Sarah, Catherine, and Anne Elizabeth, presented to the church the font of variegated porphyritic marble, which is in use at the present day. It had been captured from the French in a naval battle off the coast of Senegal, Africa, by a British expedition. It was said to have been on its way from a cathedral in Portugal to a Roman Catholic mission in Senegal, and to have been of great age at the time of its capture. It is oval in shape, of large size, and a striking and beautiful object in the interior of the church.

In 1763 the Rev. Mr. Browne (as is related in Longfellow's familiar poem¹) was called upon suddenly, at a dinner party at the

¹ Tales of a Wayside Inn. The Poet's Tale.

Wentworth Mansion, to unite in marriage Governor Benning Wentworth, and the servant-maid, Martha Hilton, who afterward gracefully bore the honors of Lady Wentworth:—

The Governor rising from his chair
 Played slightly with his ruffles, then looked down,
 And said unto the Reverend Arthur Browne:
 "This is my birthday; it shall likewise be
 My wedding day; and you shall marry me!"

The listening guests were greatly mystified,
 None more so than the Rector, who replied:
 "Marry you? Yes, that were a pleasant task,
 Your Excellency; but to whom? I ask."
 The Governor answered: "To this lady here;"
 And beckoned Martha Hilton to draw near.
 She came and stood, all blushes, at his side.
 The Rector paused. The impatient Governor cried:
 "This is the lady; do you hesitate?
 Then I *command* you as Chief Magistrate."
 The Rector read the service loud and clear:
 "Dearly beloved, we are gathered here,"
 And so on to the end. At his command
 On the fourth finger of her fair left hand
 The Governor placed the ring. And that was all!
 Martha was Lady Wentworth of the Hall.

The poet states that the rector "hesitated." The record shows no evidence of anything of the sort. The stout-hearted rector no doubt remembered at once that the Church could know no difference in social rank between the governor and the servant, and that here were two parties, both of age, both of sound minds, and both desirous of matrimony. The marriage was duly solemnized, and the husband and wife each loved, honored, and cherished the other, until the death of the governor, in 1770, did them part.

In June, 1773, the Rev. Arthur Browne finished his course and was gathered to his fathers, in a good old age. The local historian of the time thus speaks of him: ¹ "He was strongly attached to the ceremonies of the Church and observed them with scrupulous exactness. He claimed some prerogatives as a parson which, though usual in the English Church, had never been assumed by the other ministers here. This circumstance rendered him unpopular with the dissenters, and caused them to charge him with bigotry. He was beloved by his parish, who lamented his death."

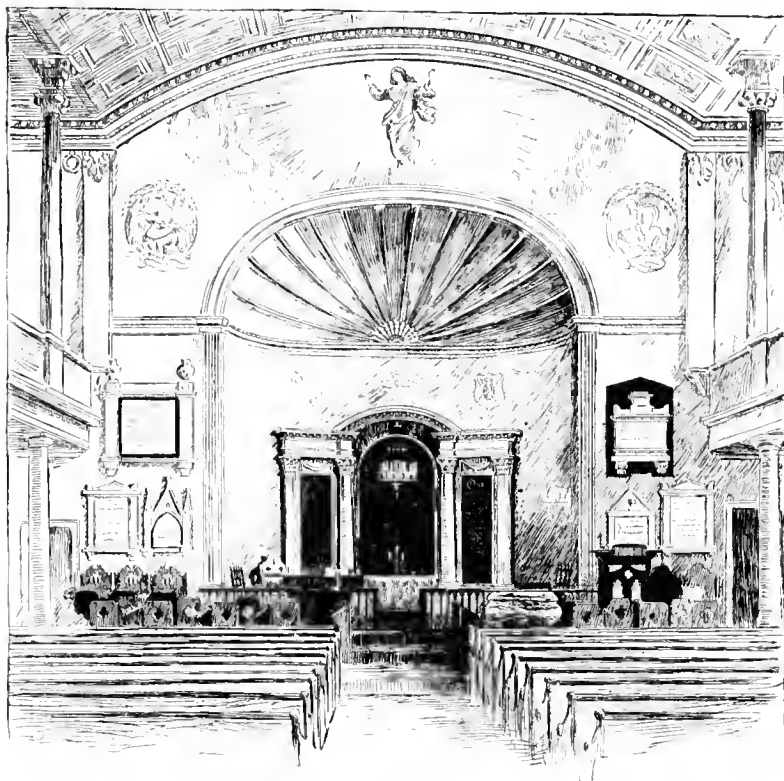
After 1773 there followed the troublous times of the American Revolution. No rector was settled here until 1786. During the interval Rev. Edward Bass, afterward first Bishop of Massachusetts, frequently supplied the vacancy.

In 1779 Hon. Theodore Atkinson died, leaving a legacy of about £200 to St. John's Church, the interest of which was to be expended in bread, to be distributed to the poor in church every Sunday morning. The trust has been faithfully executed for more than one hundred years, and so continues to the present day. Every Sunday morning, the dole of bread piled upon the brass covers of the font, and ready to be distributed to poor women after service, is an attractive and pleasant sight.

¹ Annals of Portsmouth. By Nathaniel Adams. p. 236.

In 1786 the Rev. John Cosen Ogden, ordained by Bishop Seabury, of Connecticut, became rector, and remained until 1793.

In 1795 the Rev. Joseph Willard, ordained by Bishop Provoost, of New York, was elected rector, and exercised a paternal and useful ministry until Easter, 1806, when he removed to Newark, New Jersey. On Christmas-eve, 1806, the old church was consumed by fire during a



THE INTERIOR OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCH.

great conflagration which swept through that part of the town. On St. John the Baptist's day, 1807, the corner-stone of the present edifice was laid. The church, which contains portions of the materials of the earlier structure, was opened for divine service on May 29, 1808, on which occasion a sermon was preached by Rev. James Morss, of Newburyport. The building is of brick, and with good proportions. Its architecture, in 1806, was much superior to that by which it was surrounded, and the church is to-day a pleasing and dignified structure. The Rev. Mr. Morss thus speaks of it: "On entering the superb Edifice and observing the elegance of its structure, the beauty and simplicity

of its decorations, together with its happy accommodation to the purpose for which it is intended, emotions of delight and sentiments of gratitude naturally arise."

At the time of the fire and the subsequent rebuilding of St. John's, the parish was without a rector, the Rev. Mr. Willard having resigned in the spring of 1806. In 1810, under the bright auspices of the new church-building, with health and youthful vigor, the Rev. Charles Burroughs, DD., began his long and happy rectorship of nearly half a century.

In 1836 the "Brattle Organ" came into the possession of St. John's. As far as known it is the oldest organ in America. It was imported about 1710 by Hon. Thomas Brattle, treasurer of Harvard College. By will he bequeathed it to the Brattle-street Church in Boston, under certain conditions, which not being fulfilled, the instrument went to King's Chapel, Boston, where it was in constant use until 1756. It was then sold to St. Paul's Church, Newburyport, where it was used for eighty years, until 1836. In that year St. John's Chapel was erected, on State street, Portsmouth, and the venerable organ was purchased by Rev. Dr. Burroughs, and placed therein. It is still in constant use at the chapel services, and in the Sunday-school.

Dr. Burroughs's resignation, in 1857, brings the history of St. John's at once down to modern times. Since then the rectors have been Rev. William A. Hitchcock, D.D., Rev. Thomas F. Davies, D.D., Rev. Rufus W. Clark, Jr., Rev. Joel F. Bingham, D.D., Rev. Charles A. Holbrook, and Rev. Henry E. Hovey.

For the ten or fifteen years last past Portsmouth has not grown in population, and has somewhat fallen off in commercial importance, but old St. John's continues to fill its place and do its work. During the rectorship of Rev. Mr. Holbrook a Children's Home was established, which is now in prosperous operation, and within the present year (1884) a Cottage Hospital has been opened, which, it is hoped, may be of some service to the community.

Henry E. Hovey

UNION CHURCH, WEST CLAREMONT, N.H.

BY THE REV. FRANCIS CHASE, M.A.,

Rector of the Church of St. James the Less, Searsdale, N.Y.

So far as is known the parish of Union Church, West Claremont, was the first one organized in the Connecticut river valley, north of the Massachusetts line. The town of Claremont was settled in 1767 by a company of emigrants from Farmington, Conn. Several of these, with their leader, Capt. Samuel Brooks, were churchmen. They took with them Samuel Cole, as lay-reader and school-master. The Rev. Samuel Peters visited Claremont officially in 1770, and probably organized the parish. In June, 1773, the Rev. Ranna

Cossit, the first rector, was duly collated into the parish by Gov. Wentworth. The church edifice, now known as Union Church, was commenced in September, 1773. Its length was fifty-five feet, its breadth forty feet, and its height, twenty feet. The plan is said to have been furnished by Gov. Wentworth, who promised to give the nails and glass needed, and also a bell and organ. These promises could not be kept. The building was enclosed, however, a floor laid, and a desk and "deacon's seat" made. In this condition it was used



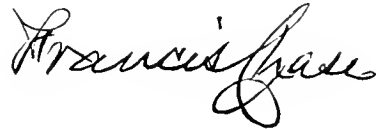
UNION CHURCH, WEST CLAREMONT.

for divine service, during the summer months, until 1783, when the outside was finished. In 1820 an addition of twenty-five feet was made to the length of the church.

The Rev. Mr. Cossit, who was loyal to the crown, with two of his principal parishioners, was confined within the limits of the town during the war, except so far as the ministrations of religion were concerned. In 1785 he resigned the parish.

The ministrations of other clergymen were brief until 1795, when the Rev. Daniel Barber was chosen rector. He was prominent in the movement (1800-1808) to form a diocese in the valley of Connecticut river. He became, in advanced years, perverted to Romanism, and was for that cause obliged to leave the parish in 1818. The next

rector was the Rev. James B. Howe, who continued till 1843. The church grew under his care, and immediately after his departure a separate parish was formed of its numerous members in Claremont village. The old church chose the Rev. Henry S. Smith for its rector. He held this office, respected and beloved, until his death, in 1872, and was followed, after a brief interval, by his son, the Rev. W. B. T. Smith, the present rector.



CHRIST CHURCH, BOSTON.

BY THE REV. HENRY BURROUGHS, D.D.,

Late Rector of Christ Church, Boston.

Christ Church is the oldest house of worship, and with, perhaps, a single exception, the oldest public building in Boston. The first stone was laid on the 15th of April, 1723, by the Rev. Samuel Myles, incumbent of King's Chapel, who concluded the impressive ceremony with the words, "May the Gates of Hell never prevail against it." The church was opened for divine service on Sunday the 29th of December in the same year, when the Rev. Dr. Cutler preached from the 7th verse of the 56th chapter of Isaiah, "For mine house shall be called a house of prayer for all people." It is seventy feet long, fifty feet wide, and thirty-five feet high. The walls, which are of brick, are two and a half feet in thickness. The tower is twenty-four feet square, and its walls are three and a half feet thick. The spire rises to the height of one hundred and seventy-five feet. The architect is not known, but the building was evidently constructed after one of the designs of Sir Christopher Wren. The steeple was not finished until 1740. It was blown down in 1804, and rebuilt in 1807. The spire was lowered to the ground in 1847 for repairs, and restored to its place. There were at first three aisles, and the pews were square. The pulpit, reading-desk, and clerk's desk were on the north side of the middle aisle. The present pulpit, desk, and pews are of more recent date. The steeple was rebuilt after the original plan, and in other respects the church remains substantially the same as it was before the revolution.

On the 2d of October, 1722, the committee appointed to collect money for building the new church wrote to the Rev. Dr. Timothy Cutler, congratulating him and his friends on account of their late declaration of belief that the Church of England is a true branch of the Catholic Church, and inviting him to come to Boston and proceed to London for holy orders. They promised to pay for the passages of Cutler, Johnson, and Brown, to provide a sum for Dr. Cutler's support in England, and to send a petition to the Bishop of London to license

him to preach in the church about to be erected. The invitation was accepted, and Dr. Cutler was ordained in London in March, 1723, and arrived in Boston on the 24th of September. He was appointed a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and his reports to that society furnish a history of his parish during his incumbency of forty-two years. His first letter, dated Jan. 4, 1724, describes the opening service on the preceding Sunday, when the church, not yet finished, was crowded with hearers. There were eighty families and forty communicants. Many were drawn into the Church under his ministry, especially the young. The congregation increased to eight hundred persons, who were very constant and devout at public worship, and the parish was in peace. The number of communicants was ninety-four. In 1750, after Trinity Church was built, Christ Church was the smallest of the three Episcopal churches in Boston. It was never, during the colonial times, able to maintain its rector without the aid of the Society for Propagating the Gospel. To that venerable society the parish is indebted not only for pecuniary assistance, but also for a handsome theological library now in its possession.

Dr. Cutler wrote in 1724 that this church had but one piece of silver for the communion service. That is the smaller of the two chalices, and it is marked, "The gift of Captain Thomas Tudor to Christ Church, in Boston, 1724." Two of the large flagons were procured with the gold and silver received in the offertory, and on them are the words, "Belonging to Christ Church, Boston, New England, 1729." The name and arms of Leonard Vassall are on a paten given by him in 1730. The massive christening-basin bears the inscription, "The gift of Arthur Savage, Esq., to Christ Church in Boston, 1730." with the arms of his family. On two of the flagons, the larger chalice, a paten, and a receiver for the offertory, may be seen the royal arms with the words, "The gift of His Majesty King George II. to Christ Church at Boston in New England, at the request of his excellency governour Belcher, 1733." There is also an oval vessel with a cover which was presented by Mrs. Hannah Smith in 1815.

Besides the silver, George II. gave to this church a folio Bible, printed at Oxford by John Baskett in 1717, and celebrated for the elegance of the printing and engravings, fourteen large prayer-books, cushions, carpets, damask, and two surplices of fine Holland. Three of these prayer-books, adapted to the American service, the Bible and the silver, are now in use. Gov. Belcher, to whose favorable representations the parish is indebted for the king's generous gifts, was a Congregationalist, and his interest in the church was founded upon his regard for Dr. Cutler.

The bells are eight in number, the lightest weighing 620 lbs., and the heaviest 1,545 lbs. They cost £560 in England. We will let them speak for themselves. The first, tenor, has this inscription: "This peal of eight bells is the gift of a number of generous persons to Christ Church in Boston, New England, Anno 1744, A.R." On the second are the words: "This Church was founded in the year 1723. Timothy Cutler, Doctor in Divinity, the first Rector, A.R. 1744." The third

says: "We are the first ring of bells cast for the British Empire in North America, A.R. 1744." The fourth exclaims, "God preserve the Church of England! 1744." The fifth commemorates, "William Shirley, Esq., Governour of the Massachusetts Bay in N.E. Anno 1744." The sixth tells us: "The subscription for these bells was begun by John Hammock, and Robt. Temple, Church Wardens, Anno 1743. Completed by Robert Jenkins, and Ino. Gould, Church Wardens, 1744." The seventh adds, "Since generosity has opened our mouths, our tongues shall ring aloud its praise, 1744." And the eighth concludes, "Abel Rudball of Gloucester cast us all. Anno. 1744."

These bells are provided with wheels for round ringing, but they are now struck by means of cords attached to the tongues, instead of being rung as they were formerly. They are remarkable for purity of tone, sweetness, and harmony. They may still be heard, as in the olden time, for two weeks at the Christmas season, filling the night air with the glad tidings that angels brought in the night to the shepherds in the field.

The first organ was brought from Newport in 1736. The second was made in 1759 by Thomas Johnston. The interior was rebuilt by Mr. Goodrich about fifty years ago.

The four figures of cherubim, and the two chandeliers, were presented, in 1746, by the captain, John Grushea, and the owners of the British ship "Queen of Hungary," and were taken from a French vessel.

Dr. Cutler founded the church at Dedham, took care of Christ Church, Braintree, and preached frequently in towns where there was no Episcopal church. He contended for the rights of the clergy of the Church of England, and engaged actively in measures for the defence of those who were prosecuted for marrying according to the usage in the "Book of Common Prayer," and for the relief of Episcopalians who were fined and imprisoned for not supporting the Independent teachers, and paying for building and repairing their houses of worship. He never ceased to urge the appointment of a bishop for the American colonies. Under all the difficulties arising from the want of Episcopal oversight, and from the hostility of the dominant sect in New England, he labored without ceasing until the infirmities of age compelled him to rest. During the last nine years of his life he was unable to perform public duty. He died on the 17th of August, 1765, at the age of eighty-one years, and was buried under the chancel of his church.

During Dr. Cutler's long illness James Greaton acted at first as lay-reader, and was afterwards ordained, upon the recommendation of the vestry, by the Bishop of London, and appointed assistant to the rector. An unpleasant controversy, which sadly disturbed the peace and harmony of the congregation, for a long time, ended in a request from Mr. Greaton to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, on the 28th of August, 1767, that he might be removed from the mission.

On Easter Monday, 1768, the vestry invited Dr. Mather Byles, Junior, who had been a Congregationalist minister in Connecticut, and had entered the Episcopal Church, to become their rector. They also raised a sum of money to assist in paying his expenses in going to

England for holy orders, and agreed to give him £100 per annum. He accepted the invitation, was ordained in England and appointed missionary, and returned to Boston on the 28th of September. He found one hundred families and fifty communicants. Ninety-eight baptisms are recorded by him in a single year. He was an acceptable preacher and a faithful and laborious pastor, but he was a staunch loyalist, and the revolutionary spirit was already at work in his congregation. Feeling himself bound by his oath of allegiance to the king and his promise of conformity to the English Prayer-Book, he could not join with the friends of liberty, and he resigned his charge.

Dr. Byles's resignation was accepted on Easter Tuesday, April 18, 1775, and it was on the evening of that day that the signal lanterns of Paul Revere, from the church steeple, announced the beginning of those hostilities which ended in the establishment of the independence of the United States.

It was suspected that General Gage was preparing an expedition to Concord to capture the stores and ammunition collected there by the Americans, and Dr. Joseph Warren remained in Boston, while the Provincial Congress was in session at Concord, to watch the movements of the British, and communicate them to Hancock and Adams, who were attending the Congress, and were staying at the house of the Rev. Jonas Clark, in Lexington. On the 15th of April there were discovered signs of an early movement of the troops, and Paul Revere, by Dr. Warren's request, rode to Lexington and gave notice to the patriots. On his return it occurred to him that when it should become necessary to send word that the British were actually on the march it might be impossible for a messenger to leave Boston, and he agreed with Colonel Conant and other friends whom he saw in Charlestown, that—in his own words—"if the British went out by water we would show two lanterns in the North Church steeple, and if by land one, as a signal."

On the evening of the 18th, Dr. Warren, finding that the troops were preparing to cross in boats, sent for Revere in great haste, and begged him to set out for Lexington immediately. Revere went to the North End, made his preparations, and was rowed with muffled oars, under the guns of a British vessel, to the Charlestown shore, where he met Conant and others, who said "they had seen our signals." "I told them what was acting," writes Revere, "and went to get me a horse." During the interval between the 15th and the 18th of April he arranged for the lanterns to be shown from the steeple of Christ Church, then and for many years commonly called the North Church. He selected this building because its lofty tower and spire overlook the town of Charlestown; and the lanterns were probably held at the window long enough to be seen by those who were looking out for them, and were not displayed in such a manner as to be visible to any one in the street below. His purpose was, that by them the information which he was to communicate to the patriots might be made known to his friends on the opposite shore in case he should be prevented from crossing. He does not mention the name of the person whom he employed to make the appointed signal. It seems most

natural and probable that he would intrust the task to the sexton, Robert Newman, who was his friend and neighbor, like himself a North-End mechanic, and a friend of liberty, and who was young, active, and familiar with the difficult ascent of the steeple, where he had to climb by pegs driven into the upright timbers. As sexton he had the keys of the church, and was least likely to excite suspicion if seen entering the building at night. And the tradition, universally received among those living near the church, and strengthened by the testimony of persons who knew Revere and his friends, agrees with this supposition. It is, however, believed by some that it was not Robert Newman, but John Pulling, a member of the vestry, who carried up the lanterns to the windows in the steeple.

This interesting incident was commemorated on the evening of the 18th of April, 1875, by services and historical addresses; and two lanterns were carried up to the steeple by the venerable Samuel H. Newman, the youngest and only surviving son of Robert Newman, attended by the present sexton, and displayed to thousands, who, unable to enter the crowded church, filled the neighboring streets. At the first sight of this simple memorial the vast multitude bowed their heads, as if impressed by its solemnity, and then filled the air with acclamations.

By order of the city government a tablet has been placed in the front wall of the tower with the following inscription: "The signal lanterns of Paul Revere, displayed in the steeple of this church, April 18, 1775, warned the country of the march of the British Troops to Lexington and Concord."

Dr. Byles remained in Boston while it was occupied by the British, and offered to preach in his old church; but his proposal, he says, was treated with neglect. He went to Halifax in 1776, and in 1778 became rector of St. John's, New Brunswick, where he died March 12, 1814, in his eightieth year. In 1778 the "French Congregation" received from the American government leave to use Christ Church, which had been closed since 1775, and it would have been lost to our communion had not the Rev. Samuel Parker, of Trinity Church, by invitation of those of the parish who remained in town, preached in it every Sunday afternoon. The Rev. Mr. Lewis afterwards officiated. He was desired by a vote of the vestry in 1779 "to prepare a proper form of Prayer for the Congress of the United States, for the several States, and for their Success in the present important Contest, to be used daily in the Church." The Rev. William Montague and others officiated until 1792, when the Rev. Dr. William Walter accepted the rectorship. He was rector of Trinity Church before the Revolution, but left Boston after the war began, and resided in Shelburne, N.S., where he was appointed rector of St. George's Church. He returned to Boston, and remained in charge of Christ Church until his death, on the 5th of December, 1800. His successor was the Rev. Samuel Haskell, who left in 1803. Asa Eaton, who was graduated that year at Harvard College, and who is supposed, while a student, to have had in view the ministry of the Congregationalists, was then engaged as lay-reader. He soon became convinced of the truth of the claims of the Episcopal Church,

and prepared himself for holy orders. There being no bishop in Massachusetts at the time, he was ordained deacon on the 31st of July, and priest on the 2d of August, 1805, by Bishop Benjamin Moore, in Trinity Church, New York. By the divine blessing on his faithful labors, continued for twenty-four years, this parish rose from the depression that followed the separation from England to a high state of prosperity. The Rev. Dr. Edson writes that "in standing this parish had become at least the second in the State. In point of life and efficiency, as a member of the whole, it was first." Dr. Eaton introduced a third service on Sundays, at a time when "Evening lectures" were regarded with distrust by the more conservative of our clergy. He devoted one evening in the week to a meeting for prayer and pastoral instruction, and, with the aid of Shubael Bell, one of the wardens, he established a Sunday-school when there was no other in Boston, nor, as far as they knew, in America. This was not a mere class for Bible instruction, but a school regularly organized after the model of the Sunday-schools in England. This school went into operation on the 15th of June, 1815.

Shubael Bell presented the bust of Washington, which was said by La Fayette, who went to see it in 1825, to be a faithful likeness. The artist is unknown.

Dr. Eaton took a prominent part in the formation of the Eastern diocese and the election of Bishop Griswold. He held at one time the rectorship of Christ Church in Cambridge, and maintained services there and at St. Mary's, Newton. He aided in keeping alive the old parishes that survived the Revolution, and in the establishment of new churches. He resigned the rectorship in 1829, on account of an infirmity of the voice. He was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. William Croswell, then a young man in deacon's orders, who was ordained priest on the 24th of June, 1829, in Christ Church. His poems will preserve to many generations the memory of his connection with the church that he so dearly loved. In the memoir, written by his father, may be found a full record of his pastorate of eleven years.

We have space only to enumerate his successors. The Rev. John Woart was rector from 1840 to 1851; the Rev. W. T. Smithett from 1852 to 1859; the Rev. J. T. Burrill from 1860 to 1868, and the Rev. Henry Burroughs, D.D., from 1868 to 1881. During the last forty years large numbers have been baptized and confirmed, and there has been a great deal of good done among the poor of the North End. The Sunday-school continues to draw large numbers into the church. But, in consequence of the removal of Protestant families from that part of the city where the church is situated, there has been a decrease in the attendance upon the public services. During the last thirteen years three hundred and twenty have been baptized, one hundred and sixty-two confirmed, and two hundred and sixty-two added to the communion, while, during the same period, one hundred and seventy communicants have died or removed. Some of the families who have removed to other parts of Boston, or to the neighboring cities, continue to attend the church, and at present no one of the vestry, and less than half of the Sunday-school teachers, reside at the North End.

We cannot conclude this brief sketch without alluding to the benefactors of this parish: Mrs. Jane Keen Richardson, who left to it her estate in Chambers street; Mrs. Catharine Hay, the widow of the youngest son of Lord Hay, who gave \$1,000 to accumulate for the purpose of procuring a parsonage; Miss Eliza Burroughs, the founder of the Burroughs Fund, the income of which, \$70 per annum, is given to the poor; William Price, by whose will the rector of Christ Church preaches two of the Lent lectures in Trinity Church, and the poor of the parish receive one-half of the collections at the lectures, and the noble-hearted, gracious, Christian ladies, Betsey and Lydia Loring, without whose constant and most generous gifts this church would long ago have been closed and its services discontinued. With the income from the funds thus established, and the liberal aid of members of other parishes, services are still maintained in this venerable and historical church, which must be always full of interest as a monument of the colonial period, and of the revolutionary war.

Henry Burroughs

CHRIST CHURCH, CAMBRIDGE.

BY THE REV. NICHOLAS HOPPIN, D.D.,

Formerly Rector of Christ Church.

The archives of the venerable society contain the following account of the introduction of the Church in Cambridge: "Several worthy gentlemen of the town of Cambridge, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, members of the Church of England, having petitioned the Society to grant them a missionary, who may officiate not only to them and the adjacent towns, but also to such students of Harvard University who are of the Church of England, and are at present obliged at great inconvenience to go to Boston for an opportunity of public worship according to the liturgy of the Church, and

Esq. Apthorp

setting forth in their petition that the Rev. Mr. Apthorp, Fellow of Jesus College in the University of Cambridge, England, is every way qualified for the advancement of religion among them, in

Holy Orders, and on a visit to his friends in Boston, the Society, out of a peculiar regard to the merit and approved abilities of Mr. Apthorp, which will enable him very much to promote religion and learning in that his native colony, have appointed him their missionary to the Church of Cambridge, in the colony of Massachusetts Bay: and the gentlemen

of that Church, by a letter dated November 20th, 1759, return their hearty thanks to the Society for this appointment, and promise that they will neglect nothing in their power to render themselves worthy of its patronage."

The original subscription for building the church is dated at Boston, April 25, 1759. The petition to the society was signed by Henry Vassal, Joseph Lee, John Vassal, Ralph Inman, Thomas Oliver, David Phips, Robert Temple, James Apthorp. At a meeting held at Boston September 29, 1759, the six first-named gentlemen were chosen as the building committee. In their letter of thanks to the society for establishing the mission at Cambridge, dated November 24, 1759, the committee say: "We have applied to a masterly architect for a plan, and purpose to build a handsome church of wood." The architect alluded to was Mr. Peter Harrison, then residing at Newport, Rhode Island, whose designs of public buildings have been much admired for correct taste. He was the architect of the Redwood Library, Newport, and of the King's Chapel, Boston. Christ Church, built from his designs, at a cost, not including the land, of about £1,300 sterling, seems to have been always regarded as an edifice of superior elegance. In his sermon at the opening of the church, which took place Thursday, October 15, 1761, Mr. Apthorp says of it: "Much has been done already by your munificence towards completing a structure, the least merit of which is the



CHRIST CHURCH, CAMBRIDGE.

honor it does to our country by adding to the few specimens we have of excellence in the fine arts." The "Massachusetts Magazine" for July, 1792, which gives an engraved view of the building, speaks of it as "commodious and elegant." The Rev. Dr. Holmes, in his history of Cambridge, says: "It is considered by connoisseurs in architecture as one of the best constructed churches in New England." The venerable Andrew Burnaby, archdeacon of Leicester, England, in his "Travels through the Middle Settlements of North America" (1760, p. 141), says: "A church has been lately erected at Cambridge within sight of the College. The building is elegant, and the minister of it, the Rev. Mr. Apthorp, is a very amiable young man of shining parts, great learning, and pure and engaging manners."

The missions of the society in this country, though demanded of the Church of England by so many considerations of duty to her children, had been, on political as well as theological grounds, for some time regarded with alarm, particularly in New England. The

founding of the church at Cambridge, in the immediate neighborhood of the college, and the appointment of so able and accomplished a missionary, seems to have given rise to renewed distrust with regard to the ulterior objects of the society. Mr. Apthorp felt called upon to defend its proceedings, and published, in 1763, "Considerations on the Institution and Conduct of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel." This led to a sharp reply from the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., pastor of the West Church, in Boston. Dr. Thomas Secker, then Archbishop of Canterbury, published, in 1764, without his name, a temperate and dignified answer to Dr. Mayhew, to which Dr. Mayhew replied; and his reply was reviewed in 1765 by Mr. Apthorp, then in England.

It was thought that the bitterness with which he was assailed in this controversy was the reason of Mr. Apthorp's abandoning his original purpose of returning to America. It was hinted that he had an eye to the episcopate, in case bishoprics should be established in the colonies. Upon settling in Cambridge he built a spacious and costly mansion, the unwonted splendor of which caused many remarks. Said the Rev. Dr. Mayhew, in one of his pamphlets: "Since the mission was established in Cambridge, and a very sumptuous dwelling-house (for this country) erected there, that town hath been often talked of by the Episcopalians, as well as others, as the proposed place of residence for a bishop." In another he amusingly surmised that "a certain superb edifice near Harvard College was even from the foundation designed for the palace of one of the humble successors of the Apostles."

No doubt, Mr. Apthorp's situation in Cambridge was rendered uncomfortable by this controversy, and he the more readily embraced the opportunity of preferment in England. In 1765 Archbishop Secker gave him the vicarage of Croydon, near London. For twenty-eight years he continued vicar of Croydon, performing the duties of a parish priest with exemplary diligence, and to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, by whom he was very justly revered, and who showed their regard for him when he had lost his sight, by a noble present of nearly £2,000 sterling. Here he found time for his favorite classical and historical studies, and here, early in 1778, he entered the list against the historian Gibbon by the publication of "Letters on the Prevalence of Christianity before its Civil Establishment, with Observations on a late History of the Roman Empire." Soon after the appearance of this work Archbishop Cornwallis conferred on him the degree of D.D., and collated him to the rectorship of St. Mary-le-Bone, London. In 1790 he was made a prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral, and had the offer of the bishopric of Kildare, which he declined on account of the state of his health. In 1793 Bishop Porteus, on the recommendation of Archbishop Moore, gave him the very valuable prebend of Finsbury, attached to St. Paul's. The remainder of his days were passed at Cambridge, England. After bearing patiently a long sickness of six years he died at the advanced age of eighty-four, and was buried with great honor in the chapel of Jesus College, Cambridge.

After the removal of Mr. Apthorp, the Rev. Mr. Griffith officiated from December, 1764, till May, 1765. In the summer of 1766 the parish obtained the consent of the Rev. Winwood Serjeant to become their missionary, and requested the Rev. William Agar to officiate till Mr. Serjeant's arrival. On September 1, 1767, Mr. Serjeant wrote to the society informing them that he had entered upon his new cure. He remained as missionary till the breaking out of the war. The Rev. Dr. Caner, writing from Boston to the society, June 2, 1775, says: "Mr. Serjeant, of Cambridge, has been obliged, with his family, to fly for the safety of their lives, nor can I learn where he is concealed. His fine church is turned into barracks by the rebels, and a beautiful organ that was in it broke to pieces." The Rev. Mr. Weeks, writing from Marblehead in 1778, says: "Mr. Serjeant's parish at Cambridge is wholly broken up. The elegant houses of those gentlemen who once belonged to it are now occupied by the rebels." Mr. Serjeant did not long survive his misfortunes, and the dispersion of his congregation. He died September 20, 1780, at Bath, England, whither his family had removed.

A large body of the tumultuous and unorganized provincial forces, which crowded into the environs of Boston after the battle of Lexington, took possession of the church, the colleges, and private houses in Cambridge. At the time of the battle of Bunker Hill Capt. Chester's company, from Wethersfield, Conn., seems to have been quartered in the building. General Washington arrived in Cambridge on Sunday, July 2, 1775. On the 10th of July he wrote to the president of the Continental Congress that the army suffered great disadvantages for the want of tents. Their barracks for the winter were not completed in the latter part of November, so that it might have been December before the church was vacated. Mrs. Washington arrived at Cambridge on Monday, December 11th. On Sunday, the last day of the year 1775, Colonel William Palfrey, "at the request of Mrs. Washington, performed Divine service at the church at Cambridge. There were present the general and lady, Mrs. Gates, Mrs. Custis, and a number of others." It is more than probable that service was performed in the church on other occasions while the head-quarters of the army were at Cambridge. There has always been a tradition that General Washington was in the habit of worshipping there; and when the church was repaired in 1825, a pew which he occupied was pointed out by a person who had been present.

For fifteen years from the breaking out of the revolutionary war, or rather from the time when General Washington, with his household and others, solemnized the departing year by attending public worship, December 31, 1775, the church lay neglected and disgraced, the doors shattered, and all the windows broken out exposed to rain and every sort of depredation, its beauty gone, its sanctuary defiled, the wind howling through its deserted aisles and about its stained and decaying walls. No effort appears to have been made for the renewal of divine worship till the beginning of the year 1790. On the 14th of July the church was again opened for service, when the Rev. Dr. Parker, rector of Trinity Church, Boston, preached from Ephes. ii. 19-22.

The Rev. Joseph Warren had been "put into Deacon's orders" by Bishop Seabury, for Christ Church, and officiated till Easter, 1791. The Rev. Dr. Walter and the Rev. William Montague, as assistant, then served conjointly for a time. Readers were employed, among them Theodore Dehon, afterward Bishop of South Carolina, and Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, afterward Provisional Bishop of New York. In 1825 the building, which had fallen into decay, was repaired and reopened July 30, 1826, a sermon being preached by the Rev. George Otis, A.M., one of the faculty of Harvard College. Of those who have in later days served this ancient parish as rectors, two are now bishops of the Church, — the Right Rev. Drs. Vail and M. A. DeWolfe Howe. Of those who have temporarily served in this congregation the Rev. Dr. John Williams is now Bishop of Connecticut, and the Rev. Horatio Southgate was the Missionary Bishop in Turkey. The Rev. Dr. Thomas Winthrop Coit, D.D., the Rev. Nicholas Hoppin, D.D., the Rev. Wm. Chauncey Langdon, D.D., and the Rev. James F. Spalding, have been rectors of this historic church. It has been recently repaired and restored to its former beauty.

Nicholas Hoppin.

TRINITY CHURCH, NEWPORT, R.I., AND ST. PAUL'S CHURCH,
KINGSTON, R.I.

BY THE RT. REV. THOMAS MARCH CLARK, D.D., LL.D., CANTAB.,

Bishop of Rhode Island.

TRINITY CHURCH.

The Episcopal Church was established in Newport, R.I., by the instrumentality of Sir Francis Nicholson, in 1698, and in 1702 what was at that time called a "a handsome church" was completed and occupied. A bell was presented to the church by Queen Anne, in 1709. It is a fact worth noticing that, in 1713, "the Minister, church-wardens, and vestry, petitioned the Queen for the establishment of Bishops in America, setting forth the great benefits that would result to the Church from such a measure."

In 1724 the number of communicants, and other attendants upon public worship, had so far increased as to call for the erection of a new church, and in 1726 the first service was held in the edifice now standing. The building was originally seventy feet long and forty-six wide, and was regarded by the people of that day as the most beautiful timber structure in America. In 1762 the church was divided in the centre and an addition made, lengthening the building thirty feet. No other change has ever been made either in the interior or the exterior. The spacious square pews, the lofty pulpit, surmounted by the old-fashioned sounding-board, with the large reading-desk and clerk's pew

at its base, the high galleries on three sides of the building, the tablets on the chancel wall, — all remain as they were more than a hundred and fifty years ago. It is probably the only ecclesiastical edifice in the land, of the same date, which has never been touched by the ruthless hand of innovation; even the royal crown continues to glisten at the top of the spire, which is explained by the fact that from 1776 to 1779 the British fleet and army had possession of the island of Rhode Island. After the evacuation of Newport by the king's troops, the church was entered and despoiled of the altar-piece, consisting of the king's arms, the lion and the unicorn, which was set up for a target: but the other emblems of royalty, the crown on the spire and another on the top of the organ, not being very accessible, were allowed to remain. The wardens' poles still stand in their place, indicating the pews which were occupied by those high functionaries. The church appears to be as sound and substantial as ever, and is likely to continue for many years to come. Although the pews are not very convenient, and the view of the chancel is much obscured by the cumbersome pulpit and reading-desk, which occupy the middle aisle, there is no disposition to disturb the existing arrangement, and the church will probably continue as it is until it falls a prey to the elements.

The connection of Bishop Berkeley with this ancient church, and the fact that for some time he occupied the pulpit and ministered the sacrament in the chancel, just as they now are, gives to the place a special hallowed interest. He arrived in the harbor on the 2d of September, 1729, and notice was sent at once to the minister of Trinity Church, who was at the time holding service, as it was a holy day, and after the benediction, the minister, wardens, vestry, and congregation proceeded to the wharf to welcome the distinguished dean. The house which he built on the outskirts of Newport and named White-Hall is still standing, and the cleft in the "Hanging Rocks," on the shore, which he fitted up with a chair and writing-desk, and where he is said to have written "The Minute Philosopher," now goes by his name. The organ, with its crown and two gilded mitres, which he gave to the church, occupies the same place where it stood nearly a century and a half ago, and the remains of his child still slumber in Trinity church-yard, where this inscription may to-day be read, "Joining to the south of this tomb, lies Lucia Berkeley, daughter of Dean Berkeley. Obit. the 5th of September, 1731." So long as he remained in Newport, the preaching of the dean, as might have been expected, attracted great crowds to the church. Some of our older churches here have of late been restored to their original condition, as far as was practical; but it is peculiar to Trinity, Newport, that all things remain as they were in the beginning. There may be a little warmer color on the walls, some slight adornments, here and there, to suit the more florid taste of the times: but this is all, — steeple, and spire, and organ, and aisles, and pews, and desks, and pulpit, and chancel, have seen no change. The men and women of olden time, if they should rise from their graves, could find their way to the old seat in the old pew without a guide, and hear the same old clock strike the hour in the belfry, and walk by the same winding way to take their places at the chancel rail.

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH.

Before the year 1700 a number of families attached to the Church of England had settled in what was known as the Narragansett country, and worship was held in private houses until the year 1707, when the church was built, which is now known as St. Paul's, Kingston. The date of its erection is still legible over the main door, and it is believed to be the oldest Episcopal church now standing in the northern part of the United States. It was erected on a site five miles north of the place where it now stands, and removed to its present position in the year 1800. The original burying-ground is still preserved, with the sexton's house at the entrance, and a few years since a massive granite cross was placed on the spot, once occupied by the chancel of the church, in memory of the Rev. Dr. McSparran, for many years the minister of the parish. A new church has been erected in the village of Wickford, not far from the ancient edifice which occupies a position on an eminence commanding the bay. Occasional services are held in the old building, which is carefully protected from decay. Like Trinity Church, Newport, no changes have been made in the Narragansett church, as it used to be called, except that the chancel, which formerly stood on the east side, has been removed to the north side, where the pulpit and reading-desk stood. Some vestiges of the drapery that once adorned this part of the church still remain, but the faded and blackened fragments give no token even of their original color. All the arrangements of the interior of the building are clumsy, unsightly, and inconvenient; it is evident that timber was very abundant when this church was built, a hundred and seventy-five years ago, and architecture in that region a thing unknown. The time was when roads did not exist in the Narragansett country, that sixty or seventy horses might be seen tethered about the church premises on a pleasant Sunday morning, each with its pillion for the accommodation of the women and children, and it was a very aristocratic assemblage that gathered there for worship. Several distinguished clergymen officiated there from time to time; among them may be mentioned Dr. McSparran, author of a work on the colonies, entitled "America Dissected." Printed in Dublin, 1753. The Rev. Mr. Fayerweather, who died in 1781, and whose body lies beside the remains of Dr. McSparran, in the old church-yard; the Rev. William Smith who succeeded him, and from whose pen we have the office in the "Book of Common Prayer," for the "Institution of Ministers into Parishes or Churches," and who, perhaps, did more than any one else to introduce chanting into our services.

The early records of this parish are very full and in excellent preservation. They contain a great deal of material which no rector in our times would think of entering in his parochial record-book, and some of which might, with much propriety, have been omitted.

Thomas M. Clark.

THE OLD NARRAGANSETT CHURCH.

BY THE REV. DANIEL GOODWIN, M.A.,

Rector of St. Luke's Church, East Greenwich, R.I.

The section known in colonial times as "the Narragansett Country" lay in the southern portion of the present State of Rhode Island, upon the mainland, west of Narragansett Bay. Sometime previously to the year 1700 several families attached to the worship of the Church of England had settled within this territory, and held occasional services in private houses. In the year 1706 the Rev. Christopher Bridge became their first pastor, and in the following year was erected, by the voluntary subscriptions of the residents, the Narragansett Church, the oldest Episcopal ecclesiastical structure still standing in New England.

The church was constructed of timber, after the familiar prevailing Puritanical meeting-house style of architecture, with two tiers of windows entirely around it and a broad door opening directly into the interior. A lofty pulpit, surmounted by a canopy, with a modest reading-desk in

front, stood at the head of the middle alley, while roomy, square pews occupied most of the floor. Above was a broad gallery extending around three sides and affording almost as much seating space as there was below.

The most distinguished of the rectors of St. Paul's Church was the Rev. James McSparran, D.D., a missionary of the venerable society, judged by some to be the ablest sent out to America during the colonial period. He was appointed to the position in 1720, and remained in it until his death, in 1757.

In those days the Narragansett country was noted for its exten-



THE OLD NARRAGANSETT CHURCH.

sive plantations, its retinues of slaves, and its profuse hospitality. Prominent among the families was that of the Gardiners, from which the young missionary chose his wife, a sister of Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, the founder of the city of that name upon the Kennebec.

On a bright Sunday morning, one hundred and fifty years ago, the quaint church must have been the centre of a scene most pleasant to behold, and of a character of which the memory has almost vanished. There were then no carriages of any consequence owned in Narragansett, the narrow roads being little fitted to their use, and almost everybody depended upon the saddle as the means of conveyance. At an early hour, perhaps, arrived the portly doctor upon the back of one of the famous Narragansett pacers, with his fair consort upon a pillion behind, the two having ridden leisurely from their comfortable glebe-house, a couple of miles away. Thick and fast follows the congregation, — the Phillipses and the Balfours, and the Updikes and the Gardiners. Not improbably Gabriel Bernon, one of the first vestrymen, has come down the twenty-seven miles from Providence to worship once more with his former neighbors.

The prevailing sect in the colony at this period is the Quaker, but it is no plain company in drab and brown that is gathering within the walls of this rural sanctuary. Gay cavaliers in scarlet coats escort richly dressed dames, such as look down upon us from the canvases of Smibert and Copley. Casting your eye up into the ample gallery, you observe groups of ebony-skinned servants, in the defence of whose right to all the privileges of the church the good doctor is strenuous. If our Sunday is one not later than 1731, it may be that the genial Dean Berkeley, often a visitor in Narragansett, has come over from Newport to delight the congregation with one of his philosophical sermons or bring a smile to their faces by his honest declaration, "Give the devil his due, John Calvin was a great man."

But sad days were in store for the quiet temple on the Narragansett hill-side. Ere the century was over the sound of strife penetrated the region from the great world without, and for years the doors were shut, the Church of England sharing the unpopularity of everything associated with the mother-country. The house of God was turned into a barrack for rude soldiers, and patriotic songs replaced those of Zion.

After the smoke and din of war had passed away, and the century was nearing its close, the church was reopened, a little congregation was gathered and ministered to by such men as Fayerweather and William Smith, the compiler of the Institution office, while the newly consecrated Bishop Seabury sometimes favored it with his presence. It was soon found, however, that the population around the old church had so largely changed and diminished that a new site had become desirable. Accordingly, in the last month of the last year of the eighteenth century, it was voted that the edifice, which had maintained its position for nearly a hundred years, should be removed to the more thriving village of Wickford, five miles to the northward. But the enterprise was not accomplished without considerable opposition. The surrounding inhabitants could ill bear to lose the venerable

landmark with which they and their fathers for three or four generations had been familiar. Strange superstitions had grown up and mingled with more enlightened and hallowed associations. It was confidently believed that when a member of one of the neighboring families was to be removed by death due and awful warning of the fact was always given by the flashing of weird spectre lights from the windows of the tenantless temple at night. Even when the removal was actually undertaken there is a tradition that the powers of the air intervened to hinder the desecration, the workmen, who had begun to make preparations, being more than once driven away by a fierce tempest. But finally the plan prevailed and the antique edifice was set up where it now stands, with the addition of a neat tower and spire. For two or three generations the old church-yard, whence the sanctuary had been removed, lay neglected and almost forgotten. There, beneath the tall grass, slumbered, in one common level, the brave master and the humble slave of the *régime* which had passed away forever. The grave of Dr. McSparran, who had been buried under the communion-table, was left utterly unmarked and bare, save as kindly Nature spread over it her soft, green turf. At length, however, in 1869, the diocese of Rhode Island, tardily acknowledging her debt to the mother-church of England, erected over the spot a massive memorial cross of granite, with suitable inscriptions.

For nearly a half century after its removal the old church continued to be used by St. Paul's parish, Wickford, until a new house of worship was erected. Not to mention others who ministered within its walls, it should be remembered that the saintly Griswold frequently hallowed it by his presence. For the last thirty-five years the venerable edifice has been only occasionally opened for services in mild summer weather. At such times the representatives of the original families have joyfully gathered in large numbers, and thronged the old familiar pews of their ancestors. The ancient, well-worn service-books have been brought out from their hiding-places and laid upon the desk, and again the antiquated structure has resounded with prayer and praise and Scripture and sermon.

About fifteen years ago the steeple, although nearly a century newer than the rest of the church, fell on a perfectly windless night. Subsequently, some repairs were made upon the building, and an inscription recounting the main dates in its history placed over the central door. Now "the old Narragansett Church," already become a shrine whither the eager feet of many a pious pilgrim are wont to hasten, bids fair to stand a half century, or even a century longer, as a witness of the zeal of the fathers for the worship of the living God.

David Goodwin. -

SOME HISTORIC CHURCHES. — THE MIDDLE STATES.

*THE HISTORIC AND ANTI-REVOLUTIONARY CHURCHES OF LONG ISLAND.*BY HENRY ONDERDONK, JR., A.B., *Cantab.*,*Author of the "Antiquities of the Parish Churches of Hempstead and Jamaica, L.I."*

The parish church of Jamaica dates from 1702, being the first Church of England on Long Island, and the earliest recipient of the bounty of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. That society sent over the Rev. Patrick Gordon, with an allowance of £50 per annum, as rector of Queen's County. Unfortunately Mr. Gordon died at Jamaica the day before he was to have officiated, and was buried beneath the pulpit of the church, on the 28th of July, 1702. By a law of the colony, as then interpreted, the stone edifice (erected in 1699 by the town) became the property of the Church of England, and as such was occupied for divine worship till 1728. After the death of Mr. Gordon, Lord Cornbury, the governor, appointed the Rev. James Honyman to the cure, who served till the arrival of the society's second missionary, the Rev. William Urquhart, who was inducted July 27, 1704, and lived in undisturbed possession of the church and parsonage till his death, the last of August, 1709. Public services were kept up in the church by the neighboring clergy till the arrival of the society's third missionary, the Rev. Thomas Poyer, who, having been shipwrecked on the south shore of Long Island, had to journey one hundred miles by land to his parish, where he was inducted July 8, 1710. Mr. Poyer's faithful labors were continued here, through much trial and suffering, till the 15th of January, 1732, when he went where the weary are at rest. He had never been allowed to set foot in the parsonage, and, in the eighteenth year of his ministry, was ousted from the church, in a suit brought by the town, wherein the judge was charged with unfair ruling. The majority of his parishioners, being dissenters, annoyed him in many ways, often refusing to pay his salary, and in his recourse to law he sometimes lost his suit.

The Rev. Thomas Colgan, having been recommended to the society by the rector and wardens of Trinity Church, became their fourth missionary at Jamaica. He continued public worship in the county court-house, as his predecessor had done, till 1734, when, by the favor and liberality of Governor Crosby and other contributors, a half acre of land was bought, and a building erected thereon, which was opened, April 5th, with considerable ceremony, for divine worship, by the name of Grace Church. It was thought to be one of the handsomest churches in North America. In 1737 the pews (thirty) were sold. In 1747 a bell was bought from the proceeds of a lottery. After a peaceable and prosperous ministry Mr. Colgan ceased from his labors in December, 1755, and was buried in the chancel of his church.

In January, 1757, after some difficulties, fomented by the dissenters, a suitable successor to Mr. Colgan was found in the Rev. Samuel

Seabury, Jr., who was transferred from New Brunswick to the living of Jamaica, and remained till 1766, when he left for lack of sufficient support, and was instituted, December 3, in St. Peter's Church, Westchester.

In 1761 the church obtained a charter, which empowered it to receive legacies and gifts, manage its temporal affairs, and have a vestry of its own, elected by and out of its communicants. There was now a double set of vestrymen, — one elected by the voters of the three towns of the parish, the other by those in communion of the Church of England. The parish vestry, with the justices of the peace, levied and disbursed the minister's and poor tax, as heretofore.

Newtown was a component part of the parish of Jamaica till the close of the revolutionary war. In 1704 a place of worship had been erected, and repaired by tax levied on all the inhabitants of the town alike; but the dissenting minister having gone elsewhere, by the favor of the governor, it was put in possession of the Rev. William Urquhart. Services were held monthly. In 1715 the building was much dilapidated. In May, 1735, a building was erected on a lot of twenty square rods, given by the town for a church in 1733. In 1760 it was repaired and the steeple rebuilt, in which was hung a bell given by Mr. Provoost, a relative of the future bishop. William Sackett, by will, left the church a house and land of the yearly value of £30 or £40.

The church erected in 1735, though altered, is still standing, and is used as a Sunday school-room.

Flushing was also a component part of the parish of Jamaica till the close of the revolutionary war. Being inhabited chiefly by Quakers it had no house of worship other than a Friends' meeting-house, and when the society's missionaries held their monthly services there they were forced to occupy the town-hall or an old guard-house west of the village pond.

In 1746 Capt. Hugh Wentworth gave money and half an acre of land to set a church upon. At first it was enclosed barely sufficient to keep out the weather; but in 1760 it was finished with a steeple and bell.

Henry On der donk Jr.

HISTORIC CHURCHES OF NEW JERSEY.

BY THE REV. GEORGE MORGAN HILLS, D.D.,
Rector of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, N. J.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

On the 13th of July, 1695, "several persons, Inhabitants in and about Burlington, together with John Tatham, Edward Hunloke and Nathaniel Westland," bought a piece of land on Wood street near

Broad, for a "Christian burying ground." On the 16th of September, 1702, this ground was enlarged, and the whole fenced in. On the 29th of October, the missionaries, Keith and Talbot, reached Burlington. Keith's "Journal" says :—

November 1, Sunday. We preached at the Town-House, at Burlington (the Church not being then built) and we had a great Auditory of diverse sorts, some of the Church, and some of the late Converts from Quakerism. Mr. Talbot preached before Noon, and I in the Afternoon. My text was John 17, 3. Col. Hamilton, then Governour, of West Jersey, was present both Forenoon and Afternoon, and at his Invitation, we dined with him.

Feb. 24, Sunday, 1702. I preached at Burlington, in West Jersey, on Rom. 10, 7, 8, 9 and Feb. 22, I baptized the wife of Mr. Rob. Wheeler and his three children and five others: in all, 9 persons. He and his wife had been Quakers, but are come over to the Church.

Feb. 26, 1702-3, Keith writes to the Bishop of London :—

The people well affected to the Church, have gathered two hundred pounds towards building a Church at Burlington, in W. Jersey; they are to begin to build as they have told me, this Spring.

On the 6th of March, the land adjoining the "Christian burying ground" on the south, being the lot on the corner of Wood and Broad streets, was bought by Nathaniel Westland, Robert Wheeler and Hugh Huddy, as "felloes in Trust, for the Erecting a Church and other buildings, as occasion may serve for Charitable uses," "for the sum of Twenty Pounds of Currant Silver money within the Province."

On the 10th April, 1703, Mr. Talbot writes :—

Last Lord's day I was at Burlington, the chief town in West Jersey, where I have preached many times in a house hard by the Quakers meeting. . . after Sermon I went out with the rest of the people, and laid the corner stone of Saint Mary's Church.

May 3d, he writes :—

I was at Burlington last Lady day, and after prayers we went to the Ground where they were going to build a Church, and I laid the first stone, which I hope will be none other than the House of God and Gate of Heaven to the People. Coll. Nicholson, Governour here, was the chief founder of this as well as many more; and indeed he has been the benefactor to all the Churches on this land of North America. God bless this Church, and let them prosper that love it. We called this Church St. Mary's, it being upon her day.

Keith's "Journal" says :—

August 22, Sunday, 1703. I preached at the New Church at Burlington, on 2 Sam. 23. 3, 4. My Lord *Cornbury* was present and many Gentlemen who accompanied him, both from *New York*, and the two *Jerseys*, having had his Commission to be Governour of *West* and *East Jersey*, Read at the Town House there, some Days before. It was the first Sermon that was preached in that Church.

On the 2d April, 1804, Nath. Westland, Hugh Huddy, Robert Wheeler, William Budd, and thirteen other men, sent a petition to England, in which they say :—

The Reverend Mr. Keith on his first arrivall appointed a time and place to read out of the Quakers' authors their grosse errors but they refused to hear him and continue to revile and reproach him for exposing them, but we of the Church

of England members have a great value for him for his good instructions and great Pains amongst us to confirm us in the true orthodox doctrine, and hath also brought over sundry of his former friends Quakers who are now joined with us. These encouragements caused us sometime since to joyn in a subscription to build a church here, which tho' not as yet near finished, have heard many good sermons in it from the Rev. Mr. Keith and the Rev. Mr. Jno. Talbot whom next to Mr. Keith we have a very great esteem for, and do in all humility, beseech your Lordships he may receive orders from you to settle with us, and indeed he is generally so respected by us that we should esteem it a great happiness to enjoy him, and we have great hopes God Almighty will make him very Instrumentall not only to confirm and build us up in the true orthodox doctrine, but also to bring many over from the Quakers, he being so very well qualified as we presume thereto. Our circumstances att present are so that we cannot without the assistance of your Lordships maintain a minister, tho' we are in hopes as Quakerism decreases our church members will encrease so that in time we may be enabled to allow a Reverend Minister such a competency as to have a comfortable subsistence amongst us.

On the 4th October, 1704, Lord Cornbury granted his Warrant for a Patent to Incorporate Church-Wardens and Vestrymen under "the name of St. Anne's Church in Burlington." This charter, signed "J. Bass, by His Excellency's command," Mr. Bass subsequently informs us "by some unaccountable neglect, had omitted to pass."

October 20, 1705, Mr. Talbot writes to Mr. Keith, who had returned to England:—

Coll. Nicholson took Bills of Mr. Bass for the money in hand, £70, Pennsylvania money, and gave it all to the Churches in these Provinces, with Bills of Exchange to make it up to £100 sterling, besides what he subscribed to the Churches to be erected at Hopewell, Elizabeth Town, Amboy and Salem. We have made it appear that he has exhibited to the Churches in these Provinces about £1,000; besides, what he has given to particular persons and the poor would amount to some hundreds more, which we did not think fit to mention. He is a man of as much prudence, temperance, justice, and fortitude as any Governor in America, without disparagement to any, and of much more zeal for the house and service of God. I have seen four of them together at Church in Burlington, but in the afternoon their place had been empty had it not been for the Honorable Governor Nicholson; so that I can't but observe the example of his piety in the Church, is as rare as his bounty towards it; no wonder then that all that love the Church of England are fond of Governor Nicholson, who is a true son, or rather a nursing father of her in America.

Keith's "Journal" has this minute:—

Mr. Talbot has Baptized most of them who have been Baptized since our Arrival among them, and particularly all the Children, both Males and Females of *William Budd*, who formerly was a Quaker-P preacher, but is come over from Quakerism, to the Church, with diverse others of the Neighbourhood, in the Country about the Town of *Burlington*, who come usually to the Church at *Burlington* on the Lord's-Day; some of them Six, Eight, and some of them Ten, or Twelve Miles, and some of them more.

On the 2d November, 1705, fifteen of the clergy, including several of the Church of Sweden, met in Burlington, when an address was drawn up, signed, and sent, under cover to the Bishop of London, to the S. P. G.

This address, with a letter commendatory of Mr. Talbot, was sent by his hand to England. He returned to America in 1707-8, and "acquainted us that he had presented our humble Address to Her

Majesty, and the other Letters that we sent ; and that Her Majesty had been graciously pleased to give us Lead, and Glass, and Pulpit Cloth, and Altar Cloth, and a Silver Chalice, and Salver for the Communion Table and a Brocade Altar Cloth ; and that she had also sent Lead, and Glass, and Pulpit Cloths, and Altar Cloths for the Churches of Hopewell and Salem, which we received by the hands of the Honorable Col. Robert Quarry. He also brought us an Embossed Silver Chalice and Patten, the gift of Madame Catharine Bovey, of Flaxley."

Jan. 25, 1709, a charter was granted to "The Minister, Churchwardens and Vestrymen of the Church of *St. Mary* in Burlington," by which "the Rev. Mr. John Talbot, Rector, Mr. Robert Wheeler, and Mr. George Willis, Church-Wardens, and Col. Daniel Coxe, Lieut. Col. Huddy, Alexander Griffith, Her Majesty's Attorney General, Jeremiah Bass, Her Majesty's Secretary of this Province, and sundry others, were constituted a Body Corporate."

In April, 1711, the church received from the Hon. Col. Robert Quarry "the gift of a large silver Beaker with a cover well-engraved for the use of the Communion."

Oct. 29, 1712, Governor Hunter, in behalf of the S. P. G., consummated the purchase, for "£600, sterling money of England," of "the mansion-house and lands," for a bishop's seat. This property a few years before was described as "the Great and Stately Palace of John Tateham, Esq., pleasantly situated on the North side of the Town, having a very fine and delightful Garden and Orchard adjoining to it." Its domain, of fifteen acres, was bounded on the north by the Delaware river, on the east by Assiscunk creek, on the south by Broad st., and on the west by what was afterwards called St. Mary st. It was "as level as a bowling green." The posts of its fences were cedar ; the covering of its roof, lead ; and there were offices and a coach-house and stables, and every appointment to make it at once the grandest and — for want of a purchaser — the cheapest establishment in America. A bill was ordered to be drafted to be offered in parliament for establishing bishoprics in America ; but, before its introduction, its great patroness, Queen Anne, died. Mr. Talbot, who, for twenty years, had been incessant in toils, and importunate in appeals for what he deemed the chief need of the provinces, sailed for England in 1720, leaving the parish with ex-Governor Bass as lay-reader.

Returning to America in 1722, Talbot, on the 13th of July, 1724, made over for the use of his successors, the rectors of St. Mary's Church, forever, more than two hundred acres of land, which he had purchased, with a legacy of £100 left by Dr. Frampton, the deprived Bishop of Gloucester.

Sept. 7, 1724, Talbot writes : —

I preach once on Sunday morn and Catechise or Homilize in the afternoon. I read the prayers of the Church, in the Church, decently, according to the order of Morning and Evening Prayer, daily through the year, and that is more than is done in any Church that I know, *apud Americanos*.

In 1725 Talbot was discharged from the service of the S. P. G.,

and ordered by the Governor to "surcease officiating." He died in Burlington, Nov. 29, 1727, universally beloved and lamented.

In 1730 the Rev. Robert Weyman became rector of St. Mary's, and remained till his death, Nov. 28, 1737, "leaving this world with an universal good character as a true and faithful laborer in God's vineyard."

On the 10th of May, 1738, the Rev. Colin Campbell, M.A., arrived in Burlington as minister of the parish. In 1742 he founded the church at Mt. Holly, and served it together with St. Mary's. His missionary rectorship continued until his death, Aug. 9, 1766, — a period of nearly twenty-nine years. "He was faithful in the Discharge of every Trust, and particularly of his most Sacred Trust, as a Minister of the Gospel of Jesus."

On the 25th of July, 1767, the Rev. Jonathan Odell, M.A., reached Burlington, and the next day was inducted into the rectorship by His Excellency William Franklin, Esq., Governor of New Jersey.

In 1768-9 Mr. Odell was a leading spirit in founding the Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Orphans of deceased Clergymen, and was its first secretary. In 1769 he enlarged St. Mary's Church by an addition of twenty-three feet westward; placing a new bell in the belfry, and silk hangings, furnished by the wife of Governor Franklin, on "the pulpit, desk, and table." In 1771 he resumed the practice of medicine, for which he was educated, declining the salary from the parish till the debt for enlarging the church should be paid.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, as a subject of Great Britain and a clergyman of the Church of England, he used all efforts to preserve peace. In October, 1775, two letters of his were seized and referred to the "Council of Safety," and afterwards to the Provincial Congress, who declined to pass censure against him.

A few days after the Declaration of Independence, Dr. Odell's parole was taken, restricting him to a circle within eight miles of Burlington. In December, 1776, he was hidden by a Quakeress, in a secret chamber of her house, from a party of armed Tory-hunters; and in the evening was placed in other lodgings, whence he escaped, leaving his wife and three children, the youngest not five weeks old. The vestry, on the following Easter, voted that his salary be continued, notwithstanding his absence, — a pleasing proof of their attachment. During his ministry — a period of nine years and five months — the "Parish Register" has twenty-six closely filled pages of neatly and accurately kept records; the totals of which are: Baptisms, 249; Marriages, 122; Burials, 131; — a very large exhibit. The first ten of these pages are "attested" at the foot of each by "Jon. Odell, Minister, William Lyndon, Abrm. Hewlings, Wardens." This rare, if not the only, instance of this kind in this country, originated under Canon 70, James I., 1603.

Under date "New York, January 25, 1777," Dr. Odell writes: —

Since the declaration of Independency the alternative has been either to make such alterations in the Liturgy, as both honor and conscience must be alarmed at, or else to shut up our Churches and discontinue our attendance on the public Worship. It was impossible for me to hesitate a moment in such a case, and I find that many of the Clergy in Pennsylvania, and every one in New Jersey (Mr. Blackwell only

accepted) have thought it their indispensable duty in this perplexing situation to suspend our public Ministrations rather than make any alteration in the established Liturgy. At the same time, we were persuaded that in every other respect to pursue a conduct inoffensive, if possible, even in the eye of our Enemies, was what the Society both wished and expected from us & what we owed to our own characters as Ministers of the Gospel.

CHRIST CHURCH, SHREWSBURY.

The first services of the Church of England in Monmouth county were held by the Rev. Alexander Innes, of Middletown, East Jersey. Feb. 26, 1702-3, Keith writes to the Bishop of London: —

Col. Morris is a very good friend to the Church, and a promoter of it, and was very kind and assistant to us, and is very regular in his family, and his Lady is a very pious and good Woman, his family is a little Church; he useth the Common Prayer in his family daily, and on Sundays his neighbours come to his house as to a Church, and at times Mr. Innes preacheth in his house. I suppose your Lordship remembereth Mr. Innes, a good man, but a nonjuror.

Keith's "Journal" says: —

October 24, Sunday, 1702. I preached at *Shrewsbury*, in *East Jersey*, at a House near the Quakers' meeting-house, and it happened that it was the Time of the Quakers' Yearly Meeting at *Shrewsbury*: My Text was 2 *Pet.* 2, 1, 2. The Church Prayers being read before Sermon, we had a great Congregation, generally well affected to the Church, and diverse of them were of the Church.

December 25, Friday, being Christmas day, I preached at the House of Mr. *Morris*, on Luke 2, 10, 11. And after Sermon diverse of the Auditory received with us the Holy Sacrament; both Mr. *Morris* and his Wife, and diverse others. Mr. Talbot did administer it.

October 17, 1703, Sunday. I preached at Shrewsbury, near the Quakers Meeting there, on Psal. 103, 17, 18.

October 24, Sunday. I preached again there on Heb. 8, 10, 11. And Mr. Innesse baptized two Men and a Child.

Between 1703 and 1705 a church building was erected.

October 20, 1734, the Rev. Mr. Forbes, missionary for Monmouth county, reports, "that upon his arrival he found many Persons zealous for the Church of England worship; that he hath baptized about seventy Persons, one a Man upwards of thirty years of age, a young Woman of about nineteen, and several Children of five and six Years of Age: that in that County where he is the only Missionary, there is one very fair and handsome Building for a Church, and besides that three other Places for the Accommodation of People who live at a Distance; where he is obliged to officiate not without Fatigue and Expense."

In 1744-5 the Society's "Report" says, "The Churches in Monmouth County are placed under the Rev. Mr. [Thomas] Thompson, a Fellow of Christ College in Cambridge."

In 1747-8 Mr. Thompson reports, "that they have almost finished a neat Church, and that in the year he has baptized sixty-one Children and sixteen white Adults, one Negroe Adult, and two Mulattos, and received fifty new Communicants."

This was the second church building. It was of stone.

In 1751 the Rev. Samuel Cooke, a graduate of Cambridge, England, became the missionary. In 1765 he had the care of the churches

at Shrewsbury, Middletown, and Freehold, but afterwards gave up the last. The corner-stone of a third edifice was laid in 1769, the building being constructed after plans furnished by the Rev. William Smith, D.D., provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia.

In 1773-4 Mr. Cooke reports "that the Church at Shrewsbury is so far finished as to be made use of; that it cost upwards of 800*l.* and the inside will cost 200*l.* more."

Geo. M. Hills.

THE UNITED CHURCHES OF CHRIST CHURCH AND ST. PETER'S,
PHILADELPHIA.

BY THE REV. THOMAS F. DAVIES, D.D.,
Rector of St. Peter's, Philadelphia.

CHRIST CHURCH.

The history of Christ Church, Philadelphia, is far more than that of a local church, or an individual parish. It is interwoven with that of the colonial days and the revolutionary struggle; there were offered up the prayers of the great founders of the republic, and there were accomplished the unification of the Church and the ratification of the prayer-book.

It was in the year 1695, twelve years after the founding of Philadelphia, that measures were first taken to erect in the growing city a building for the worship of Almighty God after the forms of the Church of England. A lot 140 feet by 132 was obtained on the west side of Second street above High, and a church of moderate size was completed within the year. "The population of Philadelphia," says Dr. Dorr, "at that time could not have been more than four or five thousand, and the building then erected, though humble in its size and architecture, must have been a goodly structure for a city then in its infancy."

No authentic traditions enable us to determine its plan or dimensions, or even the material of which it was built. It was probably partly of wood and partly of brick. The congregation increased so rapidly that the church required enlargement in 1711, and on the 27th of April, 1727, the corner-stone of the present church was laid by the Honorable P. Gordon, governor of the province of Pennsylvania. The walls of the new building rose around those of the old in which the congregation still worshipped, and the edifice was completed in its present form in 1744. The architect was Dr. John Kearsley, and its stately beauty and admirable proportions do lasting honor to his skill and taste. The chime of bells, proverbial for the sweetness of its tones, was placed in the tower in 1754.

Interesting memorials of the colonial days are found in the valuable library which began to be gathered in 1695, and was subsequently en-

riched by gifts from Queen Anne, and by the generous contribution of Ludovic Christian Sprogeff in 1728; in the communion plate, which bears upon one of its flacons and chalices the inscription "ANNA REGINA in usum Ecclesie Anglicane apud Philadelphium A.D. 1708;" in the royal arms carved in wood which adorned the pew of the governor of the province; in the medallion bass-relief of George II., which had its place until the Declaration of Independence in the eastern gable of the church, and in the funeral escutcheon or hatchment of Robert Smythe, sometime Chief Justice of New Jersey by appointment of the Crown.

It would require far more than our permitted space to recall the many hallowed associations which cluster around this sacred edifice and render it dear to the heart of every American churchman. It will suffice to mention a few.

Here, for six years, while President of the United States, Washington was an habitual worshipper. Hither, upon Thursday, the 20th July, 1775, upon the day set apart by its authority to be observed through all the American provinces as one of humiliation, fasting, and prayer, the Continental Congress came in a body from the State-House to attend divine service and listened to a sermon founded upon the 14th verse of the 80th Psalm ("the American Vine"), from the Rev. Jacob Duché, assistant minister of the parish.

Here, upon the 27th September, 1785, was held the first General Convention of the American Church, and also the second, in June of the following year. Here, upon the 14th September, 1787, the convention of the diocese elected the Rev. Dr. William White, Bishop of Pennsylvania. Here, also, assembled the General Convention of 1789, when the whole American Church was for the first time represented, the illustrious Seabury, the first in the line of American bishops, being in attendance, with clerical deputies representing New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. This convention will be ever memorable in our history for the ratification of the prayer-book in its present form, and for the happy accomplishment of that which had been ardently desired rather than confidently expected by all true churchmen,—the unification of the Church in all the dioceses under one constitution.

It is worthy of mention also that three of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were pew-holders of Christ Church, viz., Benjamin Franklin, who served for several years as a vestry-man; Francis Hopkinson, the rector's warden, who gave his services for a period as organist, and received the thanks of the vestry "for his labour of love," and Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, and brother-in-law of Bishop White.

During its history of nearly two hundred years Christ Church has been presided over by twelve rectors,—perhaps it would be more accurate to say by eleven, for the death of the Rev. Mr. James ensued almost immediately upon his accession to the rectorship. The list is headed by the Rev. Thomas Clayton, who was sent out by Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, in 1695. He is described as "a zealous and faithful pastor," and died after a ministry of some three years from

a contagious disease contracted in the discharge of his pastoral duty. The Rev. Evan Evans, D.D., 1700–1718, was unwearied in his labors both in his parish and in all the surrounding country. He retired with impaired health to a smaller cure in Maryland in 1718, and died in 1721. The venerable society recorded upon its minutes "that he had been a faithful missionary, and had proved a great instrument towards settling religion and the Church of England in those wild parts." The Rev. John Vicary, 1719–1722, was succeeded by the Rev. Ralph Welton, D.D., who had received Episcopal consecration from one of the non-juring bishops. He was recalled to England in 1726, and was succeeded by the Rev. Archibald Cummings, who fulfilled his ministry "with good success and great satisfaction to the people" until his death in 1741. The next rector, the Rev. Robert Jenney, LL.D., had for many years done good service as a missionary of the venerable society in Westchester county, N.Y., and at Hempstead, L.I. He died in January, 1762, in the 76th year of his age and the 53d of his ministry, having been rector of Christ Church more than nineteen years. The Rev. Richard Peters, D.D., 1762–1775, was a liberal benefactor of the parish. He resigned, on account of the infirmities of age, in September, 1775, and was followed by the Rev. Jacob Duché, the senior assistant, who had already acquired, from his perfect elocution and fine voice, great reputation as a reader and preacher. It was he who offered the first prayer in the Continental Congress on the 5th September, 1774. Becoming disheartened as to the success of the American cause he withdrew and went to England in December, 1777. His successor was the Rev. William White, D.D., who had served for seven years as an assistant minister in the parish. He was elected rector on the 15th April, 1779, and held the office until his death in July, 1836. He was a native of Philadelphia, and was baptized in infancy in Christ Church. The whole of his long life was passed in the city of his birth, and before the eyes of the same community which has never ceased to hold him in most profound and filial veneration. Dr. White was consecrated Bishop of Pennsylvania at Lambeth, 4th February, 1787.

The successor of Bishop White in the rectorship was the Rev. John Waller James, who lived but four weeks after his accession to office. The Rev. Benjamin Dorr, D.D., was elected rector on the 9th March, 1837, and fulfilled his duties with distinguished ability and purity until his death, 18th September, 1869. The Church is indebted to him for the scheme of its endowment fund, to which he left a liberal bequest, as well as for the gift of his valuable library. He was succeeded by his assistant, the Rev. Dr. Edward A. Foggo, under whose faithful labors the endowment fund has been completed, and the vigorous life of the parish maintained.

ST. PETER'S CHURCH.

Among the valuable papers of the Penn family preserved in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is a document which throws light upon the origin of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia. It is a petition bearing date August 1, 1754, signed by a number of

the leading citizens of Philadelphia and addressed to the proprietors of the province. Its prayer was for the grant of a lot on the southwest corner of Third and Pine streets for a church and church-yard for the use of members of the Church of England. The proprietors generously responded by the donation of the valuable lot extending from Third to Fourth street.

No further steps, or at least no decisive ones, were taken until June 20, 1758, when the following entry is found in the minutes of the Vestry of Christ Church: "It is unanimously agreed that another church is much wanted; and it is proposed that the taking and collecting the subscriptions, and conducting of the affairs relating to the building and finishing the said intended church, shall be under the management of the Minister, Church-Wardens and Vestry of Christ Church for the time being." Mr. Joseph Sims was appointed treasurer, and Dr. John Kearsley, the architect of Christ Church, was chairman of the committee charged with the duty of securing subscriptions and preparing a plan for the new church. At a meeting of the vestry held a week later, June 27th, the plan was submitted and approved, and the work directed to be entered upon without delay. The dimensions were to be the same as those of Christ Church, ninety feet by sixty, with the pulpit and reading-desk at the west end and the chancel at the east. The organ was to be placed in the middle of the north gallery, facing the pew in the south gallery reserved for the honorable proprietaries, and in the cupola were to be hung the two bells originally used in Christ Church.¹

In accordance with these plans St. Peter's Church was erected, and in August, 1761, the announcement was made to the vestry that it was ready for the opening service. The aged rector, Dr. Jenney, was so far incapacitated by age and infirmity as to be unable to give his personal attendance, but he was requested by the vestry to name the preacher for the occasion. His choice fell upon the Rev. Dr. Richard Peters. Dr. Peters' engagements not permitting him to undertake the duty, the rector's choice next fell on the Rev. Dr. William Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia. The service was held September 4, 1761. The sermon by Dr. Smith, which was subsequently printed, was founded upon 1 Kings viii. 13, 27, 57, 60.

The history of St. Peter's Church until 1832, when it became a separate corporation, is identical with that of Christ Church. Neither church was willing to sever its connection with the venerable rector, Bishop White, who accordingly remained rector of each until his death in 1836. The Rev. Dr. William H. De Lancey, then provost of the University of Pennsylvania, had been chosen assistant minister of St. Peter's Church in 1833, with the right of succession, and entered upon his office as rector directly upon the death of Bishop White.

Dr. De Lancey vacated the rectorship upon his consecration as the first Bishop of Western New York, May 9, 1839. His ministry was marked by the erection of a building for the Sunday-school (which gave place to a larger one in 1872), and by the establishment of

¹ The larger of these bells now hangs in the tower of the Chapel of Christ Church Hospital, the smaller in that of Christ Church Chapel, Pine street, above 19th.

the parish day-school, which still continues in successful operation. Dr. De Lancey was succeeded by his assistant the Rev. Dr. William H. Odenheimer, who discharged his office with unsurpassed energy, ability, and faithfulness, until his consecration as Bishop of New Jersey, Oct. 13, 1859. He was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. George Leeds, now rector of Grace Church, Baltimore, in April, 1860. The present rector, the Rev. Dr. Thomas F. Davies, was elected February 22, 1868.

The rectorship of Dr. Odenheimer is memorable from the fact that he was the first to restore, with the cordial and unanimous concurrence of his vestry, to the American Church the daily service of morning and evening prayer, and the celebration of the holy communion on every Sunday and holy day throughout the year. During his rectorship the tower and spire at the western end of the church were built, a chime of eight bells having been presented in 1842 by Benjamin C. Wilcocks, Esq., a member of the congregation. This is the only architectural change in the exterior of St. Peter's Church since its first erection. The only internal change was made in 1785, when a gallery for the organ was built over the chancel, the space occupied by it in the north gallery being required for additional pews. With the exception of Independence Hall, St. Peter's Church is the only building of the last century in Philadelphia which retains its original features. The square pews with their high, straight backs, the aisles paved with stone and marble, the lofty pulpit with the sounding-board above, and the reading-desk beneath—all endeared to the congregation by unnumbered and most hallowed memories, remain as they were in the beginning. The prosperity of the parish has suffered little abatement from the lapse of time, and its future maintenance is secured by an endowment fund, the plan of which was prepared by the Hon. Horace Binney in April, 1872.

Among the distinguished clergymen who have served as assistant ministers may be named the Rev. Robert Blackwell, D.D., 1781–1811; the Rev. James Abercrombie, D.D., 1794–1832; the Rev. Jackson Kemper, D.D., 1811–1831; the Rev. James Milnor, D.D., 1814–1816; and the Rev. William A. Muhlenberg, D.D., 1817–1820.

Two or three facts of interest may be added. It is recorded by Bishop White, in a letter dated Nov. 28, 1832, that Washington, during one winter before his presidency, while in Philadelphia, attended regularly at St. Peter's Church.

The first sermon by Bishop White, on his return from England as bishop, was preached from the pulpit of St. Peter's, and there he also preached his last sermon on the Sunday three weeks before his death. It was in this church that he held his first confirmation, Nov. 10, 1787, and also his second, Dec. 12th of the same year, the first class numbering forty-four, and the second thirty-five. The largest confirmation ever held by him was in St. Peter's, Easter eve, March 28, 1812, when the number confirmed was one hundred and seventy-five.

We are permitted to make the following extract from "Notes of the White family," by Thomas H. Montgomery, Esq., a great-grandson of the bishop:—

The early part of the married life of Bishop White was passed in the house at the South West corner of Pine and Front Streets, upon the site of which now stands St. Peter's House, that noble establishment of St. Peter's Church. Some months before his marriage he had been appointed one of the Assistant Ministers of Christ Church and St. Peter's, — and as junior Assistant his duties may have been given principally to St. Peter's Church, — hence the reason for establishing himself in its near vicinity. In his study in this house were planned upon the close of the War all the measures looking to a Union of the Clergy and Congregations of the Commonwealth, out of which grew the federate Union of the Churches in all the States forming the American Church.

In a letter to Bishop John Inglis, of Nova Scotia, Feb. 11, 1826, Bishop White says:—

It is as you suppose a great gratification to me to behold our Church so increased and increasing, since its organization was begun in my parlor in the spring of 1784.

Thos. F. Davis.

SOME HISTORIC CHURCHES. — SOUTHERN STATES.

MARYLAND (DIOCESE OF EASTON).

By THE RT. REV. HENRY C. LAY, D.D., LL.D.,
Bishop of Easton.

EMMANUEL CHURCH, CHESTERTOWN.

This church was ordered to be built in 1768, but it was not finished till after 1770, when another act was passed assessing £360 on the parish to be applied to the finishing it, and enclosing the burying ground. It was built of brick, sixty feet long by forty wide, two stories high, with a stone foundation. This was, at first, a chapel of ease, — the parish church being about five miles north-west of Chestertown. In 1801, 1834, and 1845 this church was repaired, and on the 8th of February, 1882, after having been "remodelled and changed from an inconvenient building, difficult to speak in, into a church of admirable acoustic properties," it was consecrated by Bishop Lay, by the name of Emmanuel Church. There was neither record nor tradition to show that it had ever had a name till the time of its consecration.

ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH, SOMERSET PARISH, PRINCESS ANNE.

It having been represented to the General Assembly of Maryland that "The Chapel of Ease, called King's Mill Chapel, is much decayed and will in a little time be dangerous," the vestry were authorized to sell King's Mill Chapel, and purchase two acres in Princess Anne, and build a chapel thereon. On the 31st of March, 1767, the vestry agreed that the new chapel should be sixty feet by forty, exclusive of the chancel arch, and the contract for building it was made. May 12, 1767, the vestry paid for the lot. The bricks for the church were made on the lot.

March 6, 1770, the vestry refused to receive the chapel, the work not having been done according to agreement. But on the 9th of July, 1771, it was received by them.

On the 11th of November, 1845, the church was consecrated by Bishop Whittingham.

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, ST. PAUL'S PARISH, KENT COUNTY.

On the 27th of August, 1711, "a brick church" (the one then and since known as St. Paul's, Kent) "was ordered to be built just by the former one," which was of wood, "to be 40 feet by 30, with a circle at the east end." On the 2d of February, 1713, the builder delivered the church to the vestry.

During the ministry of the Rev. James Sterling, between 1740 and 1763, an addition was made on the north, doubling the size. It became cruciform, but without a head to the cross. The pulpit was over the south door. It was consecrated by Bishop Whittingham in 1843.

ALL-HALLOWS, ALL-HALLOWS PARISH, SNOW HILL, WORCESTER COUNTY.

In June, 1748, was passed an Act to levy on the taxable inhabitants of All-Hallows Parish eighty thousand pounds of tobacco, to build a parish church of brick, on part of the ground laid out for public use, in Snow Hill town.

The building was probably begun in 1749, but could not have been finished until after 1756, as in May of that year another Act was passed levying a further tax of forty-five thousand pounds of tobacco towards the completion of Snow Hill Church. It is rectangular, and very plain. Within are two tablets, with inscriptions in gilt letters. The lettering, even now, is fresh and bright. One is to the memory of the daughter, who died in 1769, and the other of the wife, who died in 1771, of the rector of the parish. The dead of six generations lie in the church-yard, and it is still used as a burying-ground.

A wooden church was formerly on or very near the site of this.

ST. LUKE'S CHURCH, ST. LUKE'S PARISH, QUEEN ANNE COUNTY.

In 1728 this parish was taken from St. Paul's, and made a separate cure. A chapel of ease was then in use, which stood within the present church-yard, and hard by the site of the present church. The work upon this — henceforth to be the parish church — began in the summer of 1730, and was finished by the end of 1731. With the close of the Revolution, the glory of this church began to wane, and though we find that in 1793 Bishop Claggett confirmed here a class of thirty, yet darkness soon settled upon it.

In 1826 Bishop Kemp reported it was in a ruinous condition.

In 1841 Bishop Whittingham speaks of the "venerable, but dilapidated edifice." The next year, 1842, he records that he "officiated with deep thankfulness to God . . . in the partially repaired and reopened Church of St. Luke's, at Church Hill." Forty years afterwards it was thoroughly restored. The old walls stand as they were originally built one hundred and fifty years ago. The spa-

cious apsidal chancel, the lofty, arched ceiling, the hip roof, have all been retained: and the 7th of March, 1881, it was reopened, and rededicated by Bishop Lay. In the church-yard around lie buried the dead of nearly two centuries.

ST. LUKE'S, WYE, TALBOT COUNTY.

In 1694 this church was a chapel of ease within St. Paul's parish, which embraced the whole of Queen Anne and Caroline and part of Talbot county. As Wye chapel very soon after needed renewal it must have been standing for a number of years, even at that early date. The present church was built between 1717 and 1721.

Between 1830 and 1836 this church became so dilapidated that it could no longer be used as a place of worship. A few years later "it became necessary that Bishop Whittingham and three friends should reach a certain steamboat landing, very early in the morning. The way led them near this old church. Going to it they found that the church had become a stable. The cattle were driven out, and then, standing in the desecrated chancel, in the gray light of the morning, the bishop said 'Let us pray,' and the four brethren knelt together. He poured out his soul in supplication, entreating the Lord to revive his work, to build the old waste places and make the sound of praise to be again heard in this house called by his name. The service ended, they barred the entrance with fence-rails and went their way. But before they had left the building they contributed what was the foundation of a fund for the restoration of the church,"¹ and on the 20th day of July, 1854, this ancient temple was set apart, by Bishop Whittingham, to the worship of God, and has since been in constant use. It is surrounded by a grove of the most venerable oaks.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, NORTH ELK.

The earliest known document relating to this church is a manuscript letter from the vestry of the parish (North Elk) to the Bishop of London, in 1715. They say that "notwithstanding we have been made a Parish by the laws of our Country about nine years and, in the time, have builded a Church," they are destitute of a minister. In 1742 an act was passed authorizing the inhabitants of St. Mary Anne (North Elk) parish to raise £800 for building "a new church of brick in the same place where the old one stands." In 1743 the church was built. It is fifty-five feet by thirty, the walls thirteen feet high and eighteen inches thick.

From 1796 to 1835 this parish, with very partial exceptions, was vacant. In 1836 it was reported to the convention that "St. Mary Anne's Church, which for many years had been neglected, was dilapidated, and the vestry room was fitted up for service."

In the report to the convention of 1845, we learn that "St. Mary's, the ancient and venerable parish church, having never been consecrated, tho' built more than one hundred years ago, was consecrated by Bishop Whittingham, Sept. 3, 1844."

¹ Abbreviated from Brand's "Life of Bp. Whittingham."

TRINITY CHURCH, CHURCH CREEK, DORCHESTER PARISH, DORCHESTER COUNTY.

In 1694 the council ordered the vestries of the parishes belonging to Dorchester county to build a chapel of ease in each parish, in some place lying most convenient to the parishioners. This was at that time one of the parish churches. In 1801 Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Kemp reported that "the Parish Church is in ruins." In 1808, "that the Church has lately been partially repaired, but is hardly comfortable. Since the Revolution they have never had a regularly settled minister, but one year." In 1841 Bishop Whittingham reports to his convention that "the venerable building greatly needs the completion of repairs, begun a few years ago." It was repaired in 1852, and, April 17, 1853, was consecrated by Bishop Whitehouse, acting for the Bishop of Maryland. In his report of the consecration he says, "This building is one of the oldest in Maryland, and, having fallen into decay, has been now judiciously restored. The old Bible and one piece of Communion plate go back to the reign of Queen Anne. The cushion on which I knelt at the Lord's table was used, it is said, in the coronation of that Sovereign. It is of rich crimson velvet, of large size, and, the tradition is, was presented by Bishop Spratt."

Henry C. Lay

MARYLAND.

BY THE REV. GEORGE A. LEAKIN, A.M.,
Rector of Trinity Church, Baltimore, Md.

ALL-HALLOW'S CHURCH, ALL-HALLOW'S PARISH, ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY.

This quaint structure is one of the few buildings remaining as



ALL-HALLOW'S PARISH CHURCH, MARYLAND, BUILT 1692.

originally constructed about the year 1692. The walls are the same, and nothing, save repair necessary to its preservation, has interfered with its original design. The bell bears date of 1727, and it is proposed in the restoration to rebuild the tower taken down early in the present century, and give voice again to those tones which have, for more than one

hundred and fifty years, called the faithful to prayer throughout the surrounding country.

ST. MARGARET'S, WESTMINSTER PARISH, ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY.

The old Marley Chapel is the only ante-Revolution church edifice in this parish of which there is the slightest visible trace, and that has for years been given over to the owls and bats. It is about nine miles from Baltimore, near the bridge, over Marley Creek, which empties into Curtis Creek, a tributary of the Patapsco. It is in the woods, built of brick; its walls are in good preservation, but the interior is greatly abused. The walls are discolored; the roof broken; the doors and shutters unfastened; the pews and furniture removed. Returning from the deserted sanctuary, with some gathered wild-flowers, we could unite in the Psalmist's grief: "Thy servants think upon her stones, and it pitieth them to see her in the dust." May the time soon come when the long-suspended worship of our ancestors shall be resumed by their descendants.

By a Leatun

COLONIAL VIRGINIA.

BY THE REV. PHILIP SLAUGHTER, D.D.,

Historiographer of the Diocese of Virginia.

JAMESTOWN.

The picturesque ruin at Jamestown, on the James river, in the parish and county of James City, marks the site of the first fort, the first town, the first church, and the scene of the first legislature, the first baptism, the first holy communion, and the first marriage, in the first colony, permanently planted by Englishmen on the continent of America.

Although this ruin does not represent the church in which good Master Hunt officiated (1607-8), yet it is the last link in a chain which connects it with that "Church in the Wilderness." As we look back we see the landing of the pioneer pilgrims, prominent among whom were Newport, "Master of Transportation," Capt. Smith, the first hero and historian of Virginia, and the gallant Percy, who fixes the 14th May as the day of the first landing. We see the Indian warriors, "armed for strife," lurking in the forest, and springing at the war-whoop from every bush and glen. We see the flames of sedition quenched by the gentle Hunt, with "the water of patience," followed by the holy communion. We see the worshippers, in their first temple, sitting upon unhewn logs, within walls of rails, and Master Hunt standing upon a bar of wood nailed to two trees telling of the "Good News," and making the forest resound with the burning words of the old liturgy.

Such was the first church in the wilderness until "they built a homely thing on crochets, and covered with sedge and earth." And yet they had daily "common prayer; every Sunday two sermons, and every three months the communion, till our minister died."

The next winter this humble place of worship was burned, and though the preacher "lost his library and everything he had but the clothes on his back, yet none heard him repine, and, till he could not speak, he never ceased to urge us to persevere." Upon these facts the comment of the chronicler is, "Questionless his soul is with God."

In the spring "the Palace stayed," as a thing needless; and the church was repaired (or rebuilt).

On the 23d day of June, 1610, Sir Thomas Gates arrived from the Bermudas with the ships "Patience" and "Deliverance," two cedar vessels, bringing with him another clergyman, Rev. Richard Bucke. He found the colony reduced by starvation and pestilence to fifty persons. The first place he visited was the "ruined church," "and having the bell rung, such of the people as could crawl, joined in the sorrowful prayers of Mr. Bucke." Gates embarked the survivors and fell down the river with the tide, "none dropping a tear" at bidding, as they thought, a final farewell to Jamestown. But being met by Governor De La War, they returned. His lordship's first act on landing was to fall upon his knees on the ground in prayer. Thence he went in procession to the church and heard a sermon from Mr. Bucke. The captain-general gave orders (says Strachey) "for repairing the Church." De La War's health failing, he was succeeded by Sir Thomas Dale, who was attended by Whittaker, a graduate of Cambridge, who "left his warm nest in England for the high and heroic end of preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles," and who earned, by his devotion unto death, the title of the "Apostle of Virginia." It was he who baptized and married Pocahontas.

When Sir Thomas Argall reached James City, May, 1617, he found "five or six houses and a ruined Church." Say the planters, in their "Declaration:" "The store-house was used for a Church."

In 1619, when the captain-general arrived, "he found a Church 50 feet by 30, built of timber at the sole charge of the inhabitants," so that this could not have been the church which De La War visited with so much ceremony, and which he caused to be kept "so sweet and clean and trimmed with flowers;" as that church was sixty feet by twenty-four.

Sir George Yardley convoked the first legislative body on this continent, and it met in the church. "The most convenient place we could find to sit in was the Quire of the Church, where Sir George Yardley sat in his usual place — the Council on either side, the Secretary before him, the Sergeant at the Bar — and forasmuch as men's affairs do not prosper when God's service is neglected, all the Burgesses took their place in the Quire until prayer was said by Mr. Bucke, that God w^d sanctify all our proceeding to his own glory and the good of this plantation. They then passed into the Church and were sworn." They took measures for erecting a university and college, and for the education of the Indians.

Next followed in succession Governors West, Pott, Sir John Harvey, and Sir Francis Wyatt, when, in 1640 (says Neill, who does not cite his authority), twelve houses were built, one of brick by Secretary Kemp, "the fairest in the colony," and, at the same time, "the first brick Church in Virginia was commenced."

We know but little of the history of this church but that it is associated with the successive governors, Sir Francis Wyatt, Sir William Berkeley, Kempe, Burnett, Digges, Matthews, and Berkeley (again), till the burning of Jamestown by the so-called rebel, Nathaniel Bacon. We know little of the ministers who filled the interval.

The truth is, the clergy had been the occasion of so much scandal that lay-readers were preferred. Governor Berkeley said: "The worst are sent over to us, until the persecution in Cromwell's time drove divers worthy ministers hither;" and Godwyn, grandson of a bishop of Hereford, says that "two-thirds of the pulpits in Virginia were filled with leaden lay-priests of the vestries' ordination;" and adds that "with short intervals, Jamestown was without an ordained minister for twenty years."

When "the metropolis" was burned by Bacon, it is described by a contemporary as "running east and west about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile upon the river, and having some 16 or 18 houses, most (as is the Church) of Brick, faire & large, & in them is about a dozen families (all the houses not being occupied) who get their living by keeping ordinaries at extra-ordinary prices." The town was laid in ashes, including the church. The Assembly met at Green Spring in 1676, and at the private house of Mr. Thorpe, at Middle Plantation, in 1677, and returned to James City in 1679, where it continued to meet until 1699, when it sat at the college. There is nothing in the Acts of Assembly about building another State-house at Jamestown; and Hugh Jones says, as late as 1724, "that the town consisted of heaps of brick rubbish, with three or four dwellings." There was an old church, two miles from Jamestown, called "*The Church in the Maine*." Under this church was a brick vault, in which had been divers coffins; on the plate of one was the name of Elizabeth, wife of Rev. Mr. Bland and daughter of William Yates, once president of the college. In the yard was the tomb of "*Rev. William Gough, died January 1683-4, minister of this place*," as says the epitaph.

It may be that this church was substituted for the one burned, and that when the church of "James City, or Jamestown" (by both of which names the town was called), was spoken of, *this* one was meant. Bishop Madison, who was one of the ministers of Jamestown, certainly officiated at this church after his removal to Williamsburg.

The original graveyard contained half an acre, covered with sycamore and mulberry trees. The bricks of the old enclosure, and some from the church, were used about 1796 by Wm. Lee, of Green Spring, and John Ambler, in protecting the tombstones. The tower is eighteen feet square, and the foundations of the church are still marked by the bricks.

President Tyler said that "when a boy of sixteen he was present at the Centennial Celebration of 1807, and saw Bishop Madison, stand-

ing on a tomb, open the services with prayer. The occasion, the scenery, the broken spire, the tombs, the tall and graceful form of the suppliant and the full tones of his sonorous voice, made an impression which time in no degree effaced." The Travis house and the Ambler house are gone. The fragments of the tombs have been carried off by remorseless relic-hunters. The river is nearing the ruin, and soon the metropolis of the ancient Colony and Dominion of Virginia will live only in story and in song.

HENRICO CITY (HENRICOPOLIS), CHARLES CITY (CITY POINT), AND THE CITY OF RICHMOND.

Another line of radiation from Jamestown was up the river to the city of Henrico, at Farrar's Island (Dutch Gap), and Charles City, and Bermuda, at the mouth of the Appomattox. Here churches were built of wood, and the foundations laid of a brick church, at Henricopolis (named in honor of the Prince of Wales), which was to be the seat of a university for the education of Virginian and Indian youths. The proposed university and preparatory school opened the hearts of bishops, presbyters, and eminent laymen of England. Collections were ordered in every diocese. Thousands of acres of river-bottom, overlooked by the imposing site, were appropriated. Carpenters, bricklayers, and other artisans, young men and maidens (for wives), were sent there. Donations, in money, plate, Bibles, and church ornaments, were poured into the college coffers. A church of wood was erected, and the foundations of a brick church laid. The pastor, Whitaker, and Superintendent Thorpe were earnest and active, and all things seemed ready for realizing the hopes of the adventurers. But the brilliant promise was blighted in a single night by the tragic massacre of 1622. The timely warning of a faithful Christian Indian, who revealed the plot to Pace, with whom he lived, alone saved the colony from utter extirpation. Henrico City developed into Henrico parish and county, with the court-house at Varina, and the mother-church at Curles. It was at Varina that Stith, the rector of the parish, wrote the history of Virginia. The fine lands of the college ultimately became the property of the Randolphs, whose seats, Turkey Island, Varina, Curles, Wilton, Chatsworth, etc., ran along the river with the progress of population towards the present site of the city of Richmond.¹

In 1739 it was decided to build a church on the hill called "Indian Town," probably because it was near "Powhatan," one of the seats of the Indian chieftain of that name. The site was given by Colonel Byrd. The dimensions were to be sixty by twenty-five feet, and the pitch fourteen feet; the cost £317 10s. current money.

The first meeting of the vestry recorded in the books was in 1750, the church having been finished some years (probably in 1740) and supplied with lay-readers. It was then known as the "Upper Church," by which name, as also "Richmond Church," and the "Church on Richmond Hill," it was alternately called until 1829, when it first appears in the vestry roll as "St. John's Church."

¹ Bancroft inadvertently (we suppose) makes the present site of Richmond the site of Henricopolis.

It is a plain structure of wood, in the form of the letter T, with a sharply-ridged roof; it has a spire of modern construction, and a bell of surpassing melody. The yard, filling a square, is enclosed by a wall of brick. It is furrowed with graves, historical with tombs and inscriptions, and embowered in fine trees.¹

Three wars have raged around the old church, and still it stands, the pride of Richmond, and a shrine to which pilgrims and strangers, as well as citizens, often wend their way. It has survived its mother, Curles, and, indeed, every other colonial church on the north bank of the river to Jamestown, with the exception of old Westover; and on the south side every edifice to "old Merchant's Hope," in Martin's Brandon parish. It overlooks the seat of Powhatan, and the "Falls" of the river, where Newport and Smith erected a cross, with the inscription, "*Jacobus Rex. 1607.*"

St. John's still possesses the baptismal font which belonged at Curles. The sounding-board which reflected the voice of Buchanan has done the like office for his successors. The old bell calls to prayer with a voice as sweet as when it first waked the echoes of the neighboring hills. But independently of the services and memories which endear old St. John's to the Christian heart, it has a world-wide interest as the scene of the convention of 1775, which met to concert measures for putting in motion the American Revolution, and that of 1789, for ratifying the Constitution of the United States.

WOOD'S CHURCH, DALE PARISH; SAPPONY CHURCH, BATH PARISH, AND
BLANDFORD CHURCH, BRISTOL PARISH.

The tide of population which ran up James river, depositing settlers at intervals upon its banks, was in part deflected at the mouth of the Appomattox and ascended that river (rivers being the only roads) and its tributaries, meeting towards the north currents of colonists who had come from the upper James, and like currents from Surrey and Isle of Wight, and combining with them flowed onward to the Blue Mountains. In this area, comprehending what is now known as the "South side" (of James river), new parishes were instituted, and new churches erected, to keep pace with the onward progress of the population. Most of these structures have perished. Some have been restored, and others are tottering to their fall. It would be a sad tale to tell of the sacrilegious hands which have been laid upon some old altars, and of the base uses that have been made of fonts and sacramental chalices and patens. Of the colonial edifices which remain I have only space to note a few. Old Wood's Church (named for a prominent pioneer) is one of the oldest of all wooden churches extant, having been built in 1707. Its frame, which has outlasted several restorations of its outer coverings, is still sound. It stands in Dale parish, about five miles from Petersburg. It has been appropriated by the Methodists, and is notable as having been, in days gone by, under the care of the Rev. William Leigh, father of the jurist and statesman, Benjamin Watkins Leigh.

¹Services at Curles and at Chapel seem to have been kept up till 1773, when the earliest extant vestry-book ends.

Sappony Church is in Bath parish, and is worthy of commemoration as the scene of the labors of the Rev. Devereux Jarratt, who, in the dark days of the Church (1768-94), when the fires on her altars burned low, by his eloquence and evangelical fervor, rekindled the smouldering embers on many hearths and in many hearts. After the Revolution, he never lost his faith, but predicted that "the old Church would rise from the dust and again be a praise in the land." It was of this man and this church¹ (Sappony) that Bishop Moore was speaking when he said to the convention of 1818: "When I entered within its walls I felt that I was treading on holy ground, and I could not forbear supplicating Heaven that the mantle of this holy man of God might fall on me."²

BLANDFORD CHURCH, BRISTOL PARISH.

The town of Blandford, which has been absorbed by Petersburg, was for many years the centre of commerce, of society, and of religion. It owed its prosperity to the trade in tobacco (chiefly) with Glasgow, whose merchants kept factories in Blandford, Dumfries, and other towns in Virginia. These "Tobacco Lords" were the great folk of Glasgow. They promenaded the Irongate in long scarlet robes and portentous wigs, and other men gave way as they passed. Virginia street, in Glasgow, perpetuates the memory of these merchant princes. Blandford shared this prosperity, and the Scottish Gordons, Ramsays, Murrays, Maitlands, and others were leading men "on change," and in the church, and, intermarrying with our Virginian maidens, have transmitted their blood to many of our best people. Among the lawyers who illustrated the bar of Blandford were William Davies, grandson of Samuel, president of Princeton, and the grandfather of the present Bishop of Virginia; and George Keith Taylor, who married the sister of Chief Justice Marshall. There are those now living who have dim memories of sumptuous dinners, merry marriages, and shining equipages, which made Blandford the centre around which the social circle revolved.

But a change has come over her. The sounds of revelry are no more heard in her halls, nor the voices of her merchants "on change," nor the pleas of lawyers at her bar, nor the words of preachers in the old pulpit; and a poet of Petersburg, William Murray Robinson, has sung her dirge in lines that will live after him.³

As our Virginia "Old Mortality" (Charles Campbell) long ago said, "Blandford is now chiefly remarkable for the melancholy charm of a moss-velveted and ivy-embroidered colonial church, whose yard is the Petersburg cemetery, at present in the most picturesque phase of dilapidation." This church was begun in 1734, Colonel Robert Bolling, Major William Poythress, and Captain William Starke, were the building committee, and Thomas Ravenscroft⁴ was the contractor.

¹ Sappony Church was built by order of the vestry of Bristol parish, which then included it, in 1727; a good substantial frame building, forty by twenty feet, underpinned with rock-stone and furnished with fitting ornaments.

² It is worthy of being noted that Bishops Ravenscroft, Otey, Cobbs, Atkinson, Lay,

Whittle, and Beckwith were associated with the south side of James river by their having been born or having lived within it.

³ This poem may be seen in the author's "Bristol Parish."

⁴ Bishop Ravenscroft was born near Blandford.

The church is always called in the vestry books, "The Brick Church on Wells Hill."

In 1752 an addition was made "to the North side of the Church of thirty by twenty feet & James Murray, Robert Bolling & Col. Bland were authorized to build pews in the South end of the addition, for their families, at their own expense, & the Church was enclosed with a brick wall five feet high." Col. Richard Bland was the contractor for £400, and Col. William Poythress was given leave to enclose a place within the church-yard as a burial place for his family.

During the last century the heights of the Appomattox were crowned with country seats, where high-bred planters and rich merchants kept open house, and dispensed an elegant hospitality to all comers.

Cawson's, commanding a view of the two rivers, with their wooded isles, of Bermuda Hundred, City Point, and in the distance Shirley, was the seat of the Blands. The spacious mansion, with its wings and offices; its broad avenues and winding walks; its green turf and shrubbery, represented in the New World the baronial seats of Old England. Here was born the celebrated John Randolph, of Roanoke, the grandson of the proprietor, Col. T. Bland.

Not far off was Kippax, the seat of Robert Bolling, who married Jane Rolfe, granddaughter of Pocahontas.

On the other side of the river was Cobbs, the seat of John Bolling, and of his descendants, and here was the *first institution for teaching deaf mutes in America*.

Higher up on the same side was Matoax, where still, under old oaks, are to be seen the tombs of John Randolph and of his wife, the parents of John of Roanoke.

Then within sight of the church was Green-Croft, the seat of Sir William Skipwith. "Conjuror's Neck," of the Kennons; Bollingbrook of the Bollings; Puddledock of the Herberts and Harrisons; Mansfield Athold, Branchester, and others, were near at hand.

These with the Feilds, Mays, Joneses, Murrays, Robertsons, Poythresses, Atkinsons, Mores, Maitlands, Shores, Stiths, Ruffins, Walkers, Armisteads, Taylors, etc., etc., were the successive vestrymen and members of Blandford Church, justices of the peace, and leading politicians.

The town of Blanchford declined with the declining century, and as it went down the old church was left alone in her glory, — a sad and silent sentinel at the gates of the citadel of tombs.¹

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, HAMPTON.

Another line of radiation from Jamestown, the original centre, was (1610) to Kecoughtan (variously spelled). It is said by all our authors that this Indian village, visited by the English at their first coming, was the site of the present town of Hampton; but in Captain Smith's map Kecoughtan is set down on the eastern bank of the river, whereas Hampton is on the western bank. The settlers petitioned

¹ See the writer's "History of Bristol Parish."

the first legislature (1619) to change the savage name Kiccowtan. At the next session it appears in the journals as "Elizabeth cittie" (town), around which grew up Elizabeth City County. Notwithstanding the change of name, the village continued to be called "Kecoughtan" until Hampton was made a town by law.

George Keith, the convert from Quakerism, who travelled from New England to North Carolina, speaks in his diary of preaching repeatedly at Kicketan (as he spells it) in 1703-4. It is worthy of note that his fellow-laborer, Talbot, preached at Kicketan, and that he preached at Hampton Church; so that there was as late as 1704 a church at Hampton, and one at Kicketan.

A Mr. Baker had been buried in the new church (Hampton), and Mr. Brough in the old church at Kicketan, as early as 1667. In the yard of the old church was also found the epitaphs of Admiral Neville, who died in 1697; of Thomas Curle, 1700; and of Andrew Thompson, minister of the parish, 1719.

It seems to have escaped the notice of authors that John Rolfe, who married Pocahontas, states in his letter to King James, that in 1616 the Rev. Wm. Mays (Mease) was the minister at Kiccowtan (*sic*), and there were only twenty inhabitants there. In 1644, perhaps, Philip Mallory was minister at Hampton. By a law of the colony it was provided that each minister, with six persons of his family, should be free from taxes, provided he be examined by P. Mallory and John Green, and produce their certificates of his abilities, and in 1660-61 Mallory was sent by the General Assembly to "solicit our Church affairs in England." Bishop Meade was of the opinion that the present church was built between 1660 and 1667. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that this was an era of church extension.

This antique church has survived the so-called Rebellion of Bacon, the war of the Revolution, and the sacking and plundering of Hampton. In the last war with Great Britain the church became a barrack. The bats and owls held their revels in its hallowed courts, and faithful ones wept when they remembered the temple in its first glory.

About 1824-5 a vestry was chosen, and it was resolved to repair the church which was then standing with bare walls and without a door or window or floor. To give impetus to the work, the interior was cleansed, and Bishop Moore was persuaded to come and hold service. He came, and the old walls resounded with prayer and praise, and no one who ever heard that "old man eloquent," with streaming eyes and hands tremulous with emotion, speak of "the hallowed courts our fathers trod," could doubt the result.

"I sat on the bare tiles," said our informant,¹ "but what a scene, and what a day! It was manifest to all that the glory of the Lord filled the house."

The church was repaired, and in December, 1829, Bishop Moore had the privilege of consecrating it from all unhallowed uses. I may add, in conclusion, that this church has lately been the scene of an

¹ R. B. Servant, an old secretary of the vestry, who said in 1856, "My grandfather was the commandant at Old Point one hundred and eighty years ago, and there has not since been a dissenter in the family, which was kept together by the habitual use of the prayer-book and family prayer."

event of surpassing interest, when a class of Indian boys were confirmed by the Bishop of Virginia. They, and perhaps those who witnessed it, little knew that he who laid his hand upon their heads was himself a lineal descendant of the aboriginal ruler of this realm,—the imperial Powhatan.

BRUTON PARISH, WILLIAMSBURG.

Another line of radiation from Jamestown was to Williamsburg.

In 1632 the General Assembly ordered every fortieth man between Queen's Creek and Archer's Hope Creek to the newly-built plantation of Dr. Pott, to be employed in building houses, and offered every man who seated there fifty acres of land and freedom from taxes. In 1657 the parish of Middle Plantation and Havrop parish were united, and the new parish called "Middletown parish." Soon afterwards this parish was reorganized and called "Bruton," doubtless by the Sudwells, who came from Bruton parish, England.

The vestry-book began 1667, and came down to 1769. There were then two churches in the parish which needed repair; but the vestry decided to build a new church of brick. The first incumbent was Rev. Rowland Jones, who died in 1688. He also officiated at Martin's Hundred parish. Mr. Jones had a pew in the chancel of the new church, as also had John Page and Edward Jennings. There being no bishop to consecrate the church, Mr. Jones was requested "to dedicate it." These facts suggest the inquiry whether the present venerated edifice is the same referred to in the foregoing acts of the vestry of Bruton parish. Opinions differ as to its age.

It thus appears that the church of Bruton was in a very ruinous condition in 1710; that it was the desire and purpose of the vestry to build a new church, and that to this end they humbly asked the aid of the General Assembly. What response was made to the petition is not known. However, it would seem, from a document in the calendar of Virginia State Papers, that the cross on "the wings" was added to the church in or after 1713.

The city of Williamsburg, the college of William and Mary, and Christ Church, are so intimately blended that to treat them apart is a difficult operation. For the college, I must refer to its history published by the Faculty in 1874, to Bishop Meade's "Old Churches and Families," to Hugh Jones, to Henning's Statutes, to Gov. Wise's "Decades," the general histories of the State, and to Grigsby's "Historical Picture" of the Convention of 1776. No one can tread the streets of Williamsburg, whose very names are suggestive of other times and other men, without bringing before his mind a picture of the city in her first glory, before

*"Decay's effacing fingers
Had swept the lines where beauty lingers."*

This church possesses three pieces of a "Communion Service" which was presented to the church at Jamestown by Governor Morrison in 1661. The motto is, "Mixe not holy things with profane." Inscription: "For the use of James City Parish Church."

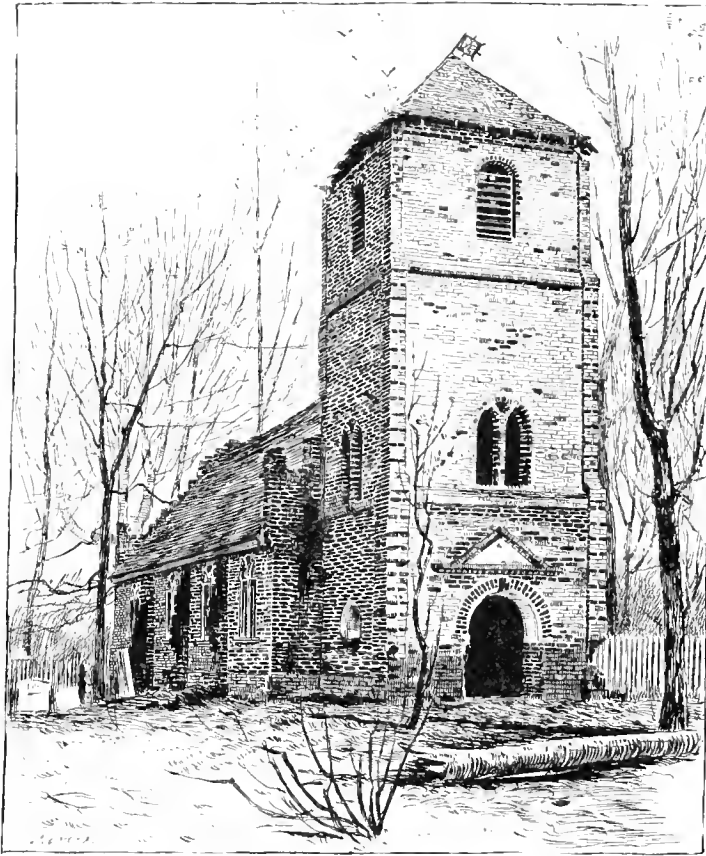
The Bruton parish service (proper) consists of a tankard, stamped with a crown, G. III. R., a gold paten, a gold cup, with two handles, a cover and plate; also, two silver alms basins, from an "alumnus of W^m & Mary College, Class 1815." On the linen is: "Randolph—Bruton Parish Church." In the church-yard are many handsome tombs, with armorial bearings and quaint devices and inscriptions. My space will only allow a brief abstract of a few of them. "*His Excellency Governor Nott, a good Christian & a good Governor, died Aug. 23, 1766, aged 44. The Gen. Assembly of this Colony raised this monument in grateful memory of his many virtues.*"—"*Sacred to the memory of John Blair of the Council, Judge of the Court of Appeals of V^a & of the Supreme Court. He died as he had lived, a pious & sincere Christian. d. Aug. 31, 1800, aged 68 yrs. & 10 mos.*" Judge Blair, a man of singular purity, was the nephew of the commissary. There are also the tombs of Judge Blair's wife and son and daughter, and one "to Roland Jones, Minister of the Parish, died 1688," and one to the great lawyer "Barradall." The first and second capitols, and the successive college buildings at the opposite ends of the grand Gloucester avenue; the successive palaces, with their grounds and gardens; the Brallerton house, with good Mr. Griffin and his Indian boys; the private mansions, associated with the names of Washington, Wythe, Wirt, the Randolphs and Tuckers, rise up before one, and the scenes in the dramas of which they have been the theatre pass in review before the mind's eye. The irate Nicholson and the gentle Nott, the knightly Spotswood and Sir Hugh Drysdale, Governors Gooch, Dinwiddie, and Fauquier; Lords Botetourt and Dunmore; the Commissaries Blair, Dawson, Stith, Horrocks, Camm, and Robinson; the chancellors, presidents and professors of the college; the crowds of students who have sported upon the green and thronged these halls of learning, on their way to the pulpit, the bar, the bench, and the halls of legislation; the colonial clergy in convention, and the pastors of the parish in their daily labors; Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Harrison, Tyler, the Randolphs and Lees, the Nicholsons and the Careys, Pendleton, Henry, Marshall, Nelson, and the many statesmen sitting in committees at the old "Raleigh" tavern and making the halls resound with grave debate and luminous with flashes of wit and oratory; and finally, the files of British, French, Federal, and Confederate soldiers camping on the college green, and marching through the streets,—make up the grand procession of nearly two centuries.

ST. LUKE'S CHURCH, NEWPORT PARISH, ISLE OF WIGHT COUNTY.

Another point in the circumference of the circle of which Jamestown was the centre was Warrosgueake, spelled in many various ways.¹ Smith discovered it December 29, 1608. It was represented in House of Burgesses from 1629 to 1634, when it was made a county. The name was changed to Isle of Wight in 1637. Most of the early records of its parishes were destroyed at Tarleton's invasion, and the

¹ Smith spells it Warroskaræ and Warro- Stith, Warrosqueake; Henning, Warrosquoack, squiack; on Fry's map it is Warriequeack;

remaining fragments used for cartridges in the war of 1812. The only extant records are from 1724 to 1771. One of its colonial churches of brick was on Burwell's Bay, on the land of Colonel Burwell, colonial clerk. About 1810 this church was pulled down, and the materials used for building a barn, which was struck by lightning and consumed.



ST. LUKE'S CHURCH, NEAR SMITHFIELD, VA.

The bell was exchanged for a "Brandy Still." But the pride of the county is the grand old church, St. Luke's, still standing, though a "mere empty shell," not far from Smithfield on the road to Suffolk. St. Luke's is regarded by the citizens with something like the enthusiasm with which the islanders of Wight, in England, look upon the ruins of the churches illustrated by the genius of Leigh Richmond. This is a very old church, probably the oldest standing in Virginia. The tradition is that it was built in 1632, and the writer would not suggest a doubt about it but for the difficulty of reconciling it with a fact stated on one of the extant tombstones. General Bridgers is said¹

¹ See Bishop Meade's "Old Churches," Vol. I., p. 305.

to have been the son of Hon. Joseph Bridgers, "who superintended the building of St. Luke's Church;" but, according to the inscription on the tomb of Hon. Joseph Bridgers, he died in 1688, *aged fifty-eight years*. If this be so he was only two years old when the church was built. If, therefore, he superintended the building of the church, it must have been built some time later (say twenty or more years), as he would hardly have performed that office before he was of age.

It is said of this church, and of St. John's, Hampton, and of many other public and private edifices, that they were built of imported brick. But there seems to have been no occasion for importing bricks. Bricks were certainly made in Virginia as early as 1611, when Sir Thomas Dale founded Henricopolis and Bermuda. "Here," says a tract published by the authority of the council, "the spade-men fell to digging, the brick-men burned their bricks and have built competent houses, the first story all of brick."¹ Many such testimonies might be adduced, and bills for burning brick are still extant. The writer has consulted many persons most familiar with our history, and all of them agree in saying that they have never seen any proof that any church was built of imported bricks.

St. Luke's was one of the oldest as well as most elegant churches in the colony. Its massive walls and lofty tower were of the best material of brick and oak, faithfully and skilfully wrought, and the east window of stained glass, twenty-five feet high, made it a marvel in the wilderness of woods in the midst of which it was placed. According to the vestry-book, a new roof was put on the church in 1737.

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, NORFOLK.

Elizabeth river was one of the water-ways by which the first settlers penetrated the interior of Virginia. The banks of Elizabeth river and its tributaries were settled very early, and parishes were instituted and churches built along them. The date of Elizabeth-river parish is not known, but it had a minister as early as 1637. The parishes of Lower Norfolk, including what is now Princess Anne County, were represented in the House of Burgesses in 1642-3. Lynhaven river now runs through the burying-ground of an old church (now gone), and there are tombstones at the bottom of the stream. The old Donation Church, too, still stands in ruins in Princess Anne County.

In 1680 Rev. Wm. Nern was minister of Elizabeth-river parish, and James Porter of Lynhaven parish. In 1682 the town was laid out. In 1686 Lord Howard gave one hundred acres of land for a glebe. In 1700 Samuel Boush gave a chalice to the "Parish Church of Norfolk Town." In 1705 the town was incorporated. In 1736 Norfolk borough was established by royal charter. In 1739 the present church was built. The date of the oldest vestry-book of Elizabeth-river parish is 1749. In 1751 Capt. Whitwell, commander of his majesty's ship "Triton," presented a piece of silver plate to the church in "compliment to his wife being buried there." In 1762 Christopher Perkins gave a large silver flagon "in honour of his wife

¹ *Vide* the "New Life of Virginia," in Vol. I., in Force's Tracts (1612).

buried there." In 1764 an Act was passed by the Assembly, requiring "the minister of this parish to live in Norfolk and have his salary in money, the lands being too poor to bring tobacco to advantage." In 1764 the pastor of the old church (Mr. Davis) was chairman of the "Sons of Liberty." When the Revolution came, Norfolk was bombarded, and on New Year's day, 1776, a ball was lodged in the wall of the church, and is still preserved. The Communion plate was carried to Scotland by the enemy.

With the rebuilding of the city after the war the church was repaired, and the services resumed. Services in commemoration of the death of Washington were held in the church on the 22d of February, 1800. In the same year a new (Christ) church was organized. In 1803 the pastor of the old church, Mr. Bland, died, and the congregation "was scattered like a flock without a Shepherd." In 1831 the old church, which had been in a state of suspended animation, was revived under the name of "St. Paul's," having hitherto been called "the Old Church," and the "Borough Church." It was consecrated by Bishop Moore, and has renewed its youth.

CHURCHES ON YORK AND RAPPAHANNOCK RIVERS.

Another line of radiation from Jamestown was to Charles (now York) river. Charles Church is gone, and the colonial church at Yorktown, to which Governor Nicholson subscribed £20 sterling in 1696, was burned in 1814. The bell of 1725 has been preserved, and a new church has been built on the site of the old one. Some old tombs, specially of the Nelsons, are the only relics of the old *régime*. Governor Spotswood was buried in "the Temple" at Temple farm; but even the fragments of his tomb are gone.

Passing up York river to New Kent, we find one venerable church (St. Peter's) in use. It is an imposing edifice, built in 1703, and cost one hundred and forty-six thousand pounds of tobacco. Its spacious courts were once filled by the Bassetts, Lewises, Claytons, Bacons, Custises, Dandridges, and others.

Among the ministers of this church was the Rev. David Mossom, from whose epitaph I quote the following lines:—

Reverendus David Mossom prope jacet
Collegii St. Joannis Cantabrigiæ olim Alumnus
Hujus Parochiæ Rector Annos Quadraginta
Omnibus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbyteriis
Inter Americanos Ordine Presbyteratus Primus;
Londini Natus 25 Martii, 1690.
Obiit 4^o Janii. 1767.

A notable minister of the parish was Moreau, who wrote the Bishop of London: "If ministers here were as they ought to be we should have no dissenters. An eminent Bishop being sent over here would make Hell tremble, and settle the Church of England here forever."

St. Paul's parish, Hanover, was cut off from St. Peter's, 1704, and in time other parishes and counties were erected in Louisa, Albemarle, and to the Blue Mountains. Of the colonial churches built in them, a very few remain, conspicuous among which is "The Fork

Church," in St. Martin's parish, Hanover; its old silver communion service, when in custody of Mrs. Berkeley, of Airwell, was demanded by a British officer, and she sent him word defiantly "to come and take it."

If now we return to the bay, and survey the County of Matthews, we shall not find a single colonial church remaining. In Gloucester, old Poplar Spring Church, in Petsworth parish, built in 1723, to supply the place of one in ruins, with costly pulpit and appurtenances of crimson damask and lace, and with a fine picture of the "Last Judgment" over the chancel, where the Washingtons, Lewises, Porteouses, and Throckmorton once worshipped, has perished. Old Ware Church, once in ruins, but restored by the Taliaferros, Smiths, Tabbs, etc., is now in use, as is also the noble Abington Church, built in 1765, upon or near the site of an old edifice, and restored by the exertions of Colonel Lewis, of Eagle Point. In Gloucester are the graveyards of the Manns, of Timberneck Bay; of the Bidwells, of Carter's Creek; of the Pages at Rosewell. In this county, too, is the classic Werowocomoco, royal seat of the Emperor Powhatan. If we cross the Pinkatank into Middlesex we find what used to be called "the Great Church," which was built in 1712, on the site of one built in 1666. It was midway between Rosegill and Brandon, the seats of the Wormleys and Grymes. After being in use for a century it was deserted, and the roof fell in. A sycamore shrub sprung up between the walls and grew to be a great tree, its boughs spreading over the walls. When, in 1840, it was decided to reopen the church, the tree had first to be cut out, and two feet of earth removed, before the stone aisles were reached. Sir Henry Checkley, knight and governor of the colony, and Madame Catherine Wormley, wife of the first Ralph Wormley, Rev. J. Shepherd, and others, were buried within it. Around it lie fragments of tombs and graves of the Grymes and other families. The plate was presented to the church by Ralph Wormley.

Sir Gray and Sir William Skipwith, and Sir Henry Checkley, baronets, were vestry-men of this church.

These, with the Wormleys, Grymes, Berkeleys, Beverlys, Churchills, Robinsons, Corbins and others, vestry-men and members of this church, were leaders in society, in the Church, and in the State, rivaling in style the rich barons of England.

KING AND QUEEN COUNTY.

In the County of King and Queen were several very fine colonial churches, one of which (Stratton-Major) was eighty by fifty feet in size, and cost £1,300. In the vestry-book are the names of two hundred and fifty families, to whom pews were assigned in this church.

Among these were Speaker Robinson, Commissary Robinson, and many of the leading people of the colony. Another, St. Stephen's, still stands, and has, I think, been long used by the Baptists. In the adjoining county, King William, four colonial churches have survived, in two of which, West Point, or St. John's and St. David's, church services have been resumed; and the other two, Acquisition and Mangohock, have been taken possession of by others. In South Farnham, Essex, were two colonial churches, which, in the days of the church's

humiliation, were ruthlessly destroyed, one pulled down and the other burned. The very flag-stones of the aisles were used for walks, and tombstones were converted into grindstones, on which parts of inscriptions have been recognized. The Communion plate, though a private gift, was confiscated. In St. Anne's parish, old Vauter's Church was preserved from spoliation by the firmness of Mrs. Muscoe Garnett, who, when persons came to carry off the flag-stones, claimed it as her own upon the ground that it was upon her land.

In the neighboring county of Caroline the Mount Church was converted into an academy, and a fine-toned organ and the glebe sold by Act of Assembly. The organ, said to be the first imported into Virginia, is, or was, in a Roman Catholic chapel in Georgetown, D C.

THE NORTHERN NECK.

This section was a cradle of the American Revolution. The first protest against the Stamp Act was written by Richard Henry Lee and signed by one hundred and sixteen gentlemen at Leeds, in April, 1765. In Northumberland County were three colonial churches, attended by the Lees, Thorntons, Presleys, Poythresses, Kenners, etc. One of these, Wycomico Church, was cruciform, and measured seventy-five feet in each direction. It was the last survivor of the three, and its site is now enclosed and cultivated with an adjoining field.

In Lancaster County stands in a green old age the far-famed Christ Church, built in 1732 (on the site of an older one) by Robert Carter (commonly called "King Carter"), President of the Council, at his own expense. The walls are three feet thick, and the roof so steep and high that the want of a tower for effect is not felt. The form (a cross) and the proportions are admirable. But for a defect in the gutters it would not have needed the new roof which was put upon it some years since. Only the cornices were renewed, the broken glass supplied, and the pulpit and pews painted. The pews had high backs and a railing of brass rods, with damask curtains. When Bishop Meade visited it, about 1855, the freestone aisles had been untouched by time. The walnut Communion table was unimpaired, and the chancel rails perfect. The marble font was there, and the cedar dial-post, with the name of John Carter, which had belonged to the old church on whose site this one was built, was preserved. The bishop said, "It was peculiarly delightful to raise the voice in a house whose form and beautiful aisles seemed to give force and music to the feeblest tongue beyond any building in which he ever said or heard the hallowed services of the Sanctuary. Where is the house," he exclaimed, "in these degenerate days of slight architecture that can compare, either within or without, with old Christ Church?" The tombs of the Carters and others, within and without this building, add to its historic charm. The oldest is that of the common ancestor, John Carter, who died in 1669. Another church, yet in use in Lancaster, is White Chapel, built on the site of an older one in 1740. Nearly all the tombs around this church were inscribed with the name "Ball," the maternal family of Washington.

YEOCOMICO AND WASHINGTON PARISHES, WESTMORELAND COUNTY.

Westmoreland is classic ground. It has been called the "Athens of Virginia." It is the birthplace of Washington, and of his favorite nephew, Judge Bushrod Washington, the devisee of Mt. Vernon; of the colonial governor, Thomas Lee; of Richard Henry and Francis Lightfoot Lee, signers of the Declaration of Independence; of Arthur Lee; of Light Horse Harry Lee, General and Governor of Virginia, and father of Robert E. Lee; of James Monroe; and of John Payne, first bishop of Cape Palmas. Here was the home, and here are the crumbled vaults of the Washingtons and the Lees.

Stratford, Mt. Pleasant, Wakefield, wake mournful memories. The first, Stratford, rebuilt by Caroline, Queen of England, out of her private purse, is the only relic of these baronial mansions. Here, too, was Pope's Creek Church, where Washington was baptized, and where he learned from the catechism those duties to God and to his neighbor which he so well illustrated in his life. And here were Nomini, Leeds, and Yeocomico churches, of which the last, only, built in 1706, remained, of whose profanations, and of whose restoration, we must refer to Bishop Meade's "Old Churches."

NORTH FARNHAM PARISH, RICHMOND COUNTY.

In this parish were three colonial churches. One of these, near the court-house, was built in 1737. It was cruciform and surrounded by a brick wall. In 1813 its walls were crushed by the falling roof. A minister of this church (Giberne) had a prayer-book which had been used by Queen Anne in her private chapel. Its massive tankard, goblet, and plate were sold by order of the court and purchased by Colonel John Taylor, of Mount Airy, who presented them to St. John's Church, Washington, D.C. They have been returned to the parish since its revival, and are now used in old Farnham Church, the only one of the three which survived the wreck. This church, on the main road from Richmond court-house to Lancaster court-house, is in the form of a cross, and in the best style of colonial architecture. It was built about 1725-30. After 1802 it was deserted. The brick wall which guarded the dead was used for hearths and chimneys. The interior was stripped. It became a granary and stable, and *horribile dictu!* a distillery, and the font was profaned into a festive bowl, until it was found battered and bruised in the cellar of a deserted tavern. But the walls stood not only "a monument of the fidelity of ancient architecture, but as signals of Providence to the faithful to repair the desolation." Those signals were heeded. The church has been restored. The font resumed its place, and the pulpit, desk, and sounding-board, which were once in Christ Church, Baltimore, are now in old Farnham, which was consecrated by Bishop Meade in 1837, and has again been repaired and beautified by the descendants of the Carters, of Sabine Hall; the Taylors, of Mount Airy; the Chinnis and Fauntleroy's; the Peaclys, Brockenburghs, and others who saw this church in her first glory.

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, KING GEORGE COUNTY.

This church was erected about 1766. In 1812 Messrs. Meade and Norris visited this parish. They found the church in ruins. There was no window, door, or pew, and the roof was ready to fall. A stand was raised at one angle of the cross, and services were held, the people standing amidst pools of water. By an Act of the Legislature it was converted into an academy. The academy failing, it was restored to its rightful owners. One-fourth of it was fitted up for a rectory, and the remainder into one of the most convenient places of worship in the diocese.

An old negro woman, a pious member of the church, used, after it was deserted, to go every Sunday and sit amidst the ruins, saying it "did her more good to think over the old prayers than to go into the new ways."

The Washingtons, Taylors, Grymes, Alexanders, Tennants, Fitzlughs, Stuarts, Stiths, Dades, Hooes, Turners, Ashtons, Thorn-ton, and Taliaferros, etc., were the chief church families which kept alive the fitful fires upon these old altars.

ACQUIA CHURCH, STAFFORD COUNTY.

The first church was burned in 1751. The present church was finished in 1757. The names of the minister and vestry are still to be seen painted on the gallery: "Rev. Jno. Moncure, minister; Peter Houreman, Jno. Mercer, John Lee, Mott Donephan, Henry Tyler, Wm. Mountjoy, Benj. Strother, Thos. Fitzlugh, Peter Daniel, Travers Cooke, John Fitzlugh, John Peyton, vestry-men."

The church is a two-storied building in the form of a cross. It is on a commanding site, near the old stage road from Dumfries to Fredericksburg. When Bishop Meade visited it, in 1837, he said it was a sad sight to see the space about the church, which used to be filled with horses, carriages, and footmen, now overgrown with bushes and trees, thrusting their branches through the broken windows. When he visited it again, in 1856, the house had been repaired, chiefly by the descendants of the old minister (Moncure). "The light of Heaven had been let in upon the gloomy sanctuary, the dingy walls looked new and fresh, and it seemed to him one of the most inspiring temples in the land."

POHICK CHURCH, FAIRFAX COUNTY.

This is the church so intimately connected with the name of Washington, who was a vestry-man at the same time in Truro and in Fairfax parishes, both in Fairfax County. In the interval between the French war and the American Revolution Washington was specially interested in church affairs, and suffered no company to keep him from the house of prayer. When the old church, a frame building, on the south side of Pohick run, decayed, and it was decided to build a new church, George Mason advocated the old site, in consideration of its associations; but Washington, who was a practical surveyor, made a

map of the parish, showing the relations of the dwellings to the two proposed sites, which settled the question in favor of the north side of the run, as being more central. An inscription on one of the columns of the chancel shows the date of its being finished, 1773. A deed dated February 24, 1774, from George Washington, George Mason, and other vestry-men, conveying a pew to the rector (Massey) in the "new church, *lately built* near Pohick," confirms the inscription.

From a book entitled "Four years and a-half in America," published in 1803, by Davis, who had been a teacher in this section, I quote the following: "About eight miles from Occoquan mills is a house of worship, called 'Powheek' church, a name it claims from a run which flows near its walls. Thither I rode on Sundays, and joined the Congregation of Parson Weems, who was cheerful in his mien, that he might win men to religion. A Virginian church-yard on Sunday resembles rather a race-course, than a sepulchral ground. The ladies come to it in carriages, and the men, dismounting from their horses, tie them to the trees. The steeples of Virginian churches are designed not for utility, but for ornament, for the bell is suspended from a tree. It is also observable that the gate is always carefully locked by the Sexton, who retires last. I was confounded on first entering the church-yard to hear,

" ' Steed threaten steed with high and boastful neigh.' "

Nor was I less stunned with the rattling of carriage wheels, the cracking of whips, and the vociferations of the gentlemen to the negroes who attend them. But the discourse of Parson Weems calmed my perturbation, for he presented the great doctrines of salvation as one who had experienced their power. About one-half of the congregation were negroes who gave evidence of sincere piety, an artless simplicity, and passionate aspirations after Christ."

Thirty-three years passed, and Bishop Meade says of it, in 1837: "It was raining, and I found no one there. The wide open doors invited me to enter, as they did the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air. The interior having been well built, is good. The chancel, Communion table, and tables of the law, are in good order. The roof only is decaying, and the water was dropping upon the sacred places. On the doors of the pews in gilt letters are the names of the families who once occupied them. How could I while traversing these long aisles, entering the sacred chancel and ascending the lofty pulpit, forbear to ask, Is this the House of God built by the Washingtons, Masons, McCartys, Fairfaxes, Grahams, and Lewises? Is this also doomed to moulder piecemeal away, or when some signal is given, to become the prey of spoilers? Surely, reverence for the greatest of patriots, if not for religion, might be effectually appealed to in behalf of this one Temple of God. The families who worshipped here are nearly all gone, but there are immortal beings around it, which would be forever blessed by the faithful preaching of the Word."

Thirty-eight years roll round, and again the scene changes. Bishop Whittle, in 1876, says: "On the 3d of last October I conse-

erated Pohick Church. This venerable building, in the location and erection of which General Washington was so active, was for many years the parish church of the family at Mount Vernon. It was during the late war left to crumble under the wasting influence of the weather, and be carried off at pleasure by any one who fancied its materials for private use. So, after the war of the Revolution, disappeared the church in which 'the father of his country' is said to have been christened, and such seemed to be the doom of the church of his manhood; but its sad condition came to the knowledge of a generous Christian gentleman in New York, who inquired, then came and looked, and then never remitted his efforts until the ruin was repaired. A new chancel, with all its appropriate furniture, and a handsome communion service was provided, a font in front, and a convenient robing-room on one side of the chancel and a good pipe organ on the other. The restoration was complete."

CHRIST CHURCH, ALEXANDRIA.

In 1764 Fairfax parish was cut off from Truro parish, both in the County of Fairfax. Within the limits of the new parish were already two new churches, — one at the Little Falls of the Potomac, on the land of Thomas Lee; and the other at or near Hunting Creek warehouse (Alexandria), established by Act of Assembly in 1748.

The vestry-book of Fairfax parish begins in 1765. In 1766 the vestry decided to build two new churches — one at the Falls, and the other at Alexandria.

The church at Alexandria cost £600, and it was finished in 1773. Washington, who was a vestry-man of Pohick Church, and had a pew there, was also a vestry-man of this new church, and bought the first pew (No. 5) in it, for which he gave the highest price, *i.e.*, £36 10s. After the war Washington attended this church, and when, tithes having ceased, the church was supported by pew-rents and voluntary subscriptions, Washington, with others, pledged an annual tax of £5. This pledge, signed with his own hand, is on the record. This pew has been occupied by some of his family ever since, and among them by General R. E. Lee, who married the granddaughter of his step-son, George Washington Parke Custis, who presented to the church a family Bible which had belonged to Washington. General Lee was confirmed in the church in 1853, and it has on its walls twin tablets to George Washington and Robert E. Lee. The large old-fashioned pews were divided in 1821, but Washington's was restored in 1837. It was again divided and again restored.

Dr. Griffith, the rector after the war, had been chaplain in the army, and was the personal friend of Washington, and a welcome visitor at Mt. Vernon. He originated the first movement for a convention in Virginia after the overthrow of the Church by the Revolution, and was the first bishop-elect of Virginia. His successor was the heir of the title of Lord Fairfax, who once owned the whole Northern Neck. William (afterwards bishop) Meade took charge of this church in his twenty-first year, and attracted to its congregation many members of Congress, who received lasting impressions from his ministry.

Conspicuous among these were John Randolph, of Roanoke, and the Honorable (afterwards) the Rev. Dr. Milnor.

In 1873 the church celebrated its centennial. The rector, Rev. Dr. McKim, delivered a historical discourse, and the writer of these sketches delivered an unwritten poem.

Philip Slaughter

DIOCESE OF EAST CAROLINA, ST. PAUL'S PARISH, EDENTON,
CHOWAN COUNTY, N.C.

By THE REV. ROBERT B. DRANE, M.A.,
Of the Diocese of East Carolina.

From the old book of Records of the Proceedings of the Vestry of St. Paul's Parish, Chowan Precinct, Province of North Carolina, beginning December 15, 1701, and ending in the year 1776, I extract the following particulars relating to the *church edifices* of the parish:—

At the first meeting of the vestry, December 15, 1701: "It being debated where a Church should be built, Mr. Edward Smithwick undertakes to give one Acre of Land upon his old plantation and to give a conveyance for the same to the Church Wardens."

"It is appointed that Coll. William Wilkinson and Cap^t. Thomas Lenten shall be Church Wardens for the following year who shall agree with a workman for building a Church 25 feet long — posts in the ground and held to the Collar beams and to find all manner of Iron Work, Vizt. Nails and Locks, &c. with full power to contract and agree with the said workman as to their discretion shall seem meet and convenient."

December 15, 1702. "The Chappel being this day viewed by all the Vestry here present and are satisfied therewith and do receive the House and Key from Mr. John Porter."

"At a Vestry held at the Chappel the 9th day of March, 170³ — "Ordered that the Church Wardens do speedily agree with a Workman to make Pulpit and Pew for the Reader with Desks fitting for the same and in as decent a manner as may be and what they shall agree for the Vestry do oblige themselves to see paid."

In 1708 it was "Ordered that the Church Wardens endeavour to have the Pulpit finished with all possible speed as likewise the Desk and what other things belong to it, as likewise to have the Church Floor laid with Brick, but upon further Debate of the Matter it's agreed upon that the floor shall be laid with Plank, as being the cheapest and Most expeditious way of having it done."

"At a Meeting of the Vestry holden at the Chappell on Sunday the 25th of July, 1708 — 'Whereas it hath been taken into our mature

consideration the many and great Inconveniences which attend the Chappell which is already built, both in Respect of its ill situation, Smallness and rough and unfit Workmanship: —

“We therefore to shew our true Zeal for the Glory of God and propagating so good a work do unanimously agree that a Church of Forty feet long and twenty-four wide, fourteen Feet from Tenant to Tenant for Hight, the remaining part of the work to be proportionable; the Roof to be first Plankt and then shingled with good Cypress shingles and the whole to be ceiled with plank.”

In a letter to the society, written March 2d, 1713-4, the vestry say: “We have but one sorry Church on the North Shore of the Sound, never finished. No ornaments belonging to a Church.”

“At a Vestry held at Edenton the 31st (?) Day of November 1724 — Ordered that the Church wardens desire the Commissioners



ST. PAUL'S, EDENTON, NORTH CAROLINA.

for building the Court House &c to draw out of the hands of the Lds. Propts. Receiver General the Sum of Two Hundred Pounds Sterling and also the Sum of two hundred Pounds out of the Hands of the Publick Treasurer the same being appropriated for the building a Church at Edenton, and that the Commissioners be desired to proceed on the same building.”

“The tenth day of May 1736. Ordered that to contribute towards de-

fraying the Expenses of Building a Church at Edenton . . . a tax or levy be levied on each Tithable in the Parish for the ensuing year.”

July 1, 1738. It is ordered that moneys shall be paid to “Thomas Luton to be by him applied towards completing a Church now begun at Edenton.”

June 28, 1744. “On motion of Mr. Henry Baker that as he has given one acre of Land & Timber to build a Chappell on Knotty Pine Swamp, whereon the Chappell now stands, in consideration thereof it is ordered that he shall have Liberty to build a Pew in any Part of the sd Chappell he pleases.”

On May 19, 1750, action was taken to raise “money to be applied towards the Inclosing and Finishing the Church at Edenton.”

In 1752 the salary of the minister, Rev. Clement Hall, was *reduced* to "50 pounds proclamation money," in order to raise money "for finishing the Church and other necessary charges."

In 1753 a tax is levied for finishing the church at Edenton.

On Monday, 28th of October, 1765, it was "Ordered that Mr. Hance Hofter Tile the Chancel and Glaze the windows of the Church and Repair the Doors."

May 18, 1774. It is "Ordered that Thos. Williams be allowed eight pounds proc. for building the pillars of the Church."

"Thomas Hunter agrees to finish all the inside wooden work of the Church and the doors in a good decent workmanlike manner" — "the same work to be completed in three months from this date."

The dimensions of the church are as follows: Length of nave, sixty feet; width, forty feet three inches. The chancel is apsidal, width, twenty-two feet three inches; depth, nine feet; tower, height of brick-work, forty feet, of spire, about forty feet; total about eighty feet; base of tower, fifteen feet nine inches by eighteen feet three inches. All of these are measurements of the outside of the building. The walls of the tower are three feet thick; of the nave two feet four inches thick. The church is placed east and west, chancel in the east, regardless of the course of the streets of the town, which are not parallel with sides of the church.

The edifice is in a state of good preservation. There are four windows on each side of the church, one in the chancel, and two in the tower.

There are persons now living who can remember when the church floor was in tiles, and "intra-mural" burials were frequent. All the floor is now laid in wood. Galleries extend along three sides of the building.

St. Paul's Parish, Chowan Precinct, Province of North Carolina, was organized Dec. 15, 1701, by the meeting of those who had been appointed vestry-men by the Act of Assembly, Nov. 12th, preceding. The minutes of the vestry are still preserved, from which the following extracts are made: —

"Whereas Dr. John Blair presenting himself before the Vestry as a Minister of the Gospel and having the approbation of the D. Governour he is received as a Minister of the Gospel, and the Church Wardens for and in behalf of the Vestry do assume to pay to the said Dr. John Blair 30 pounds (as the Law provides) per Annum The year to begin the first day of this instant March (1703/4)."

In May, 1704 or 5 (it is indistinct): "The Revd. John Blair serving as Minister of the Gospel out of his charitable gift hath given what salery is due to him to the poor, for which the gentlemen of the Vestry return him thanks."

In September, 1705, "Mr. Henry Gerrard presenting himself to the Vestry as a Minister of the Gospel and he having the Hon^{ble} Deputy Gov^{rs}. approbation is received by the Vestry into this Precinct, and the said Mr. Henry Gerrard declaring that by reason of the great distance betwixt this Precinct and Pequimins and the dirtyness of the

roads he is not able to serve in the two Precincts and therefore is willing to attend in this Precinct wholly and decline his intentions of serving in Pequimons. And the Church Wardens for and in behalf of the Vestry do undertake to pay to the aforesaid Mr. Henry Gerard thirty pounds per annum, as the Law directs, besides these voluntary subscriptions viz: — £25: 8s: ”

From time to time “readers” are appointed, and paid for their services. The reader’s duties are thus defined: to “keep the keys of the church and keep the church clean, and keep the woods fired, at the time of the year, round the chappel, also to provide water for the baptizing of children, and to attend the chappel every Lord’s day, when the Minister is here to officiate as a clerk, and when the Minister is absent to read Divine service and a Sermon, etc., to keep the Vestry Journal and to attend the Vestry at their Meetings. He promising to the Vestry to lead a sober and exemplary life in his station.”

In 1708, May 5th, the Rev. William Gordon is chosen “to officiate in this Precinct,” who is spoken of July 28th, 1708, as “speedily designed for England,” and a reader is appointed.

In 1708 it is ordered that £45 be paid to the Rev. Mr. Urmston “for having officiated in this Precinct from the time of his first coming into this government till the 25th inst.”

In 1712–13 a Bible is presented through Mr. Urmston.

May 1st, 1723. “Ordered that the Reverend Mr. Newman, Missionary be paid the sum of ten pounds out of the next year’s collection to make good the sum of Twenty pounds which was promised by the Vestry for his officiating part of the last year.”

November 18th, 1723. “The Rev. Mr. Newman, Missionary, having officiated but one-half of the year, and being departed this life; the vestry in consideration of the said Mr. Newman’s pious and good behaviour during the time of his Mission among us, and also being willing to contribute towards the accommodation of his widow’s intended Voyage to Great Britain, it is ordered that the whole year’s salary be paid to his widow, notwithstanding his decease.”

In 1724 action was taken to use the £400 in the hands of the lords proprietors’ receiver-general, and of the public treasurer, for the building of a church, which is the one now standing.

August 18th, 1725, “the Reverend Doct. John Blacknall who is received Minister Resident was accordingly qualified.”

“We have now in use a Chalice and Paten, in Silver, inscribed, ‘The Gift of Colonell Edward Mosely, for y^e use of y^e Church in Edenton, in the year 1725.’”

Feb. 23d, 1728–9, “Five pounds to the Revd. Mr. Fountain. Five pounds to the Revd. Mr. Marsden, for their officiating at Edenton, and forty shillings pd. to the Revd. Mr. Marsden’s clerk.”

In 1731’s accounts, “To the Revd Mr. Marsden for a sermon 5£.” ditto Revd. Mr. Robinson, ditto Revd Mr. Jones.

Easter Monday, 1732, “The Revd. Mr. Granville having performed Divine Service in this Parish begining one fortnight before Easter Sunday, and the Vestry being willing to encourage him to continue as well as that he be pay’d for the time past, it is ordered that

he be paid from the sd. time he begun for one year the aforesd. sum to be raised by the Parish Tax now lay'd excepting sixteen pounds pr. annum to be allowed to Mr. Rountree for continuing as Reader and the same to Mr. Sagg to continue Reader and what other accidental charges shall arise in ye Parish. And that the said Mr. Granville be allowed pro rata for the time he officiates, if he serves less than a year: — and that he officiate two Sundays out of five in the upper parts of the Parish, vizt. one at the Chappell, 4 other Sundays in ye five at or near Abraham Hills and the remaining Sundays at Edenton."

Accounts for April, 1732, "To pd. for washing Doct^r. Boyd's Surplice, 10 shillings." In May, pd Doct^r. Boyd for preaching, 5£.

In 1736 Rev. John Garzia is mentioned as having officiated. There is now in the possession of the Parish, a large silver chalice inscribed, "D. D. Johannes Garzia Ecclesie Anglicanae Presbyter."

February, 1745, Rev. Clement Hall was "allowed sixty pounds Proclamation money per annum for officiating two Sundays in three at Edenton." In 1746-47 vestry "continued" Rev. Mr. Hall as minister. In 1750 "Resolved agreed that the Revd. Mr. Clem^t. Hall be retained as clerk and rector of this Parish."

In 1753 it is ordered that the Rev. Mr. Hall be allowed "Fifty Pounds Proclamation Money for performing Devine Service, and officiating as Clerk and Rector of this Parish this present year, and that he officiate 21 Sundays at Sarum, Constants, and Farlees Chappels and the rest of his time at Edenton, except when absent on the duty of his mission."

In 1756 the vestry "continued" Rev. Mr. Hall on condition he would do the duty as they defined it, otherwise that he be discharged.

In 1759, February 24th, Rev. Daniel Earl is agreed with to act as rector, the Rev. Clement Hall having died.

Robt. B. Druce.

ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH, BATH, BEAUFORT COUNTY, N.C.

BY THE REV. JOSEPH BLOUNT CHESHIRE, JR., A.M.,
Rector of St. Peter's Church, Charlotte, North Carolina.

The oldest building in the State, probably. It is a substantial brick building, the floor of which is also laid with large, square, well-made brick. I noticed on the outside front, imbedded in the wall, a marble tablet bearing the following inscription: "William Walling, in memory of John Lawson,¹ Joel Martin, and Simon Anderson,

¹The John Lawson mentioned above was surveyor-general of North Carolina, and was with Baron DeGraffenreid, captured by the Indians in the war of 1711. DeGraffenreid was released, but Lawson was put to death with horrible tortures, being stuck full of light wood splinters and burned to death. His "History of North Carolina" is one of the rare "Americana."

founders of Bath town in 1706." Above this is another marble tablet with the following: "St. Thomas, built in 1734." The belfry sets unadorned on the back and lower part of the building; it is neither in taste nor unique, yet it contains the bell presented by Queen Anne.

There is another building, probably built before the Revolution, which is used as a church. This is Trinity Church, Chockowinity, Beaufort County, but more commonly known as "*Parson Blount's Chapel*." It was built by the Rev. Nathaniel Blount, a native of Beaufort County, of a distinguished family in the State, who was ordained about 1773, and was the last survivor of our colonial clergy, dying about 1812. I have never seen his name as a missionary of the society, and so I suppose he must have had means of his own or a large and influential connection to sustain him. No one knows when the chapel was built, but it is believed to have been erected shortly after his return from England. It is about two miles from Washington, N.C., on the other side of Pamlico river, and, with St. Paul's, Edenton, and St. Thomas's, Bath, makes up the "historic churches" of North Carolina.



HISTORIC CHURCHES IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

By J. J. PRINGLE SMITH.

Of Charleston, South Carolina.

ST. JAMES'S, GOOSECREEK.

This parish was created, and its boundaries defined, by Act of Assembly, November, 1706. Before that date the region about Goosecreek had become thickly settled, and a clergyman, Rev. William Corbin, A.M., officiated there in 1700. It was also the scene of the labors of Rev. Samuel Thomas, the first missionary sent to South Carolina by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He arrived in 1702. Mr. Thomas labored with much zeal and success among both whites and blacks; teaching many of the latter to read. He died in 1705. In conformity with the "church act" the parishioners met in April, 1707, and elected church-wardens and vestry-men; and soon after a church was built. Dr. Le Jau was the successor of Mr. Thomas. Under his ministry the congregation became too large for the church, and a new one was built, — a handsome edifice of brick, and rough-cast. It stands near Goosecreek bridge. As Dr. Le Jau died in 1717, this church is a very old one. It was the only country church not profaned by the British army in the revolutionary war. This was attributed to the fact that the royal arms were allowed to remain over the east

window. They are there to this day. The church is in good preservation.

ST. JAMES'S, SANTEE.

This parish at first consisted chiefly of French refugees conforming to the worship of the Church of England. The church was built at James-Town, the exact site of which is now doubtful. "The inhabitants of James-Town finding their situation too narrow, spread over the country, abandoning the town" (Ramsay). It is not known exactly when this church was built. Its ruins still remained when Daleho wrote, in 1820. The inhabitants petitioned the Assembly in 1706 to make their settlement a parish, expressing their desire to be united to the Church of England. Accordingly an act to that effect was passed April 9, 1706. This was afterwards repealed, and the parish was established by the church act of November, 1706; the church at James-Town being declared to be the parish church.

June 12, 1714, an act was passed "to erect a parochial chapel of ease in the parish of St. James," at Echaw. This gave place to a larger and better building of brick, in 1748, which was declared to be the parish church, James-Town being deserted. The situation of the church at Echaw becoming inconvenient to many of the parishioners, an act was passed, April, 1768, directing another to be built at or near Wambaw bridge, to be called the Parish Church of St. James, Santee. Thereupon the church at Echaw again became a chapel of ease. The first three rectors of St. James's were French clergymen: Rev. P. de Richbourg (died in 1717), Rev. Mr. Poudérons (died in 1730), and Rev. S. Coulet (died in 1748). The second named was licensed for this cure by Dr. Robinson, Bishop of London, and the third (originally a priest of Rome), by Bishop Gibson. The Bible and prayer-book were given in 1773 by Mrs. Rebecca Motte, of revolutionary fame.

ST. JOHN'S, PARISH BERKELEY.

created by Act of 1706; boundaries described by Act of December, 1708.

In 1707 the Rev. Robert Maule, a missionary sent by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, was appointed by the governor and council to the cure of this parish. No church being yet built, Mr. Maule held divine service in the church of the French Protestants, by invitation of their minister, Rev. Mr. Tuilliard.

In 1710 a church building was begun, and finished the next year. Two glebes belonged to this parish, and a parsonage. The parish being of large extent, many of the parishioners were prevented, by distance, from attending public worship. They built, by subscription, a neat brick chapel, near Strawberry ferry. This, by Act of 1725, was established as a chapel of ease. By bequests of James Child and Francis Williams, increased by subscriptions of the parishioners, a free school was erected. The parish church was accidentally burnt in 1755, and the next year an act was passed for building another. The site chosen was near Biggin creek, whence the name Biggin Church. It is sixty feet by forty. Both church and chapel being at the lower end of the parish, an act was passed in 1770 for building a chapel in the upper part.

A garrison of British troops was stationed in Biggin Church in 1781. When compelled to abandon it they set it on fire. The destruction was, however, but partial; and afterwards it was thoroughly restored, and was used until the late war. When that ended it was found to have been much injured in the interior, and to be in need of repairs. These were delayed in consequence of changes and removals of parishioners, and the impoverishment of those who remained. Meantime, decay has progressed, and the elements are doing their work; but means are still wanting for its repair.

CHRIST CHURCH PARISH,

created by "church act" of 1706; boundaries defined by Act of 1708. The foundation of the church was laid in 1707. The first rector (Rev. Richard Marsden) was chosen in 1708, and wardens and vestry in the same year. Two grants of money from the Assembly enabled the vestry to finish the church, to purchase a glebe, and build a parsonage. The church was accidentally burnt in 1724; but arrangements were immediately made to rebuild it; and this second edifice was dedicated in March, 1727. In 1750 the number of communicants was sixty. The interior of the church suffered greatly from abuse and fire in 1782 by the British. In the late war it was used as a hospital, and again the interior was much damaged. Afterwards, through "neglect, the hand of time, and depredations," it was well-nigh in a state of ruin, scarcely anything left but its walls and part of the roof.

By great efforts this ancient sanctuary has been repaired. It was consecrated by Bishop Howe in 1874.

ST. ANDREW'S PARISH,

created by Act of 1706; boundaries defined by Act of 1708.

The first rector, Rev. Alexander Wood, A.M., began his duties in 1707. The church was built of brick, forty feet by twenty-five. A parsonage house was added on a glebe of twenty-six acres, to which sixty were added. In 1723 an addition was made. The original structure was left to form the length of a cross, and arms were now built, making the dimensions forty feet one way and fifty-two the other, with a handsome chancel twelve feet by twenty-four. At the west end was a gallery appropriated to colored people.

In 1733 the rector, Rev. Mr. Guy, reported his parish as in a flourishing condition, with a chapel on James Island. As an evidence of the large means and the Christian liberality of the parishioners, it may be mentioned that in 1740 the sum of £368 14s. 6*d.* was collected at the doors of the church for the relief of the sufferers by a great fire in Charles-Town. In 1756 the chapel on James Island was established by Act of Assembly as a chapel of ease to St. Andrew's parish. In 1764 a fire destroyed the interior of the church, but small portions only of the walls. It was soon restored by subscriptions of the inhabitants.

This fine old country church has always been noted for its solidity

and its solemn beauty. It has been, with but little interruption, in use for a century and three-quarters. The longest interruption was caused during the late war, and for some time after, by the injuries to the interior. These have been sufficiently repaired to allow the resumption of public worship.

ST. HELENA, BEAUFORT.

The parish of St. Helena was created by Act of June, 1712. With the consent of Commissary Johnson, the inhabitants invited the Rev. William Guy, assistant minister of St. Philip's, Charleston, to become rector. They wrote also to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and obtained the appointment of Mr. Guy as missionary. Services were at first held in private houses. The Indian war of 1715 interrupted further proceedings. In 1724 a brick church was built, — forty feet by thirty, — with a chancel ten feet deep. The Rev. Lewis Jones was appointed to this cure in 1725 by the society. He served until 1745. Through a legacy from Mr. Jones a free school was opened in the town of Beaufort in 1749. In 1736 an act was passed authorizing the erection of a chapel near Hoospa Neck, in which the rector of St. Helena was to perform service at stated times. At an early date a church was built, of brick and tapia, on St. Helena Island, a chapel of ease to the church in Beaufort. After the Revolution this was made a separate parish. The church in Beaufort claims the maternity of no less than "eleven churches and chapels" on the neighboring mainland and islands. Among these was a very large and commodious house of worship erected for colored people, "several hundred of whom were wont to assemble therein on Sundays" for divine worship.

PRINCE GEORGE, WINYAH PARISH.

established by Act of Assembly, 10th March, 1721. A church and parsonage was ordered to be built in such place as the governor and council should approve, with the consent of a majority of the inhabitants, who were of the Church of England, the rector to be chosen in conformity with the church act, and to have a salary of £150 per annum. Subsequently two parishes were formed from parts of Prince George, viz. : Prince Frederick in 1734, and All-Saints in 1767.

A subscription for the church of the original, undivided parish was opened, Governor Nicholson giving £100, and the building was begun in 1726. It stood near the ferry over Black river.

The inhabitants applied to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel stating that the Assembly had granted a salary of £100 proclamation money for maintenance of a minister, and requesting the society to send one. After several applications the society removed the Rev. Thomas Morritt from the freeschool in Charles-Town to this parish. The register contains entries of baptisms by this clergyman in 1726. The first pages of this register, containing the elections and acts of the vestry, are lost. The earliest record is for Easter Monday, April, 1729, giving the names of the parish officers chosen. From that time the journal is complete until 1734, when the parish was divided.

In 1730 the church was completed. In 1734 the division of the parish was effected. The Rev. Mr. Morrilt continued as rector of the new parish, Prince Frederick's. The church fell within the limits of the last-named parish; consequently a new church and parsonage house were ordered to be built for Prince George's. By an Act of March, 1741-2, an appropriation was made of "all such monies as should be paid into the public treasury by virtue of the General Duty Act. for duties on goods imported into Georgetown for five years." But the amount provided proving insufficient, £1,000 were appropriated by the Assembly from other sources. Occasional services were performed by Rev. John Fordyce (successor of Mr. Morrilt in Prince Frederick's) until 1746, when Rev. Alexander Keith arrived from England, having been licensed by the Bishop of London to officiate in this parish.

The parish was served by a succession of missionaries until 1766. The vestry then offered a salary of £108 per annum, and the expenses of the passage from England. Soon after the Rev. James Stuart, of Maryland, entered on his duties in 1771-2.

During the revolution the interior of the church was burned. It was, however, completely repaired, and improvements were added. It is a substantial, old-fashioned edifice of brick.

PRINCE WILLIAM'S PARISH.

Separated from St. Helena and made a distinct parish by Act of May 25, 1745. Occasional services were held until 1758, when a rector was elected, the Rev. Robert Cooper. Sheldon Church was named after Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, but previously Bishop of London, and therefore diocesan of the American churches. It is supposed to have been begun in 1751. It was probably completed in 1753, as an act was passed in that year authorizing the commissioners to sell the pews to enable them "to finish and adorn the church." In ancient times the bronze statue of Prince William of Cumberland on horseback surmounted the portico. Just within the door of the church there stood originally a large font supported by lion's feet, in bronze. This font was described by an aged lady who had seen it in her childhood, and had been told that the negro children born on her father's place (Gen. Stephen Ball, grandson of Lieut.-Governor Ball) were baptized at this font. This no doubt had been the custom of the family, carrying out the instructions of Bishop Gibson, in his pastoral letter in 1726, addressed to the "Masters and Mistresses of Families in the English plantations abroad, exhorting them to encourage and promote the instruction of their Negroes in the Christian faith." Lieut.-Governor Ball largely assisted in the building and endowment of Sheldon Church.

It has been the fate of this venerable church to pass through two wars, and in both cases nothing was left but its massive walls. The interior was burnt by the British in 1780 on their march from Savannah to Charleston. From 1780 to 1830 it remained a desolate ruin. In or about the last-mentioned year it was restored, and was well maintained and attended until the war of 1861. In 1865, when that war

ended, nothing remained, save as before, the bare walls. The interior, pulpit, desk, organ, pews, flooring, were all gone.

ST. MICHAEL'S, CHARLESTON.

Charles-Town having by the middle of the last century greatly increased in size and population, the General Assembly found it necessary, from considerations both religious and civil, to divide the town into two parishes, and to provide for another church. An act to this effect was passed in June, 1751, and the new parish was named St. Michael. The parish church was ordered to be built "on or near the place where the old St. Philip's Church formerly stood." In the next year the corner-stone was laid by Governor Glen.

On the 16th April, 1759, the parishioners met and elected wardens and vestry, and the church was opened for public worship on 1st February, 1761, Rev. Robert Cooper, rector. It is of brick, rough-cast, extreme length one hundred and thirty feet by sixty in breadth. The steeple rises from the roof about one hundred and eighty-five feet from the ground, and is remarkable "for the lightness of its architecture, the chasteness of its ornaments and the symmetry of its parts." There is a fine chime of bells, imported from England. Bishops Dehon and Bowen were successively rectors of this parish.

ST. STEPHEN'S.

Taken from St. James's, Santee, and established by Act of Assembly, 11th May, 1754.

A chapel of ease of St. James's parish fell within the limits of the new parish, and was declared to be the parish church of St. Stephen's.

Rev. Alexander Keith (who had been assistant minister at St. Philip's, Charles-Town) was the first rector. He officiated in the above-mentioned church. This becoming decayed, and too small, the parishioners petitioned for a new parish church, and an act was passed 19th May, 1762, appointing commissioners to receive subscriptions, etc. The church is built of brick, and is ornamented with Doric pilasters. It has a handsome mahogany pulpit. The floor is tiled.

ALL-SAINTS', WACCAMAW.

Taken from Prince George Winyah, by Act of 23d May, 1767. The church is of brick, and in good condition. This was one of the most wealthy of the rural parishes. It was the cure for thirty years of that zealous and faithful servant of God, Rev. Alexander Glennie, whose work here was among Africa's sons, in whose behalf he labored most diligently. His efforts for their spiritual improvement brought forth, by God's blessing, fruit an hundredfold. Large numbers of the slaves were communicants; hundreds of colored children learned and recited intelligently the catechism. The planters made liberal provision for the spiritual instruction of their slaves, and aided in supplying them and their families with systematic teaching.

ST. DAVID'S, CHERAW.

Established by Act of 12th April, 1768. Wardens and vestry were chosen in August following.

The church building was erected at Cheraw Hill, upon land given for the purpose by Ely Kershaw. It was not quite completed until 1774, but was opened for public worship in December, 1772.



ST. DAVID'S, CHERAW, S. C.

Described as a "frame building on a brick foundation, fifty-three feet long, thirty wide, and sixteen feet high, with a coved ceiling and arched windows; chancel, ten feet by six."

For some time in 1781 it was occupied by British soldiers, of whom several, falling victims to the climate, lie buried near by.

"The venerable building still stands. It was erected with the care befitting such a work, and on a sure foundation."

J. J. Pringle Smith

MONOGRAPH VIII.

THE CHURCH CHARITIES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THE BOSTON EPISCOPAL CHARITABLE SOCIETY.

Founded, 1724.

By MR. THOMAS C. AMORY, A.M.,
Vice-President of the Society.

“Dare quam accipere.” *Acts* 20: 35.

THE scanty comforts of the early settlers on these shores rendered them all the more considerate of each other's necessities. This was exemplified by the last loaf shared by Winthrop with his less fortunate neighbor. Few, however, had left home in penury, and instances of extreme destitution were rare. As they multiplied later, legal relief was provided, and, becoming a burden, the towns in some of the colonies warned off new-comers, lest by continued residence they might gain a settlement and a permanent and hereditary claim to support. Still, the colonists generally were too devout and diligent students of the Bible not to obey its precepts. Churches and ministers, from their limited resources, spared what they could. Farmers gave bread to the hungry, shelter to the homeless, for the most part without compensation. Wayfarers, whether lofty or lowly, Indians or Quakers, and other schismatics, when banished or menaced with penalty; even Goff and Whalley, fugitives from royal resentment, whose visits were dangerous or compromising, received cordial welcome and hospitable treatment.

Work was plenty for willing hands, and in case of age or infirmity, kinsfolk helped. If pestilence, famine, war, or conflagration pressed heavily on such obligations, appeals to wider sympathies afforded adequate relief. The gathering of the distaffs on Boston Common in 1709 is one memorable instance of combined action under common calamity; and that terrible scourge the small-pox, unmitigated then by vaccination, had been rife in Boston not long before our society was founded. It was not the first association for charitable purposes in New England. The earliest of which we have any tradition was the Scotch Charitable, of Boston, in 1665. The second, in the same place, sixty years later, in 1724, owed its origin to our own church, as its name implies.

Its founders, affluent and influential, had taken a leading part in building up the two then existing parishes of our church in Boston, King's Chapel and Christ's, and helped to form that of Trinity, consecrated ten years later. Several of their names are associated with many another work of utility, or charity, and their example has been

transmitted through their successive generations. Peter Faneuil gave the town its market-house and hall, well known alike by his own name and as the cradle of liberty. Charles Apthorp, rich and bountiful, was the father of East Apthorp, designed for our first Anglican diocese: at least his elegant abode at Cambridge, which remains, is still familiarly known to many as the "Episcopal palace." William Price, in 1772, left his estate to King's Chapel, or Trinity, for lectures, charity, and parochial purposes, the income, now \$9,000, being divided between them; though the former by its change of creed, in 1809, when the estate vested, could no longer assume the conditions. The memory of Thomas Greene, from Narragansett, attaches as a principal contributor to a fund belonging to Trinity, now \$100,000, for the support of its assistant ministers.

The original associates consisted largely of recent comers to the province. The provincial charter of 1692 subjecting the northern colonies more directly to the crown, its officials took up their abode in the principal towns. Lechmere, Frankland, Jekyl, and, later, Governor Shirley, were on its rolls. Increasing wealth and numbers, the struggle for supremacy on this continent with France, and its attendant armaments, quickened trade and intercourse with the Old World. Among the earliest members are found the names of Amory, Aston, Ballard, Blount, Gibbs, Lambert, Kilby, Comberton, Cowell, Waldo, Winslow, and Wendell, engaged in foreign commerce; Crease, Freeman, and Gibbon, eminent physicians; Tyng, Brinley, Vassal, Lyde, Hyslop, Holker, Gordon, Grainger, Ivers, Inman, Coffin, Auchmuty, King, Phillips, Sterling, and many besides, in various ways entitled to consideration. The Channel Islands gave Dumaresque, and, later, Sobier and Brimmer. The Huguenots, besides Faneuil, added Boutineau, Bayard, Bethune, De Blois, Johonnot, Mascarene, Rideout, Rachel, and the publican, Luke Vardy. These well-known names, and many more who were distinguished then, or have been since, in our local annals or on wider theatres, prove that the founders of our society, and of the several parishes of the English Established Church in Boston, were the compeers of any of their contemporaries in character, education, public service, or practical piety.

It is of common remark that an especial blessing attends charitable enterprises, and our society has not proved an exception. The admission fees, now \$100 each, and the annual assessments, are invested; and Mrs. Marriot, 1793, Mrs. Howard, 1802, and Mrs. Sprague have given legacies exceeding \$10,000, and there have been other considerable bequests and donations. The income has been generally all distributed, yet the present amount of the fund is \$70,000. By its act of incorporation in 1784, the society was empowered to hold property yielding an income of £900, extended in 1853 to \$100,000; and again in 1880 to \$250,000, a large addition to its funds having been generously promised by will to establish a home for church members who have seen better days.

Thos of C. Amory

THE CORPORATION FOR THE RELIEF OF WIDOWS AND CHILDREN
OF CLERGYMEN OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

BY THE LATE JOHN WILLIAM WALLACE, LL.D.,
of Philadelphia.

I. PRE-REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY.

The distressed condition to which the Episcopal clergy in the more northern of the then British provinces of America found themselves reduced by advanced years, infirmity of health, and other casualties, early attracted notice from benevolent members of the English Church. As early as December, 1715, Archbishop Tenison left £1,000 sterling to his executors to put it out "to interest upon sure public funds," and until the happening of an event which never occurred¹ — "to apply the interest to the benefit of such missionaries, being Englishmen, and of the province of Canterbury, as they should find, upon good information, to have taken true pains in the respective places which have been committed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to their care in the said foreign plantations, and have been by unavoidable sickness or other infirmities of the body, or old age, disabled from the performance of their duties in the said places or precincts, and forced to return to England." But this bequest made no provision for the helpless widows and the unprotected children whom the clergy leave behind them when summoned to their promised rewards. The condition of such survivors in our early British provinces, settled as they mostly were "in the dissidence of dissent," we may well believe to have been distressing in the extreme. But prior to the middle of the last century I am not aware that any attempt was made to provide relief against it. In October, 1767, it was resolved at a meeting of the clergy at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, "to appoint a committee to frame some plan of provision" for them. And in pursuance of the appointment, the Rev. Dr. Auchmuty, rector of Trinity Church, New York; the Rev. Dr. Myles Cooper, President of King's College; the Rev. Mr. Cooke, missionary at Shrewsbury in New Jersey, and the Rev. Dr. William Smith, provost of the college and academy in Philadelphia, drew up a scheme for insurance on lives of the clergy in the provinces of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, and recommended to them to solicit charters in each of the provinces named. The result of this meeting was the establishment of "The Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen in the Communion of the Church of England in America;" a society whose funds, then common to the clergy in the three provinces of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, amounted in its origin to £107 10s. in Pennsylvania money, about \$1,106 of our Federal money, but which, after paying every lawful claim ever presented to it in the way of contract, and after having distributed to those entitled to its benefits thousands upon thousands of dollars above what they were entitled to

¹The consecration of two bishops, "one for the Continent, another for the Isles of North America." See "A Critical Commentary on Archbishop Secker's Letter to the Right Hon. Horatio Walpole concerning Bishops in America." Philadelphia, 1771, p. 21.

demand of right, finds itself after a century of existence, in the Pennsylvania branch of it alone, the possessor of nearly \$300,000; its obligations being less than a third of this sum.

The design of the corporation having obtained the approbation of the clergy, and a draft of a charter being settled, two persons were appointed in each province to solicit the passing thereof, viz., the Rev. Dr. Auchmuty and Dr. Cooper in New York, the Rev. Mr. Cooke and the Rev. Mr. Odell in New Jersey, and the Rev. Mr. Peters and Dr. Smith in Pennsylvania. The charter for Pennsylvania was obtained on the 7th of February, 1769; the Honorable John Penn, Esquire, the Governor, having ordered the seal to be put to it on the first application. His Excellency Governor Franklin showed the same readiness, and the charter of New Jersey was completed in May. That for New York, although cheerfully assented to by His Excellency Sir Henry Moore, Bart., was delayed by his indisposition and death; but the passing of it was one of the first acts of his successor, the Honorable Lieutenant-Governor Colden, who put the seal to it on the 29th of September.¹ The corporation was one and the same in each of the three provinces; the objects of the three charters, the trusts, the powers, and the funds, were the same; and the concerns of the corporation were regulated by the same managers or officers, meeting in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York.² Each recited that the clergy of the Church of England were with great difficulty able to provide for their families, so that their widows and children were often left in great distress, and that, to provide a remedy, application had been made to the proprietaries to erect a corporation for receiving, managing, and dispensing of such sums of money as might be subscribed and paid in from time to time by the clergy and missionaries themselves, *and such benefactions as might be given by charitable and well-disposed persons* as a fund towards the support and relief of their widows and children. And the patent of incorporation thereupon GAVE and GRANTED that certain persons designated should be a body politic, by the name of "The Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen in the Communion of the Church of England in America." Power was given to the corporators and their successors to meet on the first Tuesday after the Feast of St. Michael in every year. The charter constituted the Rev. Richard Peters, of Philadelphia, the first president of the corporation, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, the first treasurer, and the Rev. Jonathan Odell, the first secretary. It was ordained that the accounts and transactions of the society should be laid from time to time before the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishop of London.

The first Tuesday after the Feast of St. Michael, the charter day, as fixed by the letters-patent, fell, in the year 1769, upon the 3d of October; and in that month of "pathetic loveliness," in the tranquil town of Burlington, New Jersey, our corporation first assembled. Clerical members had travelled from New York, Pennsylvania, and from several parts of New Jersey, to be present; and it may be interest-

¹29th September, 1769.

²See the preface (by the Hon. Horace Bin-

ney) to the fundamental By-Laws and Tables of Rates, etc., Philadelphia, 1851.

ing to note that among the representatives from New Jersey was John Lawrence, Mayor of Burlington, and father, I believe, of Captain James Lawrence, whose gallant, though unsuccessful, bravery during our second war with England has made his name so well known.

With a view of having a larger number of corporators than were present at Burlington the meeting proceeded to Philadelphia, without breaking up. A committee composed of Doctors Smith, Auchmuty, Chandler, and Cooper, with Benjamin Chew, Joseph Galloway, John Ross, and Cortland Skinner, Esquires, was appointed to prepare business for the meeting to be held there: and it was

“*Resolved*, That at every annual meeting of the Corporation, a sermon, suitable to the occasion, be preached by some one of the members; and that each clerical member be prepared to preach in his turn, according to the order in which he is named in the charters.”

On the 10th of October a number of persons assembled at Burlington. A contemporary printed record presents them thus:—

REVEREND RICHARD PETERS, *President*.

HON. JOHN PENN, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania.	JOHN LAWRENCE, Esq., Mayor of Burlington, New Jersey.	
HON. JAMES HAMILTON, Esq.	REV. WILLIAM SMITH,	} D.D.
BENJAMIN CHEW, Esq., Attorney-General of Pennsylvania.	“ SAMUEL AUCHMUTY,	
JAMES TILGHMAN, Esq.	“ THOMAS BRADBURY } CHANDLER,	
CHARLES READ, Esq.	“ MYLES COOPER	LL.D.
FREDERICK SMYTHE, Esq., Chief Justice of New Jersey.	“ WILLIAM CURRIE,	} Clerks.
JOSEPH GALLOWAY, Esq., Speaker of the Assembly of Pennsylvania.	“ RICHARD CHARLTON,	
ALEXANDER STEDMAN, }	“ GEORGE CRAIG,	
JOHN ROSS, }	“ SAMUEL COOKE,	
RICHARD HOCKLEY, }	“ THOMAS BARTON,	
SAMUEL JOHNSON, }	“ WILLIAM THOMPSON,	
THOMAS WILLING, Esq., one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.	“ JACOB DUCHÉ,	
JOHN SWIFT, }	“ LEONARD CUTTING,	
SAMUEL POWEL, }	“ ALEXANDER MURRAY,	
FRANCIS HOPKINSON, }	“ JONATHAN ODELL,	
DR. JOHN KEARSLEY, }	“ SAMUEL MAGAW,	
DANIEL COXE, Esq., of Trenton, New Jersey.	“ JOHN ANDREWS,	
	“ ABRAHAM BEACH,	
	“ WILLIAM AYRES,	
	“ WILLIAM FRAZER,	
	“ HENRY MUILLENBERG.	

The first action of the society seems to have been attendance on divine worship in Christ Church, in which venerable temple, historic in the annals of the Church and State alike, Dr. Smith, whose name stood first in order among those of the clergy in the charter, and who was the preacher for the year, proceeded to deliver his discourse.

At the conclusion of the sermon, a collection, called in the printed account of the day, “a very generous one,” and amounting to £40 10s. Pennsylvania money,—equivalent, I believe, to about \$140,—was made “at the church doors for the benefit of the charity.” And the members of the corporation having continued in church till the congregation was dispersed, went then in a body to wait on the Gov-

error, with an address of thanks for his having granted them a charter of incorporation.

This proceeding being ended, the gentlemen present "dined together," and proceeded to establish their fundamental laws. They were reenacted without important change in 1814, and have been often printed. The eldest Mr. Binney has summed up their character thus :—

They allowed of one mode of contribution only, by annual payments to the corporation of either eight, sixteen, or twenty-four dollars, at the option of the clergymen contributing; and it stipulated to give relief to his surviving widow and children, and to either if there were not both descriptions of survivors, according to one uniform rule. The clergyman was bound to make his payment regularly in each year during his life, and to make fifteen annual contributions certainly, to entitle his widow and children to the largest rate of relief, namely, if he left a widow, only, to an annuity of fivefold the amount of the annual payment during her widowhood, and, if she married again, to one-half of the quintuple annuity for her life; if he left both widow and children the annuity was divided between them, — one-third to the widow, as aforesaid, and two-thirds of it to the children for thirteen years; if he left a widow and one child the annuity was divided between the widow and child, — one-half to the widow, as aforesaid, and the other half to the child for thirteen years; and if he left a child or children and no widow the child or children took the whole annuity for the term of thirteen years. If the clergyman paid any number less than five annual contributions, his widow and children were entitled only to ten per cent. per annum on the amount of his contributions, for thirteen years; and if he paid five or more, and less than fifteen annual contributions, they were entitled to only half the amount of the full annuity, until the amount of the half retained by the corporation, added to the five or more payments made by the deceased, without computing interest, should, together, make a sum equal to fifteen annual payments, at which time the full annuity became payable.

Bishop White informs us that great pains were bestowed on the formation of the society, and "especially in the obtaining of correct principles of calculation, warranted by extensive observation of the duration of lives." To whom was the society and the science of life insurance indebted for this effort, so far in advance of most on this continent, to ascertain those principles of reversionary payment by which the society could best and most safely afford its relief?

No effort in such a matter could have been well made at Philadelphia in the year 1769, by such gentlemen as then represented our province in the board of managers, without some consultation with the great "economist and calculator" of his day, Dr. Benjamin Franklin. His tastes led him to inquiries of this class; and, though Dr. Smith had been estranged from him, and charged him, in 1762, with want of truth, and with malignant tempers,¹ Franklin was not the less, in 1769, in frequent correspondence with some of the citizens of Philadelphia who formed the early members of the society, and, as one of the trustees of the College of Philadelphia, was, to some degree, in associations, probably, with Dr. Smith himself. It is remarkable, that in the very year of the society's incorporation, Dr. Price addressed to Franklin his well-known "Observations on the Expectations of Lives, the Increase of Mankind, the number of Inhabitants of London, and the influence of Great Towns on Health and Population,"² and that the

¹ See Stillé's "Memoir of Dr. Smith," pp. 29, 30.

² See "Observations on Reversionary Payments," by Richard Price. London, 1772.

minutes of 1773 show that Dr. Price, at the request of Franklin, had been considering the scheme of annuities of which we are speaking, and gave his judgment upon them. The fact of Franklin's hand in the original formation of it seems to be rendered almost certain by the further fact that Mr. Galloway, a close and confidential friend of Franklin, and eminent as a lawyer of the province, was a member of the committee appointed at the first meeting to prepare business for the meeting at Philadelphia, where these laws were resolved on, and that in a contemporary printed account it is mentioned that "the great attention paid to it by the lay members, the accuracy and care with which all the proposed articles and fundamental rules were examined, digested, and corrected, *especially by gentlemen of the law*, deserve to be held continually in grateful remembrance by the clergy."

Application had been made, apparently, in the very incipency of the scheme, to the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, praying their countenance and assistance in carrying the new design into execution. Their answer, signed by their secretary, the Rev. Dr. Burton, was as follows:—

That, as a mark of their earnest desire to forward so benevolent an undertaking, they willingly charge themselves with an annual contribution of £20 sterling to the scheme, for each of the Provinces of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; that is, £60 sterling per annum in the whole; for which the treasurer of the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows, &c., may draw on the treasurer to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, commencing from the time that the charters shall be obtained, and the subscriptions of the clergy themselves take place.

"The thanks due to the venerable society for such a mark of their goodness and kindness to the Episcopal clergy in these parts" were ordered to be properly transmitted to them; and were presented in a letter from the President, Dr. Peters.

The meeting of 1770 was in New York, and the annual sermon was preached by Dr. Auchmuty. The minutes contain the following record of a layman's liberality:—

Upon a motion made that a proper seal might be ordered for the corporation, Mr. Le Roy generously offered to pay the expense of any seal that shall be agreed upon; the price not exceeding ten guineas.

The meeting of 1771 was at Perth Amboy, New Jersey; Dr. Chandler preaching the annual sermon. Governor Colden, of New York, had now given place to Governor Tryon. The minutes thus record the fact, with the action of the corporation upon it:—

Dr. Smith, Dr. Auchmuty, and Dr. Chandler were appointed a committee to draw up immediately a proper address to his Excellency Governor Tryon, congratulating him upon his safe arrival in his government, and acquainting him that the corporation had done themselves the honor of choosing his Excellency a member.

In 1772, the meeting being for this year in Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, a similar proceeding took place in regard to "the Honorable Richard Penn, Esquire, Governor of Pennsylvania, who was unanimously elected a member of the corporation."

Such, within four years of the Declaration of Independence, in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, where the spiritual stands now so independent, was the relation of the Church to powers temporal.

The records of 1772, at Philadelphia, present no event of interest. Some little incidents are thus quaintly recorded:—

The corporation proceeded to Christ Church, and as the Rev. Dr. Cooper, President of King's College in New York, whose turn it was to preach, could not attend, the annual sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Peters, Rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia, and a liberal collection made for the charity.

After sermon, Mr. Hopkinson, one of the treasurers, acquainted the Corporation that Richard Hoekley, Esq., one of the members, had generously subscribed five pounds per annum, Pennsylvania money, during his natural life, for the benefit of the fund, for which the corporation requested him to accept their sincere thanks.

As Dr. Cooper, whose turn it was to preach at this meeting, could not attend:

Agreed, That he has not thereby lapsed his turn, and that he be prepared to preach at the next annual meeting.

Agreed, That the thanks of this corporation be given to their worthy President, for his sermon preached this day before them, at which £120 3s. 4d. was collected.

The minutes of 1773 record, in a style of similar simplicity, an evidence of the ever ready service of the venerable president. They tell us that "as the Rev. Mr. Reading, missionary at Apoquinimick, in Pennsylvania, who had undertaken to preach the annual sermon, was prevented from attending by a sudden and severe indisposition, the Rev. Dr. Peters, in this necessity, was pleased to preach the same sermon which he had preached (but not printed) the former year at Philadelphia;" and a handsome collection was made in the church.

By whatever person—whether by Dr. Franklin, or by some other man less disposed to such studies—the scheme of annual payments and annuities was settled, and whether it was or was not settled on a true estimate of the rates of life and death, it is certain that the managers of the corporation from its origin did not trust to the payments made by persons contracting with it, to make good the promised annuities. A "sermon suitable to the occasion," to be preached at each annual meeting, was a matter meant to be fixed, as we have seen, as a permanent arrangement at the first meeting held by the society; and a collection followed as of course. In 1772 it is "recommended to the clergy, who are members of this corporation, to take all convenient opportunities in their respective parishes, both publicly and privately, to solicit benefactions to this charitable institution." And in 1774, with obvious perception, even at that early day, of the shadows which coming events were casting before them, we find the founders of the corporation, while acknowledging a gift of £13 10s. from John Dickinson, Esq., of £6 from Dr. Alexander Ross, of Jamaica, of £20 from the Hon. James Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, and of £5 from Mr. James Nixon, endeavoring to place its beneficent purpose upon a base of less varying strength, by an endowment of land from the crown. The minutes of October, in that year, contain the following entry:—

Resolved, That this corporation ought humbly to solicit a grant of a quantity of land from His MAJESTY, for the further support of this charitable institution; that they think such grant could be advantageously located in Canada, on the far side of the Ohio, near or adjoining the western boundary of Pennsylvania, and that the following gentlemen, viz.,

The Right Honorable the Earl of Sterling, the Honorable Mr. Chief Justice Smith, and the Rev. Dr. Chandler, of New Jersey; Goldsborough Bayyar and James Duane, Esqs., with the Rev. Dr. Auchmuty, of New York; and the Hon. James Hamilton and Benjamin Chew, Esq., with the Rev. Dr. Smith, of Pennsylvania,

Be and they are hereby nominated a committee, with powers to locate the lands, determine the proper quantity to be prayed for, and also to prepare and send home the petition, at such time as they may think proper. *And it is the opinion of this board that such application should be speedily made.*

Whether the application was "speedily made" or not, the minutes do not show us. If it was not so made it was probably not made at all. The Revolution was soon upon us. The Church of England, and the missionaries which it sent us, were associated largely with England herself, and came in for a share of the odium merited by her rulers. Many of the missionaries, abandoning the country, returned to the mother-country, and the society for the relief of their widows and children seemed in danger of extinction, by the failure alike of the conditions and the necessities for which it had been incorporated.

There was no meeting subsequently to 1775. The contributors, who in 1771 numbered twenty-seven, had by October, 1775, decreased, if an entry of payments on the minutes represents them all, to four. One of the treasurers, Dr. Chandler, remained faithful to Great Britain, and retired from this country. And it is a curious incident that the earliest president of the society, its faithful friend and very liberal benefactor, Dr. Peters, died six days after the Declaration of Independence was read from the steps of the State-House. After the minutes of the meeting of 1774 — whose proceedings seem to have been more than usually full, and to have been very fully recorded — we find in the records a short and expressive entry: —

The minutes of the proceedings of the corporation for the year 1775 have been lost in the confusion of the war, which commenced in that year. During the war the corporation did not meet.

The whole corporation stock in October, 1774, was, in Pennsylvania currency, £2,572 12s. 10*d.*; that is to say, in their own, or some other currency, not all of it Pennsylvanian: —

For Pennsylvania	£1,111 6. 10.
For New York	1,006 7. 8 ³ / ₄ .
For New Jersey	232 6. 8.

So ends the pre-revolutionary history of the corporation. For nearly ten years — during parts of which the British army was in the possession of New York, Philadelphia, and of many parts of New Jersey — the corporation was without any corporate head, and, as respected the State of New Jersey, without a treasurer. It lay, indeed, through the whole war, in a state so latent and inactive that but for three or four persons it might have been regarded as in a state more of death than of dormancy.

II. POST-REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY.

With the return of peace, the thoughts of a few members of the corporation who had remained upon this continent were directed to the resuscitation and reorganization of the body.

The members, who, till the war, or shortly prior to it, had taken an interest in the corporation were numerous. At the meeting of October 3, 1773, there were present: Dr. Peters, Dr. Smith, Dr. Auchmuty, Dr. Chandler, Dr. Cooper, Dr. Ogilvie, Mr. Craig, Mr. Seabury, Mr. Inglis, Mr. Duché, Mr. Cutting, Mr. Beach, Mr. Frazer, Mr. Sayre, Mr. Bloomer, Mr. Provoost, Mr. Coombe, Mr. White, Mr. Ayres. And at that meeting Mr. William Stringer and Mr. Robert Blackwell were chosen members. In previous records we find, in addition, the names of Mr. Charlton, Mr. Reading, Mr. Cooke, Mr. Preston, Mr. Browne, Mr. Magaw, Mr. Andrews, and Mr. Frazer; twenty-nine clergy in all of the Church of England, belonging to one or other of the three States; and being, I suppose, most of the clergy of the Church of England in them.

Of all these, full two-thirds disappear from the records in the revolutionary term; and I suppose that the year 1784 probably found few alive, and on this hemisphere, other than Dr. Smith, Dr. White, Dr. Blackwell, Dr. Magaw, Dr. Provoost, Dr. Beach, Dr. Andrews, Mr. Cutting, Mr. Bloomer, and Mr. Frazer.

The first action by members of the society towards reëstablishing it, after the peace, was a meeting of a few clergymen at New Brunswick, New Jersey, on the 13th and 14th of May, 1784.¹ Here it was determined to procure a larger meeting on the 5th of October, at New York.

At the meeting, reassembled in New York, "on the Tuesday of October proposed, being the first Tuesday after the feast of St. Michael," the work of reëstablishment was proceeded in. The late president, Dr. Peters, having died July 10, 1776, and "it being now proposed to appoint a chairman to open the business, the Rev. Dr. Smith was chosen for that purpose." The Rev. Benjamin Moore, afterwards Bishop of New York, acted as the secretary. The first thing was the appointment of a committee of three clerical and three lay members, — Drs. Smith, White, and Provoost, and Messrs. Duane, Peters, and Livingston, — "to examine into the affairs of this corporation since the last meeting at Philadelphia, on Tuesday after the feast of St. Michael, in the year 1775, and to report thereon as soon as may be." Having adjourned to attend divine service, at St. Paul's Church, New York, on Wednesday the 6th, where the annual sermon was preached by Dr. Magaw, the rector of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, the meeting was reassembled on the 8th, the committee being ready to report.

The minutes tell us that the Hon. Mr. Duane, in behalf of the committee, submitted the following, "its observations and advice": —

¹ Bishop White's "Memoirs," 2d ed., p. 21. date as "11th May, 1784." *Vide* Perry's "Hist. This is the date given by Bishop White. The Notes and Documents," pp. 6-8. original MS. in the hands of the editor gives the

That it is expedient that the objections which might be made, on account of the non-user of the powers granted by the charter, be removed.

That the respective Legislatures of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania be applied to for this purpose.

That the last clause of the charter shall be so far altered as, instead of subjecting the accounts and proceedings of the corporation to the revisal and ratification therein specified, the same accounts and proceedings shall hereafter be revised, checked, and confirmed in the manner expressed in the said charter by the Governor, Chancellor, and Chief Justice of the State of New York, or any two of them; and by the Governor, or President, the Chief Justice, and the Attorney-General of the States of Pennsylvania and New Jersey respectively, or by any two of them. And that the title of the corporation shall be altered as follows: "*The Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.*"

And, also, that the following clause in the proviso of the said charter be annulled or repealed, viz.: "And not contrary to the laws of that part of Great Britain called England."

That committees be appointed for each of the said three States, with power to represent and act for this corporation in the premises.

That in full confidence that the benevolent design for which this corporation was instituted will be encouraged by the said Legislatures, this corporation ought to proceed to the election of the usual and necessary officers for conducting their business, as well as of members for filling up vacancies. And also to examine into the state of their funds, and all other matters which require immediate attention.

The corporation now proceeded to ballot for twenty-nine new members. Their names appear upon the roll of corporators under the date of 1784. It is interesting to note the names of General Alexander Hamilton, then in his twenty-seventh year, and of John Jay, among those from New York, and of both Robert and Gouverneur Morris among those from Pennsylvania. Officers were also elected; Dr. Smith was appointed president; and the Rev. Benjamin Moore, secretary. The treasurers were, *for New York*, John Alsop; *for New Jersey*, Joshua Maddox Wallace; and *for Pennsylvania*, Samuel Powel, this last reappointed. Standing committees of correspondence, and for obtaining an alteration and confirmation of the charter, were also elected; Dr. White, and Mr. Peters, *for Pennsylvania*; Messrs. John Stevens and J. M. Wallace, *for New Jersey*; and Messrs. Duane, Robert R. Livingston, with the Rev. Mr. Provoost, *for New York*.

The assets of the society were found in different degrees of soundness in the different States. Those in Pennsylvania, which had been under the care of Samuel Powel, Esq., were solid and forthcoming. Mr. Powel reported in 1786, that since the 4th of October, 1775, he had —

Received on account of the corporation, the sum of	£1,359. 5. 6.
And had paid away	1,354. 4. 2.
	<hr/>
Balance in favor of the Treasury	£5. 1. 4.

And that the total amount of the corporation's stock in Pennsylvania, including mortgages, was £2,795 10s. 6d. Claiming the fulfillment of a promise made to him at some former meeting, for leave to resign his office, he was discharged from the trust after thirteen years' service — from 1773 to 1786 — "with the thanks of the corporation

for his fidelity, accuracy, and attention to the interests of the institution under circumstances of peculiar difficulty."

The fund in New York was in a condition not quite so satisfactory. A proposition of the treasurer, made apparently in 1785, that he should give landed security for £1,237 10s. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. *specie* principal, with interest in future, was accepted by the corporation, and the sum above named may be taken as the property of the corporation in New York.

With the retirement "beyond seas," as it is called in the minutes, of Dr. Chandler, the whole fund (£232 6s. 8d.) existing for New Jersey, in 1777, was lost.

At the close of the Revolution the aggregated funds of the corporation consisted of the —

Fund in Pennsylvania	£2,795. 10. 6.
“ New York	£1,237. 10. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$.
“ New Jersey; moneys received from 1775 to 1784, from the Rev. Mr. Blackwell, Frazer, Beach, and Odell, subscribers for that State	18. 14. 3.

With this capital, surviving the shock of the Revolution, the corporation renewed its meetings, its annual sermons, and its business; Dr. Smith, after the adjournment of the meeting at New York, remained in that city to preach on the following Sunday, both morning and afternoon, which added £112 19s. 10d. to the corporate moneys. The next meeting was fixed for Trenton, but the minutes of 1785 inform us that, owing to the bad weather and other incidents, the members could not be assembled in sufficient numbers to do business, and that certain of the members, who met in Philadelphia, sent some of those present to Trenton to procure an adjournment, to meet on the 20th of June in the next year at Philadelphia, and that those who met at Trenton adjourned accordingly. The meeting of 1786 was so held; and, among its agreeable incidents, was the announcement, by the Rev. Dr. Moore, that Mr. James De Blez, of New York, had bequeathed to the corporation a no less sum than £400.

With the return of peace the obligations of the corporation to its various subscribers, several of whom had died since the last meeting in 1775, and whose families stood, therefore, in special relations to the body, made matter of some difficulty. How far the loyalist clergy who abandoned the country, and had died in England, were to be regarded on the same footing as those who followed the fortunes of the colonies, and withstood invading arms, — how far and on whom the cesser of payments for ten years should operate to destroy prior rights, or how far and for whom the penalties of forfeiture were suspended by the war, these, and many questions of difficulty, both in the principles and details of computing the annuities, may have naturally embarrassed the respective treasurers. A committee, composed of Rev. Drs. Smith and White from the clergy, and of Messrs. Wilcox, Wallace, and Chaloner from the laity, was appointed to settle the annuities, and, on their report it was

Resolved, That the respective treasurers be instructed to settle with the sev-

eral annuitants who are entitled to relief from the funds of this corporation, according to the tenor and intent of the fundamental articles.

That is to say, that they shall pay, as soon as they shall be enabled, their respective annuities, according to the classes to which they belong, or to such as shall demand the same, deducting such forfeitures as may have been incurred by the respective subscribers.

But, whereas, the general calamities of war have prevented the subscribers from making any payments after the Tuesday immediately preceding the feast of St. Michael, in the year 1776, it is

Resolved, That no fines or forfeitures shall be deemed to have been incurred after that time, or be deducted from the annuities due.

The matter being one of contract, where the war had but suspended remedies, and not annulled the obligation, no distinction appears to have been made between the families of the loyalist clergy and those who adhered to the colonies. And in the following year, at a meeting composed of men, most of whose names are found in the early councils of the Church in America, the continuing identity of the Church in England with the Church in America would appear to have been recognized in a resolution somewhat striking, thus:—

That an address be made to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, soliciting the payment of arrearages of their annual contribution to this corporation, with which they generously charged themselves.

The year 1789 is to be signalized by the retirement of Dr. Smith from the presidency of the corporation. The thanks of the corporation were given to him for his long and faithful services as president; and the Rev. Dr. White, who had been a member since 1772, and had now recently been consecrated to the episcopate, was elected to the place.

In the same year the corporation had the gratification of receiving, by request, from Andrew Doz, one of its members, the largest sum ever received from one individual. He left his property, on the death of his wife and widowed daughter, and, as it is recorded by the latter, "with their entire approbation," almost wholly to institutions of the Church; one-seventh part of his estate, this share producing, so far as can be ascertained, about \$4,000,¹ coming to the society.

The corporation continued its annual meetings through the years 1790 and 1791. At the meeting of the former year we find Hamilton, at that time Secretary of the Treasury, consulting with White and Provoost upon the wisdom of a change in a fundamental rule of the corporation, suggested, we are told, "on account of the calamities of the late war." In any such council we may believe that the voice of the first secretary was potential. The member of the body who records his presence and his action was the excellent Benjamin Moore, D.D., then and long secretary of the corporation; no stranger to his sincerity in all things, or to his interest in what concerned the ministers of religion, when summoned, fourteen years afterwards to the bed-side of the expiring patriot, there to administer to him a sacrament of the Church, and to receive from his lips, amidst the agony of a mortal wound, the solemn assurance that he had "*no ill will*" against the man

¹ Mr. Binney's Preface, p. 8.

who sought and took his life; and that "he forgave *all* that had happened."

The minutes of this year, 1791, tell us that the meeting was at Trenton, and after making mention of the election of officers, that

The corporation then proceeded to the church, where a sermon highly suitable to the occasion was preached by the Rev. Dr. Blackwell to a number of the respectable inhabitants of Trenton and its vicinity. The collection was £7 12s. 7d.

This, I believe, was the last sermon preached before the society, and the last collection made in its behalf.

From 1791 to 1796 the minutes record no meetings, except one in 1793, and for several years, up to 1813, there were many interruptions of them. Without doubt the frequent journeyings of the members, performed by some of them most faithfully to Philadelphia, New York, and to different towns in New Jersey, must have been found greatly laborious, accomplished as they were before the days of either steamboats or railways, and when the transport was to be made across the arid sands of New Jersey, either in the common stage, or the less expeditious private carriage of the owner; the only variation to such a conveyance being by the "periaguas" of that day on water at the extremities of the road, and where storms and calms were as frequent as the more grateful zephyrs. The aggregation of the society had been made in the days of the church's infancy and feebleness on this continent. With bishops of its own, and with increasing strength, a separation and independent action were better. The minutes of May, 1796, accordingly disclose to us, that at a meeting held in Trenton, it was the opinion of the members present that three distinct corporations ought to be formed; one for each of the three States. And a separation was then resolved on, with a division of funds on these principles:—

1. That an estimate should be made of all moneys contributed in the States respectively, whether by subscription or donation.
2. That an estimate should be made of all moneys contributed by corporations, or by individuals not residing in any of the three States.
3. That an exact statement of the funds of the present corporation should be made, from which it might be ascertained how far they fell short of the sums which had been received.
4. That a new fund should be raised in each State by a demand on the present aggregate fund, in a ratio compounded of a right to one-third of what should appear on Article 2, and to a share in what should appear on Article 1, proportioned to the moneys which had been contributed in each State, whether by subscription or by donation.

Under these resolutions, a committee, of whom the acting members were Bishop White and Dr. Blackwell, for Pennsylvania, Dr. Beach, for New York, and Mr. Joshua Maddox Wallace, for New Jersey, was appointed to effect the division of the corporate funds on the foregoing plan. They found, on the 27th November, 1806, that the whole fund consisted of \$26,485, and that there would be to be assigned

To the separate corporation in New York	\$11,806	
“ “ “ Pennsylvania	10,390	
“ “ “ New Jersey	4,289	
	\$26,485	

And the legislatures of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, having created new corporations in their States respectively,¹ to whom the powers and duties of the aggregate corporations were transferred, the several portions of the fund were paid to them respectively; provision being made for the rights of existing contractors with the corporation, who had, of course, a claim on the whole fund. Upon this transfer the principal actors in the events by which the division was accomplished, prepared and executed with solemnity a paper which was intended as a perpetual record and counsel. It thus declares:—

PHILADELPHIA, November 27th, 1806.

We, the subscribers, having this day ratified a plan of division of the fund of the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, embrace the opportunity of recording our unanimous opinion, intending to deliver the same to the members of the said corporation in the States in which we respectively reside, that it will be incumbent on the contemplated corporations in the distinct States to continue their respective funds on the general principles on which the aggregate fund was established, and especially to keep in view the principle that contributions duly paid, agreeably to the fundamental laws, are the price of the purchase of an annuity, *which should be rendered as secure as the nature of human affairs will permit*, and that in regard not only to former but also to future contributors, the aggregate corporation having pledged themselves, and as far as they could, their successors, to that effect.

WM. WHITE,
 ABM. BEACH,
 ROBERT BLACKWELL,
 J. M. WALLACE.

The drafts of proper instruments were prepared in form. They confirmed the proceedings of the members who met at Trenton in May, 1796, and the acts of the committee at Philadelphia, on the 27th November, 1806, and the separation, apportionment, and division of the aggregate funds, and they approved of the creation of the three new corporations, and of the payments made. Each member severally released and acquitted each and every other from all claim and responsibility for any matter in the premises, and each declared his assent and agreement to the dissolution of the aggregate corporation, and directed that its common seal might be affixed by the president to the presents. And they thereupon surrendered up all rights under the old corporation, and declared that thenceforth it should cease.

The draft, being engrossed, was signed by twenty-four members of the corporation, and subsequently sealed with the common seal; the last use to which that seal — which the generosity of Mr. Le Roy had provided for in the year 1770, and whose legend and devices its liberal donor, with Mr. Kempe, Dr. Auchmuty, and Dr. Cooper, were then appointed to prescribe — was ever applied. The seal being affixed, it was afterwards solemnly broken by the Rt. Rev. Dr. White, president of the corporation.

So ended the formal existence of the ancient corporation of the colonies and of the revolutionary epoch. The names of the twenty-four who signed the act of dissolution comprised, with the Rev. John

¹The Act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania was passed 28th March, 1797.

Campbell, of Pennsylvania, and a very few others, perhaps, of New York and New Jersey, all the surviving members of that day. They had been faithful guardians of their trust, and now delivered it up strengthened and enriched for much greater usefulness than when they had received it. As we have given the names of those by whom, in its first meeting, the society was constituted, so we may properly record the names of these last. They were:—

FOR PENNSYLVANIA.

The Rt. Rev. WILLIAM WHITE, D.D.
 The Rev. ROBERT BLACKWELL, D.D.
 “ JOSEPH PILMORE, D.D.
 “ JAMES ABERCROMBIE, D.D.
 “ JOSEPH HUTCHINS.
 “ JOSEPH CLARKSON.
 EDWARD TILGHMAN, Esq.,
 The Hon. RICHARD PETERS.
 “ JOHN D. COXE.
 Gen. FRANCIS GURNEY.
 MATTHEW CLARKSON, Esq.
 TENCH COXE, Esq.
 JAMES ASH, Esq.
 BENJAMIN SMITH BARTON, M.D.

FOR NEW YORK.

The Rt. Rev. BENJAMIN MOORE, D.D.
 “ “ SAML. PROVOOST, D.D.
 The Rev. ABRAHAM BEACH, D.D.
 RICHARD CHANNING MOORE, D.D.
 The Rev. WILLIAM HAMMEL.

FOR NEW JERSEY.

The Rev. CHARLES HENRY WHARTON,
 D.D.
 JOSHUA MADDOX WALLACE, Esq.
 WILLIAM COXE, Esq.

John Wm Wallace

CHRIST CHURCH HOSPITAL, PHILADELPHIA.

BY THE REV. EDWARD A. FOGGO, D.D.,

Rector of Christ Church.

CHRIST CHURCH HOSPITAL, PHILADELPHIA.

This institution was founded A.D. 1772 by Dr. John Kearsley, who died in January of that year, and who, for fifty-three years, served on the vestry of Christ Church. In the language of his will, dated April 29, 1769, “for the support of ten or more poor or distressed women of the Communion of the Church of England, or such as the said corporation and their successors shall deem such; preferring clergymen’s widows before others, and supplying them with meat, drink, and lodging, and the assistance of persons practising physic and surgery, I give and bequeath such and such properties to the Corporation of the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter’s, to found ‘Christ Church Hospital.’” Dr. Kearsley was the architect of the present building of Christ Church, and, as some think, of Independence Hall also. The first building was on Arch street, above Third, and could accommodate only eight persons. This was pulled down in 1785, and a larger building erected on the spot. In 1818 a

spacious edifice was erected on Cherry street. This contained twenty rooms. In 1856 a tract of land of one hundred and twenty-six acres was purchased on Belmont avenue, West Philadelphia, on which a magnificent fire-proof building has been erected, at a cost of over \$135,000. It has a front of two hundred and thirty-seven feet, with a wing of one hundred feet in depth. A beautiful chapel, nicely furnished, forms a part of this wing, and regular services are held on the church's holydays.

In January, 1789, Joseph Dobbins, Esq., of South Carolina, gave to the institution £500, and two lots of land in the city of Philadelphia. These lots in time increased very much in value, and the sale of them furnished the money with which to purchase the farm. De Lancey place, between Spruce and Pine streets, above Eighteenth, now occupies what was then termed "pasture lots." Mr. Dobbins died in Columbia, S.C., on the 29th of May, 1804, leaving all his estate, real and personal, "to the poor and distressed widows supported by the bounty of Dr. Kearsley, in Christ Church Hospital."

There are at present about seventy inmates, who are most comfortably provided for. A well-furnished room is provided for each, and the parlor and library are open to all, where they meet as members of a Christian household. We have no doubt that in the future, as the endowment by judicious administration increases, it will support one hundred and fifty or more, in the noble structure provided for the purpose.



THE ORPHAN HOUSE AT BETHESDA. GA.

BY THE RT. REV. JOHN WATROUS BECKWITH, D.D., LL.D.,
Bishop of Georgia.

The history of Bethesda, so far as that history is known, forms but a brief chapter in the life of the Rev. George Whitefield. He laid its foundations; under him, and owing to his devotion, it flourished; and after his death it gradually weakened, passed away, and, except the mere outline of its story, was forgotten. It is of special interest as being, probably, the first institution of charity for the protection and education of orphan children established in this country; and as being the work of a clergyman of the Church.

The idea of establishing an orphan's home in Georgia was already in the minds of the Rev. Charles Wesley and General Oglethorpe, and was by them imparted to Whitefield. In a letter written by him in 1745-6 he says: "Some have thought that the erecting such a building was only the produce of my own brain, but they are much mis-

taken, for it was first proposed to me by my dear friend, the Rev. Charles Wesley, who, with His Excellency General Oglethorpe, had conceived a scheme for carrying on such a scheme before I had any thoughts of going abroad myself."

Having determined that his duty lay in Georgia, he at once went to work to raise funds for the poor children of the colony. On the 28th of December, 1737, aged twenty-three, he sailed on board the "Whitaker" for the New World. On the 5th of May, 1738, the "Whitaker" anchored off Tybee, and George Whitefield, having preached to the crew a farewell sermon, went forward to Savannah, accompanied by his devoted friend, Mr. James Habersham, afterwards president of the colony of Georgia, who had come to Georgia "only from motives of warm friendship for Mr. Whitefield, and his deep love for the missionary work." The condition of the children, especially those who were orphans, at once claimed his attention. Such was the destitution of these poor waifs that, instead of attempting the erection of an orphan house, he used the money collected in England to provide them a temporary home and proper care and superintendence, and, in September of the same year, returned to England and busied himself raising funds. The trustees of Georgia offered him a salary to labor in Savannah; but this he declined, asking instead that they would grant him a tract of land, on which he might erect an orphan house. In consequence of this request five hundred acres of land were donated him, and thus was secured the original tract upon which was to be placed the "Whitefield Orphan House."

In less than one year, we are told, the young missionary collected in England more than one thousand pounds, and, with this amount in hand, he left his home, August 14, 1739, and returned to Georgia, attended by eight men and three children. On the 25th of March, 1740, the first brick was laid of the main building, which was then named by him "Bethesda" or "The House of Mercy." In December, 1741, Mr. Whitefield, writing of "the great house," says: "It is now weather-boarded and shingled, and a piazza of 10 foot wide built all around it, which will be wonderfully convenient in the heat of summer. One part of the house would have been entirely finished had not the Spaniards lately taken from us a schooner loaded with ten thousand bricks, and a great deal of provisions, with one of our family. And therefore I could not, till lately, procure another boat to fetch brick from Charlestown. Notwithstanding this and many other hindrances, the work has been carried on with great success and speed. There are no less than 4 frame houses, a large stable and cart-house, beside the great house. In that there will be, I think, 16 commodious rooms, besides a large cellar of 60 feet long and 40 wide. Near 20 acres of land are cleared round about it, and a large road from Savannah to the Orphan House, 12 miles in length: a thing not before done since the Province was settled." At this time Mr. Whitefield and the children were living in the out-houses above mentioned. Of these children, he says in a letter dated December 23, 1741, there were forty-nine, of whom twenty-three were English, ten Scotch, four Dutch, five French, and seven Americans. "Twenty-two of these are fatherless and mother-

less ; — 16 boys and 6 girls. The others are some of them fatherless, and some without mothers : all objects of charity, except three, whose friends recompense the Orphan House for their maintenance." His design in founding the Orphan House was, as he says, "to build up souls for God." He endeavored "to preach most of all to the children's hearts." But, that they might be able to give a reason for the hope that was in them, he constantly instructed them out of the Church of England articles which he turned into catechetical questions.

The girls were taught to "spin, sew, wash, knit, clean the house, get up linen," and "general housewifery." Both boys and girls were employed in picking cotton. An infirmary was attached to the institution, where a woman was in constant attendance. Including two school-masters and their wives, — acting as school-mistresses, — a superintendent, a surgeon and his wife, a shoemaker and spinstress, laborers and hired servants, there were upwards of eighty persons attached to the establishment. Bethesda at this time owned "200 hogs and 100 head of cattle," under the charge of a man who was paid £40 sterling to take care of them. The lands were cultivated by hired white servants and the larger boys, but Mr. Whitefield doubts whether such labor can be made profitable, and he suggests the expediency of the introduction of negroes, who, at that time, were prohibited in the colony of Georgia, but allowed in South Carolina. Mr. Whitefield states that up to this time (1741) there had been expended in behalf of the Orphan House, £3,358. 7s. 5¼*d.*

In 1745 he writes : "Many boys have been put out to trades, and many girls put out to service. One that I brought from New England is handsomely settled in Carolina, and another from Philadelphia is married and lives comfortably in Savannah." The zeal of this godly man seems at times to have seriously interfered with the comfort of his neighbors. Mr. William Stephens, in its "Journal of Proceedings," etc., Vol. II., page 248, complains that Mr. Whitefield was so zealous in his arrangements for the construction of the Orphan House and other buildings belonging to it, that he monopolized the services of every bricklayer, sawyer, and carpenter in the province, and so determined was he to fill his house with orphans that he became involved in serious disputes, and finally Gen. Oglethorpe thought it necessary to forbid his taking away any orphans from their masters. In 1748–9 he remained in England as chaplain to Lady Huntingdon. In 1750 his views seem to have greatly enlarged. So encouraged was he by the success of the Orphan House that he determined to make Bethesda a college, wherein the sons of Carolina and Georgia gentlemen might "be initiated in academic exercises." A charter was prayed for "upon the plan of the New Jersey College." In this memorial Whitefield declares himself "ready to give up his present trust and make a free gift of all lands, negroes, goods and chattels, which he then stood possessed of in the Province of Georgia, for the present founding and towards the future support of a college, to be called by the name of Bethesda College, in the Province of Georgia."¹ In the

¹ A Letter to His Excellency Gov. Wright, etc., page 6. London: 1763.

same memorial he prays that two thousand acres of land "might be granted in trust towards carrying on the desirable end of founding a college." At this time the Orphan House had been in existence about twenty-six years, and over £12,000 had been expended in its maintenance. The lands prayed for were located "on the north fork of Turtle River, called the Lesser Swamp, if vacant, or where lands may be found vacant south of the River Altamaha."

In a letter addressed by Mr. Whitfield to the Archbishop of Canterbury, under date, London, July 4, 1767, he thus alludes to the condition of the Orphan House, and its property: "Upon a moderate computation, may it please your Grace, I believe its present annual income is between four and five hundred pounds sterling. The House is surrounded with eighteen hundred acres of land, a plan of which and likewise of the House itself I herein inclose, and humbly present for your Grace's perusal. The number of negroes, young and old, employed on various parts of these lands, in sawing timber, raising rice for exportation, and corn, with all other kinds of provisions for the family, is about thirty. Besides these the college will be immediately possessed of two thousand acres of land, near Altamaha, which were granted me by the Governor and Council, when I was last in Georgia, and a thousand acres more, left, as I am informed, by the late Rev. and worthy Mr. Zumberbuhler. So that, by laying out only a thousand pounds in purchasing an additional number of negroes, and allowing another thousand for repairing the House, and building the two intended wings, the present annual income may very easily and speedily be augmented to a thousand pounds per annum. . . . At present I would only further propose that the negro children belonging to the College shall be instructed, in their intervals of labour, by one of the poorer students, as is done now by one of the scholars in the present Orphan House. And I do not see why an additional provision may not likewise be made for educating and maintaining a number of Indian children, which, I imagine, may easily be procured from the Creeks, Choctaws, Cherokees and the other neighbouring nations. Hence the whole will be a free gift to the Colony of Georgia, — a complex, extensive charity be established, and at the same time not a single person obliged, by any publick act of Assembly, to pay an involuntary forced tax towards the support of a Seminary for which many of the more distant and poorer Colonists' children cannot possibly receive any immediate advantage, and yet the whole Colony by the Christian and liberal education of a great number of its individuals be universally benefited." Such was Whitfield's plan and such were his hopes. His plan was a noble one, and his hopes were such as became a wise and Christian man working in the present and building for the future. But his zeal could rouse no enthusiasm in the distant home government; his humble prayer was refused him: the charter could not be obtained, and the dream of his life, for the realization of which much of that life had been spent, perished, and he was compelled to content himself with caring for the few orphans whom he had collected. Three years later and this genuine philanthropist, worn out by cares and labor, entered into

rest. He died at Newburyport, Mass., September 30, 1770. The history of Bethesda, after the death of Whitefield, is both brief and sad. When his will was opened it was found that he had bequeathed "the Orphan House in Bethesda, and likewise all the buildings, land, books and furniture belonging thereto, to that elect Lady, that mother in Israel, that mirror of true and undefiled religion, the Right Honorable Selina, Countess of Huntingdon:¹ and in case she should enter upon her glorious rest before my decease, to Honourable James Habersham, a merchant of Savannah." Lady Huntingdon at once undertook the charge committed to her by her dead friend. "But her plans and efforts, in reference to the Orphan House, were suddenly arrested by the destruction of the buildings by lightning." "By liberal contribution of her own private means and the assistance of others, she soon restored buildings capacious enough to accommodate the few pupils now in attendance;" but the life of the institution seemed to have departed. Lady Huntingdon died June 17, 1791. At her death the school was discontinued, the estate reclaimed by the State legislature, and the management of it committed to a board of trustees. "In 1805 one of the wings of the building was destroyed, and other parts so injured, by fire, as to render repair impossible; and the out-buildings were so damaged by a hurricane as to render them valueless." In 1809 the property was sold, by order of the legislature, and the Bethesda of Whitefield ceased to exist.

¹In the Georgia Historical Society building, to believe that this painting once adorned the in Savannah, there is a large portrait of the walls of "the Great House" in Bethesda. Countess of Huntingdon. There is good reason

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